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THE
EDINBURGH REVIEW,

OR

CRITICAL JOURNAL:

FOR

JULY, 1833, JANUARY, 1834.

TO BE CONTINUED QUARTERLY.

JUDEX DAMNATUR CUM NOCENS ABSOLVITUR.
PUBLIUS SYRUS.

VOL. LVIII.

EDINBURGH:

PRINTED BY BALLANTYNE AND COMPANY,
FOR LONGMAN, REES, ORME, BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMAN,
LONDON; AND ADAM AND CHARLES BLACK, EDINBURGH.

1834.

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THE
EDINBURGH REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1833.

No. CXVII.

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2. *Etat de l'Instruction Primaire dans le Royaume de Prusse, à la fin de l'année 1831.* Par M. P. COUSIN, Membre du Conseil Royal de l'Instruction Publique. 8vo. Paris: 1833.

3. *Exposé des Motifs du Projet de Loi sur l'Instruction Primaire, présenté à la Chambre des Députés par M. le Ministre (Guzot) Secrétaire d'état de l'Instruction Publique.* 8vo. Paris: 1833.

4. *Loi sur l'Instruction Publique.* Paris: 1833.

THE word *primary*, as applied to *instruction*, is not yet naturalized in our language; but as Education is a subject in which, as in all new sciences, neologisms are pardonable, we shall take leave to use the expression, Primary Instruction, to denote that training of a moral, intellectual, and partly also physical nature, which it is desirable the whole body of a civilized nation, even the poorest and meanest of its children, should receive;—and receive, not in their parents' houses, or by private tuition, but in Schools, where a considerable number of children of the middle and lower classes, from six to fourteen years of age, are assembled, and taught by one or more masters. This is a subject which is rising in importance every day. The question, what primary instruction is, and what it ought to be, continues to be agitated with increasing anxiety. The indifference which has hitherto prevailed almost universally about popular education, is giving place to curiosity and alarm. Fear is becoming a powerful auxiliary to benevolence, in pleading the cause of the uneducated

poor. When we contemplate, indeed, the vast masses of manufacturing population congregated in our large towns, and think that they have learned the secret of their own power, without the knowledge how to use it aright, we may well be apprehensive of danger, and desirous to know by what means it may be averted. And yet it is not so much means that are wanted, as skill in the application of those we have. Societies spring up and subscribe their money for reforming juvenile vagrants, for distributing religious tracts to hardened offenders, for bringing criminals to justice, and for doing away with capital punishments;—all very amiable projects, and sometimes, we doubt not, successful. But it does not require much discernment to see, that there is but little chance of making the currents run pure, when the fountain they all flow from is corrupt. The rule that has long been observed as to horses and dogs, will soon be found to hold good in man: the animal must be caught and broke in young.

The extension of the political franchise has, of itself, given a new aspect to this question; for, without considering whether that privilege is ever to descend lower, we may safely affirm, that a large portion of the new electors, actual and prospective, belong to the uneducated and ill-educated classes of the community. It may be thought, that, in making this admission, we cast a reproach on the authors of the Reform Bill, as having begun at the wrong end, and inverted the natural course of reason and improvement. But the practical statesman admits the truth of many an abstract principle, which he cannot, and dare not, apply to the business of government. He has elements to deal with, interests to attend to, prejudices to conciliate or to combat, and occasions to seize, which baffle all the calculations of theory. As the gods of the ancient philosophers, when about to create a world, were prevented from following the type present to their own pure intellects by the obstinate and intractable nature of the baser materials they had to operate upon,—so the wise statesman must take things, not as he could wish them to be, but as he finds them; and must sacrifice the distant and ideal *best*, for the real and immediate *good*. In the play of human affairs, rare and happy combinations of circumstances sometimes present themselves, which make it possible to push improvement in one direction, while other avenues are closed; and though the practicable line of direction may not be that which he himself would have chosen, it is his business to take ameliorations by such instalments as he can get, in the hope that he may use the amended machinery to perfect the instrument itself, and to effect improvements in other directions, which, but for such means, might have been indefinitely postponed.

In our last Number we gave some account of the Prussian

system of general education, as it was reported upon to the French Government by M. Cousin, who had been sent to Berlin on a special mission for the purpose of collecting information. That mission and Report have paved the way for the establishment of a Law of Primary Instruction in France, which, we trust, it will not be unacceptable to our readers to be made acquainted with, both as a matter of general interest and curiosity, and with a view to the final settlement, which cannot be much longer deferred, of the great question of National Education in England. The example set by the French in this matter, attentively and modestly considered, is pregnant with useful admonition. Few nations ever suffered at each other's hands more serious injuries and more bitter humiliations, than the Prussians and French mutually inflicted during the earlier years of the present century; and it was supposed that feelings of exasperation and national antipathy were thus engendered, which, though pent up by the force of circumstances, were ready, on the match being applied, to burst forth in terrible explosion. At the very time, however, when the elements of mischief were believed to be most active in the breasts of a people jealous of their honour, and peculiarly sensitive to insult, the French Ministry, with the consent of the King and the Chambers, send one of their ablest and wisest citizens, not to hurl defiance or demand restitution, but to take lessons in the art of training youth to knowledge and virtue,—and that, too, in the capital of the very nation whose troops, sixteen years before, had, on a less peaceful mission, *bivouacked* in the streets of Paris, and planted their victorious cannon at the passage of her bridges. There are not many facts in the past history of mankind more cheering than this,—not many traits of national character more magnanimous, or indicating more strikingly the progress of reason. It is, in truth, a marked step in advance to that state of civilisation which the world is rapidly tending to, when the intercourse between nations will consist, not in wars and angry protocols, but in a mutual interchange of good offices. There are already indications that Britain is not to lag behind in this noble and generous career. Even in the short interval since our last publication, the subject of National Education has been brought forward in Parliament, and its importance and urgency admitted on all sides, and by none more readily than his Majesty's Ministers. The Parliamentary grant of L.20,000, as a temporary expedient, to assist the benevolent efforts of Societies already in existence, is a circumstance to which we attach more importance than the smallness of the amount might seem to justify. It is the first sum of money, if we mistake not, that the House of Commons ever voted out of the public

purse, for promoting the education of the poor among the people of Great Britain,—the earnest and pledge, we verily believe, of much good to come, and worthy of being remembered to the credit of the first Session of a Reformed Parliament.

The attention of the Government and of the country has thus been once more awakened to the deplorable and almost incredible fact, that no permanent provision has ever yet been made for securing to the great body of the English people the means of early moral and intellectual culture. In no other country but England, it is true, could so much have been done by individual exertion to remedy the neglect of the Government; but, from the very nature of such relief, it is partial and temporary, and not always well-directed. It is deficient in amount, as well as in quality; and, accordingly, in spite of it, a large proportion of the soil of England, including all the rick—burning districts, is still covered with an uninstructed population,—a prey to all the misery and disorder which naturally flow from ignorance and vice.

There are many, we are aware, who imagine that the means already in operation are nearly commensurate with the wants of the people, and, when reinforced with the Parliamentary grant of L. 20,000, will be amply sufficient to make education universal over England and Wales. This delusion—for such, we fear, we must reckon it—has been greatly encouraged by a statement which appeared in the ‘Companion to the Almanac’ for 1829; for, coming forth, as that publication does, under the sanction of the ‘Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge,’ it could not fail to obtain wide circulation and general belief. The writer testifies his ‘satisfaction in believing, that there are very few districts in England where the children of the working classes may not now obtain instruction.’ If this were true, England would be a more universally educated country than Scotland; for, in spite of our Parochial and Assembly Schools, there is still a rural population of half a million, scattered widely over the Highlands and Islands, (to say nothing of the large towns and Lowlands,) of whom 83,397,—a sixth of the whole,—are reported this very year as *unable to read*.* But the data on which the ‘Companion’s’ conclusion rests are, to the last degree, vague and unsatisfactory. They are founded on returns obtained, in 1828, from 487 parishes, (not a twentieth part, be it observed, of the parishes of England,) as compared with returns from the same parishes in 1818. Finding the number of children returned

* *Vide* Report of the General Assembly’s Education Committee for 1833.

in 1818 to be 50,000, and in 1828 somewhat more than the double, (105,557,) the writer applies the rule of doubling to all the rest of the parishes, which gave no returns, and thus makes out a total of a million. Now, we not only distrust this application of the rule of three, but the correctness of the returns themselves. For, there being no official check, the numbers were liable to be unduly swelled both from the natural anxiety of committees and teachers to appear well in the eyes of the Central Committee, and from carelessness in marking the average attendances. Another source of error was the assumption, that where no reports were transmitted from places in which National Schools were known to have once existed, the numbers there might be taken at the average of those actually reported on; whereas it is notorious, that many schools, once flourishing, were allowed to drop from want of patronage, and others were not reported on, solely because they had fallen into a declining state. Again, the writer, in the 'Companion,' assumes, what the National Society does not affirm, and what indeed is quite inconsistent with the fact, that the vast proportion of Sunday school children are taught *to read*. Lastly, we find it impossible to distinguish, in the National Society's Reports, how many of the day scholars also attend the Sunday schools, and are thus reckoned twice: and this element of uncertainty extends over about half a million of the pupils.

The 'Companion,' however, carries his calculations upon these *data* still farther, by making the Parliamentary Returns of 1818 the basis of a much more extensive conclusion. Finding, for example, the schools and scholars of the parish of *a*, in the county A, to have been 4, and 400, respectively, according to the Parliamentary Report of 1818, and these increased to 8, and 800, respectively, according to the National School Society Report in 1828, and finding the parish *b*, in the same county, reported on in the former of these two returns as having 1 school and 100 scholars, but not noticed at all in the latter, he assumes that the schools and scholars must have been doubled in both *a* and *b*; whereas it is quite possible, and we know it to be consistent with fact, that many schools reported on in 1818, instead of being doubled, had altogether disappeared in 1828. Thus the populous paper-making village of High Wycomb, in Bucks, had for several years a flourishing day school, which, for aught we know, existed, and was reported on in 1818; but in consequence of the want of proper premises and the falling off of subscriptions, that school was broken up, and had no existence in 1828. Yet, in the 'Companion to the Almanac,' instead of this fact being as-

certained, the very opposite is taken for granted, viz. that there were in that year *two* schools, and twice the number of scholars.

It is a very common mistake which this writer also seems to fall into, that whatever is now exhibited in the way of schools and scholars in England by the two great Societies, is to be accounted so much clear conquest from the old domain of ignorance and barbarism. The fact is quite otherwise. A great many old endowments were changed into popular schools on Dr Bell's plan, or incorporated with them; and a still greater number of private schools were dispersed and broken up on the coming in of the new schools, National and British. Nor did it always happen that every scholar who used to attend the old, became a scholar at the new; for sometimes a new school on Bell's, or Lancaster's principle, would start up, ruin, and disperse some half dozen schoolmasters, and be then allowed, by the cooling zeal of the local Committee, to go to pieces itself and disappear!

It is upon such slovenly and objectionable grounds as we have just stated that the 'Companion' raises the amount of educated poor children in England and Wales to a million and a half. Then taking the whole number of the population that ought to be at school at two millions—which is now, at least, below the truth—he makes up the deficit of 500,000 out of those who attend 'the higher schools!' and thus again comforts himself with 'enter-taining a reasonable confidence that no very large portion of 'the children of the working population are now wanting the 'means of instruction.'

If this flattering picture were a fair one, how should it have happened that, not two years after this account was printed, out of nearly 700 prisoners put on trial in four counties, upwards of 260 could not read; only 150 could write, or even read with ease; and nearly the whole number were totally ignorant with regard to the nature and obligations of religion? * If the assertion were true, how should the British and Foreign School Society have come unanimously to the following resolution in March 1831?—'That this Committee regrets to find, by the enquiries 'which have been instituted into the state of popular education in 'those districts which have of late been disturbed by rioters and 'incendiaries, that a large proportion of the population is still 'altogether uninstructed, and that many thousands of children 'are growing up in utter ignorance, not only of the elements 'of learning, but of all moral and religious obligations.' How should the same Society, in their report for last year (1832)

* *Vide* British and Foreign School Society's Report for 1831, p. 11.

refer ‘to additional facts, which painfully demonstrate, with accumulating evidence, the enormous extent of that ignorance, which spreads itself like a moral pestilence over the land? In a circular recently published at Nottingham, it is asserted,’ they say, ‘that in that town above a thousand children, of an age suitable for school, are growing up in total ignorance; and from a canvass which has lately been instituted by the Committee of the Herefordshire Auxiliary Bible Society, it appears that, out of 41,017 individuals visited, only 24,222 were able to read. Quotations of this description, from letters addressed to the Committee by dissenting ministers and benevolent laymen, might be multiplied almost indefinitely. They all bear witness to the truth of the assertion, that, notwithstanding the exertions of your own and kindred societies, ENGLAND IS YET UNEDUCATED.’

Finally, how should the same society, in their Report for the present year, have said,—‘Your committee cannot close this portion of their report without again urging upon their friends the importance and NECESSITY of INCREASED EXERTION. The educational statistics of England are far from presenting results that can be considered satisfactory to the mind of a Christian philanthropist. Many are the districts of which it may be still said “gross darkness covers the people.” In the metropolis alone it is estimated that above 150,000 children are growing up without education. From correspondents at nearly 40 different places letters have been received, calling attention to districts in which schools ought to be established without delay.

‘In one village containing 272 families, consisting of 1467 persons, only 562 were found able to read. In other districts villages are pointed out containing 1000, 1500, or 2000 inhabitants, yet unblest with any efficient school. Whole families are described in many places as having reached maturity without any member of them being able to read a single letter; and the tenor of the whole correspondence only proves how justly it was asserted in your last report that ENGLAND IS YET UNEDUCATED.’

Statements to the same effect are repeatedly made by the National School Society. One of them concludes thus:—‘Hence, unfortunately, in many places containing thousands of families whose parents are members of the Established Church, no provision whatever exists for the education of children according to the principles of that church.’ (*Nat. School Soc. Rep.* p. 17.)

The truth seems to be, that the strenuous exertions of the two societies have scarcely kept pace with the increase of population during the last ten years. We are in little danger of understating the number, when we say that not more than one-half of the poorer

children in England, south of Trent, enjoy the benefit of the education, such as it is, that may be called popular.

Even in London itself, as we have just seen, in spite of its numerous endowments, the many churches and meeting-houses, with schools attached to them, and the abundance of public spirit, piety, and wealth, it would not be difficult to prove that, though it be comparatively well provided, much yet remains to be done. But go out of it in any direction, and the rural population, in a circle of from ten to twenty miles round it, will be found in a very unlettered state. Oxfordshire and Cambridgeshire are no better, in consequence of the extent of college estates, where great tracts of land are without either a resident aristocracy or a resident clergy; the cures being often held by Fellows, who spend their time in their Colleges, and ride out to do duty of a Sunday. From observations made on the spot, about the very time the author of the 'Companion' drew his high-coloured portrait, we can state, that Hounslow had no school for the poor; nor Tottridge and the large and populous district round it; nor St Alban's, Herts; nor a vast tract of country on either side of a line between that town and Windsor. Very lately, indeed, several have been planted by the indefatigable exertions of John Hull, of Hillingdon, near Uxbridge;—one of those persons to whom it is only necessary to say, 'There are men without employment, children uneducated, sufferers in prison, victims of disease, wretches pining in want, and straightway they will abandon all other pursuits, as if they themselves had not large families to provide for, and will toil days and nights, stolen from their most necessary avocations, to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, and shed upon the children of the poor that inestimable blessing of education, which alone gave themselves the wish and the power to relieve their fellow-men.*' Tring, in Herts, though surrounded with gentlemen's seats—Aylesbury, the county town of Bucks, with a population of 5000—and a number of other populous towns and neighbourhoods, stretching all the way to the borders of Somersetshire, have been saved from a like reproach by the exertions of the same meritorious individual; acting either by himself or with the assistance of the British and Foreign School Society.

In Henley on Thames, there had been a tolerable British school. The Committee on the spot, however, were seized with the notion that they should like to have an infant school. The British school

* *Vide* Mr Brougham's Speech, May 8, 1818, on the Education of the Poor.

was accordingly allowed to drop, but no infant school succeeded it. So precarious is the tenure of unendowed schools. We may mention also, in proof of their liability to accident, a state of things by no means uncommon in the midland counties, in which sons of respectable farmers have grown up to man's estate without even the elements of education. These they were accustomed to receive in Dames' schools, but during the time when prices were high, and the farmers prosperous, they sent their children from home to boarding-schools and academies. Bad times, however, returned, and the children were recalled; but the Dames' schools had meanwhile disappeared, and the lads grew up in ignorance.

We cannot deny ourselves the melancholy satisfaction of comparing these accounts of English popular education, so inaccurate or so discouraging, with what is done in Prussia. The contrast is a humbling, but ought to be a useful one for England. It is extracted from a pamphlet by M. Cousin, on the 'State of Primary Instruction in Prussia at the close of 1831,' published lately as a supplement to his 'Report.' All its statements and numbers being taken from official documents issued by the Ministry of Public Instruction, after being carefully verified, their correctness is absolute and unimpeachable. The results, therefore, as given by M. Cousin, are valuable, not merely as indicating with certainty what is done for the education of the people in Prussia, but as generalizations of facts, establishing principles and conclusions to which we may appeal, in all attempts that may hereafter be made to clear the wide and dreary interval that separates us from the perfection of that model, which is not the *beau idéal*, but the beautiful reality we ought to imitate. This is our apology for going into a few arithmetical details.

The movements in this great system are so smooth and equal, and so little subject to caprice and accident, that though the reports are scrupulously kept, the grand results are published only at intervals of six years. The last was in 1831.

The population of the Prussian Monarchy, by the last census, was	12,726,823
Which is somewhat more than a million short of the last census for England and Wales.	
Of these twelve millions and a half, there are, between the ages of seven and fourteen, which is the period allotted for attending schools,	2,043,030
And the return of children actually in attendance in 1831, was	2,021,421
	<hr/>
Difference,	21,609

From this statement, so glorious for Prussia, it follows, that every human being in it not only has the means, but actually enjoys the advantage, of a good education; for the small difference of 21,609 is barely sufficient to account for the children of the higher ranks educated at home, those attending private schools, and the boys under fourteen, attending the lower forms of the *gymnasias* or classical schools; who, in 1832, amounted alone to above 17,000, and are not included, more than the other two classes, in the primary school returns. It is, indeed, impossible that the numbers in the returns of the population and of school attendance should do otherwise than correspond, in a country where the law compels parents, guardians, and in default of these, the masters to whom the youths are apprenticed, to prove before the competent authorities that every child has received, or is then receiving, the benefit either of public or private instruction; and where the Clergy are enjoined to admit none to the communion, without producing satisfactory evidence that they have gone through the ordinary course of school discipline. The latter is an arrangement which binds Church and School closely and usefully together, and calls in religious authority to aid the diffusion of useful knowledge. As to the other provision, for *compulsory* attendance, we could not recommend it in any plan of English education; but should prefer trusting, as the French legislature has done, to persuasion, and the gradual growth of a schoolgoing habit among the people. Indeed, the Prussian law enforces attendance only where it is agreeable to the feelings of the people: in the new acquisitions, and particularly in the Rhenish Provinces, the compulsory clause is dispensed with. Some of the other statistical details in this very interesting pamphlet are too curious and important to be omitted. We shall subjoin them in a note.*

* Of the 22,612 schools in Prussia, 21,789 are *elementary*, and 823 *burgher* schools, the *écoles primaires supérieures* of M. Guizot's *Projet de Loi*. Of the latter 481 are for boys, and 342 for girls. Now, there are in all Prussia 1021 towns, whereof 26 only have more than 10,000 souls. Hence it appears, that not only all the cities of 10,000 souls, but three-fourths of *all* towns whatsoever, have, besides the elementary schools necessary to the lowest class of citizens, superior schools also for the middle class. The following statement shows the steady improvement in the working of the Prussian system:—

In 1819, the number of schools was 20,085, taught by 21,895 masters and mistresses.

In 1825, 21,623, taught by 22,964 masters and mistresses.

In 1831, 22,612, taught by 27,749 do. do.

We have thus endeavoured to show, that the primary instruction enjoyed by the English people is, in regard to its diffusion, limited, unsatisfactory, and precarious. It is now time to speak of its quality. The commodity, we have found, is scantily and unequally distributed. We are next to enquire whether it be intrinsically such as to leave us nothing to wish for, but that it were spread abundantly and universally over the land.

Now, truth compels us to say, (and we say it reluctantly, and with becoming diffidence, when we think of the great and venerable names that grace the direction and subscription lists of both,) that neither of the distinguished Societies which have been working so long and so assiduously in promoting the education of the poorer classes, has yet adopted a course of instruction which entirely accords with our notions of what a system of National Education ought to be. And, as Lord Althorp has declared it to be the intention of Government to divide the parliamentary grant in fair proportions, between the British and Foreign School Society on the one hand, and the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the principles of the Established Church on the other,—that is, between Schools on the Bell or Madras system, and those originally called Lancasterian,—it may be proper to state here our reasons for thinking that some important modifications are required in the administration and discipline of both societies, before they can be held out either as substitutes or as models for a general system of education for the people.

Every one, though he may not be old enough to have witnessed, has heard at least of the feud which, in the early part of this century, divided the public between the claims of Bell and Lancaster. That Dr Bell was the first in Britain who stated and expounded the principle of mutual instruction, as he had seen it practised in the schools in India, there can be as little doubt, as that Mr Lancaster had the merit of reducing it extensively to practice. The system of the latter prevailed pretty generally, and was patronised by Royalty itself, before alarm was taken, or at least expressed, at the fact, that a Quaker—one of a sect most opposed to the ritual of the English Church—was organizing schools, and calling them by his name, in all parts of the kingdom. Zealous churchmen thought it was time to bestir themselves: their concern for the instruction of poor children, which had hitherto slumbered, was suddenly kindled into fervour; societies were instituted, and *National* schools established under Episcopal auspices; and that a name might not be wanting, Dr Bell was invited from his retirement to be the champion and apostle of the church.

Thus far there was nothing on either side that was not praiseworthy. The public might wonder that the Clergy, with such means in their power, had not sooner taken arms in this crusade against popular ignorance ; but they rejoiced to see two powerful bodies accoutred for the war, who, though they fought under different banners, were arrayed in the same cause. But, as almost invariably happens where poor human nature is concerned, the spirit of generous rivalry was soon alloyed with petty jealousies ; misrepresentations and mutual recrimination followed ; and the interests of the common cause were sacrificed, or held at least subordinate to squabbles on minor points of discipline. On the one side was set up the cry, that the Church, and even Christianity itself, was in danger from the efforts of sectarian and infidel zeal. It was vehemently retorted, on the other, that Christianity is not synonymous with Church-of-Englandism ; and that a member of the Society of Friends might be as sincere a believer, and, for children at least, as good an expounder of the word of God, as mitre or surplice could make him. In this strife, each party, having to deal with a population strongly attached to the faith of their fathers, sought to outdo its rival in zeal for religious instruction,—each to outbid the other in the market of public favour, by claiming for itself a greater knowledge and love of the pure doctrines of Christianity ; and it may be that, in their zeal for the doctrines, one, if not both parties, sometimes forgot the precepts of the Gospel.

It was a natural consequence of this rivalry, that both became more and more theological in their practical instruction ; each striving to reach the point where they thought themselves most unassailable by the enemy. Hence the British and Foreign Society sanctioned ‘ the *exclusive* use (for school-reading) of those writings which ‘ all acknowledge to be divine ;’* and the National, avowing their object to be the maintenance of the established religion, added to the Scriptures themselves, several histories and abridgements of the Bible, the Prayer-Book, Psalter, and Catechism of the Church of England ; but still more scrupulously, in practice at least, excluded all secular instruction, except writing and ciphering, which formed part of the daily instruction under both systems.

When we say ‘ *more scrupulously,*’ we use the expression advisedly, and after some observation of the actual details of teaching in the best specimens of the schools of both Societies. Although in those of the British and Foreign the catalogue of school-books for reading is by much the less numerous, being, in

* *Vide* Pref. to Brit. and For. Society’s Scripture Lessons.

truth, confined to the single volume of Scripture lessons, yet the daily examination, both on the meaning of individual words, in their spelling lessons, and on the scope of what has been read, is minute and searching; and no opportunity is lost which the occurrence of any word in ordinary use furnishes, for branching off into questions on what is curious and useful in the works and processes of nature and art, and of requiring and communicating information of a secular and interesting kind, which the monitors acquire from their teacher, or from private reading. A library has, of late years, been attached to the Borough Road school, and to others on the same plan, which contains the admirable little volumes, to the number of 68, and the 26 coloured maps, published by the Kildare Place Society. This mine the monitors are exhorted to explore, and to bring forth its treasures for the use of their respective divisions; and it is truly wonderful to observe how much is done, with means so limited, to keep the attention alive, and to cherish and gratify the love of knowledge in the youthful mind.

In the National Schools, on the other hand, with a greater number of books on their list, nothing can be more meagre and stingy than the allowance of instruction doled out. It is comprised under the heads of Reading, Writing, and Ciphering. By the first is to be understood the faculty of pronouncing and spelling English words, not of comprehending their import,* still less the structure or grammar of the language:—the reading is rigorously confined to one subject. The ciphering goes no farther than the first four rules of arithmetic; the writing may be cultivated to any extent of mechanical dexterity; for there is no limitation when the hand and not the head is to be exercised. Such is the sum and substance of the instruction given. The appointed clerical visitors seem much more anxious to enforce the strict rule of the founder, contained in Dr Bell's Manual, than to encourage any deviations into more inviting regions of knowledge. It will not be denied, we think, by those friends of the system who know it best, and particularly by the intelligent teachers, that its tendency at least, if not its object, is to proscribe, as worse than useless, all knowledge which has not a direct and immediate reference to religion,—more especially to that form of it adopted by the Church of England; and to dismiss the pupil, after three years' attendance, with the smallest possible amount of acquirement, and the least pos-

* In one of the best of these schools, not one of a class, after reading a Scripture lesson they were quite familiar with, in which the word *alms* occurred, could give any explanation of the meaning of that word.

sible taste for reading. One of the books most commonly used in these schools is Mrs Trimmer's History of the Old and New Testament, which the author declares in her preface is intended to be used in schools as a sequel to her 'Introduction to the Study of Nature,'—a little volume calculated to be particularly attractive and useful to young people; and yet the Sequel is issued to the National schools, and not the Introduction. We never met with a teacher in one of them who had even seen it. In the catalogue of school apparatus and of books made accessible in any shape to the children, we look in vain for any means of conveying general information,—any work, for example, of voyages and travels,—of natural or civil history,—or containing the elements of grammar or geography,—any map, but of the Holy Land, and that not always,—any means, in short, to stimulate and gratify the curiosity of a child,—to open his mind to mathematical truth,—to make him acquainted with the country he lives in,—its soil, surface, productions, traditions, or history,—or to attach him to any of its institutions, except the form of worship of the English Church. So little, indeed, are agreeable associations with the business of instruction cultivated, that we think it not improbable many an English peasant, who in his boyhood got all that these schools could give him, should be now unable to read. We propose it as a subject of very interesting enquiry to those who have the means of making it, to ascertain the proportion of those in the rural population who could once read, and have lost the faculty. In a country where the system of early tuition is what it ought to be, such a return from all the population not insane or fatuous, would be *nil*. If an accurate report of this kind could be made up, it would be no bad criterion of the comparative merits of the different methods of elementary teaching.

That a system of public instruction so limited and exclusive, as either of the schemes we have just been considering, would ever have been adopted in England, but for the spirit of rivalry and proselytism, we cannot for a moment persuade ourselves; whether we take the common-sense view of the matter, or appeal to the established practice of our own country of Scotland, and of the States of Germany, both Catholic and Protestant; none of which can be accused of lukewarmness or indifference on the subject of religious instruction. The founders of the educational institutions which have so long adorned and civilized these countries wisely considered, that though children are destined no doubt to be subjects of a kingdom which the Divine Author of our faith has himself declared to be 'not of this world,' and though they ought, therefore, to be deeply imbued with principles and habits that will fit them for such a condition of existence, yet they are doomed

to live previously, and to act their part in the great community of mankind,—with a thousand duties to perform, ideas to take in, and habits to acquire, which relate chiefly or solely to the world they live in; that the Bible, being given us, not as a digest of all knowledge, but as a rule of faith and manners, cannot be expected to contain such information, and embrace such a stock of words and ideas, as it is desirable every child should possess, in order to become useful to himself and others; that it is impossible to keep the faculties of the young in healthful and improving exercise, without occupying them with various objects successively, and familiarising them with those realities of life and nature, which enable them to test, by the evidence of the senses, the amount, import, and truth of the information they have received; that by insisting solely, or even chiefly, on spiritual matters, we must of necessity omit that acquaintance with the powers and properties of external nature, and the displays of Divine wisdom and goodness in the arrangements of the world, which form the appropriate nutriment of the young faculties, and by which alone the mind can be prepared, as its powers expand and strengthen, for more profound and recondite views of religion; that, moreover, great risk is run by indiscreet zeal, of indisposing the youthful mind to divine truth: of associating weariness and disgust with the act of reading and the business of instruction, as will always be the case where the understanding is not or cannot be exercised; and even of exposing the sacred volume, which should never be handled but with reverence and as a privilege, to be treated too lightly and familiarly, and coupled with vulgar or painful associations. Such were the views of the founders of a scheme of primary instruction, which was acted upon, according to the lights of the time, by our Scottish ancestors, when they burdened the land in perpetuity for the maintenance of Burgh and Parochial schools, in which the elements of Good Learning, as well as piety, should be taught. And taught they were then, as they have been ever since,* on the most liberal and comprehensive footing; no branch of knowledge, ancient or modern, being excluded, which the master could teach and the parents

* It is still a prevailing practice in Scotland, to require, as of old, that the candidate for a parish school shall prove himself tolerably '*perfite in Latin*;' this acquirement being taken as the test of a good education, and of respectable attainments in other parts of learning. The miserable Scotch schoolmasters' act of 1803, by giving the majority of heritors the power of deciding what branches shall be taught in our parish schools, has done its best to impair this honour and advantage of our country.

desired for their children. This scheme has been, in later times, more fully developed and embodied into a system by the successors and compatriots of Luther and Melancthon ;—a system not elicited, like those we have spoken of, by the strife and heat of contending factions, but emanating from the calm, dispassionate deliberations of the wisest, the best, and the most religious men of their several communities. That we may not be suspected of overstating the superiority of the German method of primary instruction over that of both our British associations, let us contrast with their meagre list of books and branches of study the statement we formerly made* of what is taught in the Prussian *elementary* schools. It comprehends, let it be remembered, (and we repeat the summary, as it is given in another part of the Prussian law, to make the contrast more striking,) religion, and morality founded on Christian truth ; the vernacular tongue, with its grammar and structure ; the knowledge of magnitude and number—of nature, including the elements of geography—and of man, including history, particularly that of Prussia ;—bodily exercises, or gymnastics ;—vocal music, applied to hymns and national songs ;—and, finally, drawing and penmanship.

After the details we have given, and the contrast exhibited, it can scarcely, we think, be said that the Government would exact too much, if it required from both the Societies in question a revision of their course of elementary instruction, and even made it a condition of receiving pecuniary aid for the erection of new school-houses. The Kildare-Place Society, in Ireland, forfeited their Parliamentary grant by too scrupulous an adherence to exclusively Protestant practices, in a scheme professing to be for the benefit of a population chiefly Catholic ; and yet their scheme, in its most objectionable form, was much more liberal and comprehensive than the system which has been hitherto followed by either of the above Societies. The time, too, we conceive, is particularly favourable for such a process of revision ; the heads of the rival systems are removed from the scene ; the heats of party zeal have burned out ; the public have ceased to take an interest in either body, except as the means of extending education ; and the Societies themselves, being composed of almost a new generation, have lost the feeling of mutual hostility, and are more disposed than they ever yet have been to regard each other as labourers in the same vineyard. At the last annual meeting of the British and Foreign Society, the first resolution was moved by a beneficed clergyman of the Church of England.

* See No. 116, p. 522-3.

How much indeed that Society has relaxed from its exclusively religious spirit, is apparent from the following passage in the Report of last year :—

‘ Your Committee feel that their business is simply to give to the children of the labouring poor a plain, useful, and scriptural education ; to recognise the depraved state of the affections ; and to seek, by means of the Sacred Volume alone, to act at once upon the understanding and the heart. At the same time, they would not shrink from declaring their opinion, founded upon experience, that in the present day, instruction of whatever kind ought to be of a much more extended character than formerly. The most abstruse sciences are now so familiarly explained, and useful knowledge of every description is so completely broken down to the tastes and capacities of the working classes, that unless in schools for the poor the youthful mind be encouraged to investigate truth, and the reflective faculty be awakened, the instruction which may be imparted will soon come to be neglected and despised. In imparting scriptural knowledge, it is no longer sufficient merely to require that a form of sound words be read, or at most committed to memory ; the attention must be stimulated, the understanding exercised, and the judgment busily employed by constant interrogation, as to the meaning of what has been read, or but a feeble impression will be made upon the mind.’

A similar acknowledgment of the narrowness and inadequacy of the original constitution and present practice of the National Society, is implied in the following extract from the result of an enquiry as to the disposal of the children’s time in school, which forms a part of the General Report for the present year.

‘ The division of time between learning and industry is actually made in the best-conducted schools for females. The boys, however, being rarely provided with any manual occupation, are carried forward to higher degrees of attainment in religious knowledge, as well as in ciphering, writing, &c. But in proportion to the energy and intelligence of the schoolmaster, a larger supply of such exercises will be required, otherwise recourse must be had to repetitions of a tedious and uninteresting nature. A conviction of the superabundance of time at the disposal of schoolmasters, has induced the managers of certain schools to seek for variety of employment. Hence the reading of works of History and Natural Philosophy, &c., in addition to the usual school-books, has been introduced in some places ; and in others, the study of English Grammar, or the learning of the notes and elements of Music, with a view to improving Psalmody, has been made to occupy a portion of the day. Whatever difficulties may have attended these or similar plans, no complaint has ever been heard of a deficiency of *time* for carrying them into effect.’

These appearances are most auspicious, and make it not altogether extravagant to suppose that a committee may be formed of the most active and enlightened members of both Societies,

for the purpose of selecting, if such are to be found, and if not, of preparing, a series of Reading Lessons, for what may be called the Secular part of instruction. These Lessons should not consist of detached, unconnected passages and extracts, but should ascend in a graduated scale from the simple to the more difficult;—taking care, in the latter, not to overstep what is suitable to the years of the scholars, and their prospects in life; and with such differences, too, as might be required to adapt them to the wants and wishes of both Societies;—always reserving the religious instruction to be carried on apart, according to the views of each. If such a plan were adopted, (and part of the Parliamentary grant could not be better employed than in promoting it,) both parties would soon be convinced, that that part of school discipline which they are so anxious to inculcate, can only be impressive and effectual when delivered at intervals, solemnly and shortly, and mixed up with instruction of a more familiar and every-day character.

It is a fatal mistake to suppose that children are rendered better or more religious, because the round of school hours, day after day, is filled up, as to oral teaching, with religious rehearsals of Chief Truths, Catechism Collects, Commandments, Prayers and Graces; and as to reading, with nothing else but extracts from the New Testament and the Bible, or Sellon's, Trimmer's, and Ostervald's Abridgements. No mind, old or young, can escape languor, weariness, and disgust, in such a process of iteration. How much more true piety, as well as sound philosophy, is shown by the Committee of the General Assembly of our own Church! In reporting the proportions of children in their Highland schools who are learning Gaelic and English reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, mathematics, and *Latin*,—with other branches as they find them in demand,—they are able to boast, that 'while they dispense with all diligence the several branches of knowledge above named, they have impressed a religious character on every school connected with their establishment.' Then follows this remarkable declaration, that 'if they were to specify such as in that respect have been found the most distinguished, they could not hesitate to name those schools *in which the greatest variety of secular instruction has been imparted.*'

This is not the age in which blind submission and obedience, without enquiry, can be forced on any large portion of the population. There is enough in the habits of the people, and the reason of the thing, to protect the English church against its enemies, if it were but safe from the indiscreet zeal of its friends. They may rest assured, that if its salvation depended on having wisdom shut out from the people by every entrance but one, their church could not be saved, and would not be worth saving. But

we hope better things from the present race of the English clergy, who are undoubtedly actuated by a far more liberal spirit than that which presided over the first arrangements of the National Schools.

If then the two Societies, either conjunctly or separately, will set honestly about the work of reforming their discipline, the strenuous exertions they have made, and their long possession of the field, well entitle them to pecuniary aid, according to the necessities of each. But this, after all, can only be a temporary measure; and so, indeed, it is regarded by Ministers. It is impossible that the primary instruction of the great body of the English people can be much longer left to the mercy of accident, and abandoned to the local and capricious contributions of private charity, or to the free competition of labour, as in the ordinary branches of gainful industry. It will not do even to devolve it on large associations of private individuals, who have been brought together by the common desire of diffusing education according to their own peculiar notions of what education ought to be, and who avowedly are animated with a zeal which is apt to be heated by rivalry, rather than tempered with knowledge. What is wanted for England is a well-digested and comprehensive scheme of popular instruction, organized upon one plan in its earlier stages, and diffusing its benefits equally and impartially over all. The principle universally adopted and acted upon in Germany and Prussia is a wise one, that the first stages of school learning should be, all over the kingdom, as nearly as possible identical. Uniformity in the groundwork of the intellectual and moral habits of the people is thus secured, with that unity of feeling, and nationality, which contribute so much to individual happiness and general prosperity; and these blessings it is vain to expect in any other way than by Legislative interference.

The doctrine, that every thing educational should be left to individual competition, without the State taking any charge or superintendence, may be ranked among the illegitimate offspring of the Free Trade System. The appeal to Dr Adam Smith's authority gave it temporary currency, till that authority was proved to be all the other way; and it is now pretty generally regarded as a heresy scarcely worth refuting. We are aware of the difficulties which stand in the way of any great general measure, and the objections that are urged both to its expediency and its practicability; but what has been done in Scotland, and in Germany, may surely, if due caution is observed, be done in England. In the meanwhile, we cannot be better employed than in encouraging discussion and diffusing information on the subject; and with this view we now proceed to render some account of what is doing in

France, to repair the grievous errors in this matter, both of the Revolution and the Restoration. Warned by the opposite follies of irreligious vagaries, and the superstition of obsolete and antiquated methods,—extremes between which the education of France vibrated for forty years,—the present Government of that country has looked abroad, and availed itself of the ripe experience of Germany. And let it not be forgotten, that the distinguishing feature between this and all the projects of the first Revolution, is the re-establishment and recognition of the grand principle, that ‘ Religion, that is, Christianity, is the basis and groundwork of all ‘ popular education.’ It is proper to state this fact at the outset, in order to refute a calumny of Mr O’Connell, who denounced the authors of the *Projet de Loi*, which we must in charity suppose he never had read, as leagued in a conspiracy to *unchristianize* the country;—an assertion which is not only wide of the truth, but directly the reverse of it.

The *Projet de Loi*, or as we should call it, the Bill, for regulating Primary Instruction in France, was introduced into the Chamber of Deputies by its framer, M. Guizot, on the 2d of January last, and passed into a law on the 28th of June. Its provisions are cast so nearly in the mould of the Prussian law, (and this indeed is its highest praise,) that we may save ourselves much minuteness of detail, after the account we gave of that law in our last Number. At the same time, this similarity, amounting often to absolute identity, is one of the most interesting features of the French measure, whether we consider it philosophically, or as bearing on the wants and necessities of Great Britain: and we cannot too strongly commend the four chapters and twenty-five sections of this Law to the attentive perusal and study of all who take an interest in the education of England, and more especially of those who are likely to legislate upon it. We can afford room only for a brief mention of the most important enactments, and we shall borrow our materials from the able speech of M. Guizot in proposing his measure, as well as from the law itself.

The three fundamental questions, with reference to the instruction of the people, which this Law proposes to settle, are first, The subjects or branches of knowledge which primary instruction ought to embrace; secondly, The nature or description of schools in which it ought to be carried on; and, thirdly, the authorities which are to preside over these schools,—to superintend, control, direct, and maintain them.

1. With regard to the first head,—the kind of education—primary instruction (as distinguished from classical and scientific) is divided into two degrees or stages. The first or lower degree, being the minimum, must be provided universally—for the humblest vil-

lage as for the largest city. It comprehends moral and religious instruction, reading, writing, the principles of the French language, ciphering, and an acquaintance with the authorized system of weights and measures. Between this minimum, observes M. Guizot, and the classical and scientific education which is given in public schools and colleges, as well as in many private academies, there is a wide interval, which in France has hitherto been an entire blank; leaving a large and important middle class without a power of choosing between pure elementary instruction, and that higher species called secondary, which, besides being very costly, imparts a kind and extent of knowledge not appropriate to their condition in life. To fill up this gap, the new law establishes a higher degree of primary instruction in schools which, from the middle place they occupy, the French, translating the German *Mittelschule*, have already named *Ecoles Moyennes*. These *middle* schools, besides the branches taught in the lower degree, must teach also the elements of geometry, with its ordinary applications, particularly to linear drawing and land-measuring; the elements of the physical sciences, and of natural history, as they are applicable to the common uses of life; singing; the elements of history and geography, and especially the history and geography of France. The wishes of the fathers must be consulted and complied with, as to their children's participation in the religious instruction.

2. As to the schools by which the two degrees of primary instruction are to be attained, the law ordains as follows: Every commune or parish, either by itself, or jointly with one or more neighbouring parishes, is bound to provide at least one primary school of the lowest order, the master of which is to have a suitable dwelling-house, and a money payment, consisting in part of a fixed salary, (never less than 200 francs, L.8, 6s. 6d.);—in part of fees, or quarter-pence, levied on all the parents of the children in attendance who are able to pay the small pittance required. When parents are ascertained to be too poor to pay even that, their children are to be taught gratuitously by the master, in consideration of the salary he receives. From all the rest, the fees are exacted, in no case, by the master himself, but, like the contributions to the State, by a public officer; and in this way much humiliation and loss is saved to the master. The county towns, and every parish (there or elsewhere) having a population exceeding 6000 souls, are bound, individually or conjointly, to maintain a *middle* school. As that is for the benefit of persons above want, there is no gratuitous admission, except in the case of extraordinary talents in the poor scholar of the lower species, who is, so to speak, *sent up for good*, and receives the advan-

tage of a higher education as a reward or bursary. As it is desirable, however, that the school rate in the middle school also should be very moderate, the master is to receive a fixed salary, of which the minimum is 400 francs, (L.16, 13s.) along with the fees. The burden of the salaries in both cases is to fall wholly on the parish, if possible; if not, partly on the department or county, and the state itself to come in aid in the last resort.

Besides the *elementary* and *middle* schools, there is a third institution thought necessary to carry on the business of primary instruction, which the Germans and French call *Normal Schools*. Though this is a term unintelligible to most of our countrymen, because nothing of the kind exists among us, it seems, nevertheless, a very natural and a very reasonable idea, to have the means of training young men to the profession of teachers. For, as M. Guizot justly observes,—‘all the provisions hitherto described would be of none effect, if we took no pains to procure for the public school thus constituted, an able master, and worthy of the high vocation of instructing the people. It cannot be too often repeated, that it is the master that makes the school—*autant vaut le maitre autant vaut l’école elle-meme*. And, indeed, what a well-assorted union of qualities is required to constitute a good schoolmaster! A good schoolmaster ought to be a man who knows much more than he is called upon to teach, that he may teach with intelligence and with taste; who is to live in a humble sphere, and yet to have a noble and elevated mind, that he may preserve that dignity of sentiment and of deportment, without which he will never obtain the respect and confidence of families; who possesses a rare mixture of gentleness and firmness; for, inferior though he be in station to many individuals in the *commune*, he ought to be the obsequious servant of none;—a man not ignorant of his rights, but thinking much more of his duties; showing to all a good example, and serving to all as a counsellor; not given to change his condition, but satisfied with his situation, because it gives him the power of doing good; and who has made up his mind to live and to die in the service of primary instruction, which to him is the service of God and his fellow-creatures. To rear masters approaching to such a model is a difficult task; and yet we must succeed in it, or else we have done nothing for elementary instruction. A bad schoolmaster, like a bad parish priest, is a scourge to a *commune*; and though we are often obliged to be contented with indifferent ones, we must do our best to improve the average quality. We have, therefore,’ continues M. Guizot, ‘availed ourselves of a bright thought struck out in the heat of the Revolution, and after-

‘wards applied by Napoleon* to the establishment of his central Normal school at Paris. We carry its application still lower than he did in the social scale, when we propose that no school-master shall be appointed who has not himself been a pupil of the school which instructs in the art of teaching, and who is not certified, after a strict examination, to have profited by the opportunities he has enjoyed.’

The law bears that there shall be one *Normal school* for every department, unless it may be necessary at first to make one suffice for two or more; but there is no specification either of its organization, or the appointment, duties, or remuneration of the head master or professor. The council-general of the department is enjoined to see to some of these matters, which appear to be reserved for future regulation.

In speaking of the momentous subject of the preparation of masters in the *Normal schools*, M. Cousin makes the following statement, which we would beg to recommend to the attention of Mr O’Connell: ‘While, however, we give a suitable allowance of time and attention to knowledge connected with science and the arts of life, such as geometry, natural philosophy, and natural history, we must above all keep in view the department of morals, which is the more important, because it is the heart and dispositions of the child that the master ought above all to form. It is the principles of an upright life that we must be most anxious to plant in the minds of our young Teacher; and with this view, religious instruction—which, to speak precisely, is in other words Christian instruction—must be put in the foremost rank in the course of study in our Normal schools. Leaving it to the pastor or curate of the place to insist on the peculiarities of each Confession, we must give a place in the whole course of study of the Normal schools to instruction in religion; so that, at the close, the young aspirants to the office of schoolmaster, without being in the least theologians, shall have a clear and precise notion of Christianity, of its history, of its doctrines, and above all, of its morality. Without this preparation, the pupils, when masters themselves, would be unable to give any religious instruction beyond the mechanical repetition of the catechism, which would be altogether insufficient.’

* In his decree, 17th March, 1808, for the organization of the University. The idea of a school for masters seems to have been first started in France in 1794, by a decree of the National Convention, which, like so many others of that day, led to no result.

3. As to the third great point, the authorities by which the whole system of primary instruction is superintended, regulated, and directed, the first and most striking feature of the Prussian and French organization, is the existence of a Ministry of Public Instruction, distinct from the other parts of the Administration. The duties of this office belonged formerly, in both countries, to the Secretary of State for the Home Department. The separation was made in Prussia by the law of 1819, in France somewhat later; and the result has proved the wisdom of the arrangement. The entire machinery is thus wrought from a common centre, which communicates the first impulse, controls all the movements, and gives unity of action and of character. The prime mover of the whole is a responsible Minister of the Crown—and, in France at this moment, he is one of the seven Cabinet Ministers—who acts with the advice and assistance of a council of ten or twelve. Subordinate to this supreme power, whose seat is, of course, in the capital, there are several local authorities, circumscribed in their influence, but increasing in their activity as their sphere of action is narrowed. The organization of the internal administration of France into Prefectures, Sub-Prefectures, and Mayoralties, with their departmental *arrondissement*, and municipal councils, gives great facilities for establishing checks and securing efficiency; and the more popular and representative character which these authorities have assumed since the last Revolution, fits them still better for the exercise of their educational rights and duties. The last and lowest link in this chain of dependent authorities is a local school-committee, chosen out of the municipal or burgh council, with the addition of the priest or pastor of the parish, and one minister of each of the other forms of worship that may exist in the commune, who is elected by the synod or consistory to which he belongs. One of the most essential parts of this system is the power which the Minister reserves of sending commissioners, chosen by himself, to conduct the examinations of the pupils on entering and leaving the *Normal school*, and before finally obtaining certificates of capacity. These commissioners, it is evident, must be not only out of the reach of local influences, but men of education and learning, specially qualified for a task, irksome but most important; seeing that on the able and impartial discharge of their duty depends the whole efficiency of the system. It is right, therefore, to send these approved agents from headquarters in the capital, and to leave the nomination of them to the Minister, upon whom rests the heaviest responsibility. It is chiefly by these examinations, and the delegates whom he despatches from time to time on special commissions and inspections, that the Minister is enabled to inform

himself at all times how the machine is working, and to apply a remedy wherever it is wanted. ‘It is to the active and enlightened interference of these superior agents of the Ministry of Public Instruction,’ says M. Guizot, ‘that we are indebted for the greatest share of the progress which primary education has of late made in France.’

In concluding his very able speech, the Minister expresses himself thus : ‘In framing this bill, it is experience, and experience alone, that we have taken for our guide. The principles and practices recommended have been supplied to us by facts. There is not one part of the mechanism which has not been worked successfully. We conceive that, on the subject of the education of the people, our business is rather to methodise and improve what exists, than to destroy for the purpose of inventing and renewing upon the faith of dangerous theories. It is by labouring incessantly on these maxims, that the Administration has been enabled to communicate a firm and steady movement to this important branch of the public service ; so much so, that we take leave to say, that more has been done for primary education during the last two years, (1831, 1832,) and by the Government of July, than during the forty years preceding, by all the former Governments. The first Revolution was lavish of promises, without troubling itself about the performance. The Imperial Government exhausted itself in efforts to regenerate the higher instruction called secondary ; but did nothing for that of the people. The restored Dynasty, up to 1828, expended no more than 50,000 francs annually upon primary instruction. The Ministry of 1828 obtained from the Chamber a grant of 300,000 francs. Since the Revolution of July 1830, a million has been voted annually—that is, more in two years than the Restoration in fifteen. Those are the means, and here are the results. All of you are aware that primary instruction depends altogether on the corresponding Normal schools. The prosperity of these establishments is the measure of *its* progress. The Imperial Government, which first pronounced with effect the words, Normal schools, left us a legacy of one. The Restoration added five or six. Those, of which some were in their infancy, we have greatly improved within the last two years, and have, at the same time, established thirty new ones ; twenty of which are in full operation, forming in each department a vast focus of light, scattering its rays in all directions among the people.’

To those who are strongly impressed with the deficient state of popular education in England, it may seem strange that remedial measures have been so long deferred, and quite simple and natural

that we should immediately imitate the good example of France. But any one who has attended to the course of the discussions on this matter both in and out of Parliament, will find a clue to the failure of all remedial measures in the very nature of our free institutions, which nourish vehement contention between opposite parties, and array hosts of prejudices in deadly warfare against each other. Imaginary dangers to existing rights and vested interests are conjured up, and importunately dunned into the public ear, till a howl is raised by that very numerous class of persons who have the right, without the power, to form calm and deliberate opinions; and thus the proposer of a wise and moderate measure, assailed and calumniated from opposite sides, and by those whom it was mainly intended and well calculated to benefit, gives up the task in despair, or defers it till a fitter opportunity. This is a state of things differing widely from the absolute monarchy of Prussia, on the one hand, where the people are accustomed to obey a rein which is so gently used that they scarcely feel it, and France on the other, unencumbered as she is with long-established abuses, old prepossessions, and inveterate habits, and schooled by the sad experience of forty years of ineffectual legislation, to take lessons for the education of her people from other wisdom than her own. For the comparative difficulty of introducing improvement here, our consolation (and it is no small one) is this, that what we gain by inches, lasts for centuries;—whereas, a change in the dynasty, or in the character of the reigning prince in the one case, and unsettled revolutionary habits in the other, expose to risk systems however well contrived, and, to appearance, firmly established.

Since the last signal defeat of the friends of national education in Parliament, twelve years and more have elapsed, during which the subject has scarcely been alluded to; but in that interval so great a change has taken place in the feelings of the people, the position of the Government, and the relative strength of the parties, that we may reasonably enough indulge the hope of seeing that fitter opportunity arrive,—even while some of those who first took charge still survive, to pilot the vessel into port which they were constrained to leave among the breakers. It is not, however, to be disguised, that very formidable obstacles still stand in the way of the final settlement, by any great legislative measure, of this momentous question. The difficulty of trimming the balance between the friends of the Established Church and the Dissenting interest, was that which shipwrecked the Education Bill of 1820. That difficulty still exists, and is, we fear, as little likely to be got over now, as then. A measure more favourable to the Dissenters than that Bill was, might probably pass the House of Commons, but would infallibly be thrown out in the Lords; while a measure

originating in the Upper-House of Parliament, which should give to the Established Clergy the same influence and control which they had by the Bill of 1820, would scarcely pass the Commons, and would certainly not be acceptable to the country at large. And if, to take a third supposition, a measure were introduced, which should leave the minuter shades of religious belief to be explained and enforced by parents at home, and by pastors in Sunday schools, in their parochial visitations, and from the pulpit—which should confine the part of school instruction regarding religion to the great doctrines which all Christians agree in—and should consider religion, in reference to children, as an affair rather of the heart than of the head, and religious impressions as still more important at that age than religious knowledge—such a measure would in all probability, meet with furious opposition from the majority of both parties.

In these circumstances, and in a country not very able, and still less willing, to bear the additional burden which the establishment of parochial schools necessarily implies, we fear that any attempt to carry through a general measure would still be premature; and, least of all, should *we* presume to propose any plan in a matter where the foremost men of the age have failed. In spite of every thing that has been said, and done, and written, the ignorance and apathy on the subject among all ranks are so great, that on none other is hasty legislation so much to be deprecated; and, fortunately, it is one which is not likely, from the same cause, to be pressed on the immediate attention of their representatives by popular constituencies. Till the public mind be a little better prepared, the safer course is to proceed as Lord Althorp has already pointed the way; and, while a satisfactory plan is maturing, to limit ourselves to temporary expedients for furthering the great ends in view, by defining precisely what the extent and limits of *primary instruction* ought to be in Britain, and by raising the estimate among the population at large, of the value of education.

We have already alluded to one such expedient when we invited the two Education Societies to improve their course of study. In the little room we can yet afford, we shall briefly mention one or two other points, which, in any measure for educating the English people, whether temporary or permanent, ought, we think, to be steadily kept in view. Some of them, particularly the first, we should be glad to see attempted immediately.

Of all the preliminary steps, then, to the adjustment of this great question, by far the most important is the appointment of some means for training schoolmasters, not to any set of mechanical evolutions merely, but to a knowledge of the principles and practice

of their profession, and to the able and enlightened discharge of its duties. The want of some such provision is the great vice of our Scottish system. Faults have thus crept into the practice of our parish schools, which nothing but the removal of the cause will eradicate. Our readers are aware what consequence the Prussian lawgivers attached to this object; wisely considering, that the best plans of teaching are a dead letter, without good and able teachers; and that to expect good teachers without good training, is to look for a crop without ploughing and sowing. In all their regulations on the subject of the *Schullehrer seminarien*, there is an anxious consideration of whatever can minister to the moral and intellectual improvement, and even to the personal comfort and happiness of the young teachers, which reminds us more of the tenderness of parental care and admonition, than of the stern and authoritative precepts of law. Every Department is enjoined to have one of these seminaries; the pupils to be admitted between sixteen and eighteen, to the number of from sixty to seventy in each; to be situated in towns of moderate size, that, on the one hand, they may be preserved from the corruption of very large ones, and, on the other, have access to schools which they can see and may improve in. The course of instruction delivered in these institutions presupposes that of the primary schools. Pupils are admitted, however, with whom it is advisable to go back on the primary instruction; and the first of the three years, which form the complement of attendance for the whole course, is generally spent in revising and giving readier and fuller possession of previous acquirements. If that point, however, is already reached, it shortens the attendance by one year, and the pupil proceeds at once to the business of the second, which is employed in giving him just notions of the philosophy of teaching, the treatment of the young mind, the communication of knowledge, the arrangement of school business, the apparatus and evolutions necessary for arresting attention and husbanding time; of all in fine that pertains to the theory and practice of moral education, intellectual training, and methodical instruction,—technically called *Paedagogik*, *Didactik*, and *Methodik*. The third year is more particularly devoted to the object of reducing to practice, in the schools of the place, and in that which is always attached to the seminary, the methods and theory he has been made acquainted with. We refer for other details to our preceding Number. It is more to our present purpose to remark, that there does not exist, nor ever has existed, in the island of Great Britain, a single institution of this kind, which the Prussian people think so useful, that they have voluntarily gone beyond the number prescribed by law. There were, at the close of 1831, thirty-three of these

seminaries in the monarchy, which is more than one for each department or circle.

We cannot but think, therefore, that some effort should be made to apply part, at least, of the Parliamentary grant to the purpose of training schoolmasters, if it were only to mark the opinion of Government of the importance and necessity of such establishments; and to direct public attention to a branch of knowledge which, new and unexplored as it is amongst us, has long taken its place in the circle of the arts and sciences, and long had its literature and its votaries, in Germany. Any thing approaching, indeed, to the universal and permanent organization in that country, (for it is by no means confined to Prussia,) it would of course be vain to expect in this, at least for many years to come; but means of opening up the subject, and commending it to the attention, not of teachers only and patrons of schools, but of the public generally, need not be regarded as out of our reach. Might not, for example, a lectureship or professorship of the art of teaching (or, if a name be wanted for the new subject, of Didactics) be appended to one or two of the Scotch universities; and, if such a novelty could not be engrafted on the old establishments of Oxford and Cambridge, tried, at least, in the infant institution of Durham? A very small endowment, if any, would be wanted, provided Parliament would make it imperative on candidates for vacant schools, (beginning at first with those of the better kind only,) to produce a certificate of having attended such a course, or even to undergo an examination on the subjects there treated.*

It is obvious, in contemplating such an arrangement as this, that the greatest difficulty would be to find fit persons for such an office—a difficulty which would scarcely, however, last beyond the first appointment. And even with regard to that, we need scarcely look farther than to the burgh and parochial schoolmasters of Scotland. As a body, indeed, they are not beyond being greatly benefited by attendance on such a course as we propose; but there are men among them, and the number is on the increase, who, to an enthusiastic attachment to their profession, and a large experience of its practical details, add much knowledge of its principles acquired by reading and reflection, and an almost intuitive perception of what is right in the management of the youthful faculties, and in the manner of imparting instruction. Philosophy and experience must go hand in hand, to fit a man

* See some good remarks on this subject, in the Sketch of a Plan for the Education of Ireland, by R. J. Bryce, Principal of Belfast Academy. 1828.

for the purpose in view. If such lectureships were instituted in places where there was access also to schools in which the doctrines might be illustrated, the practice exemplified, and the teaching partly conducted by the student, we should accept it as the greatest boon that could be conferred on the parochial education of Scotland. There are few, perhaps none, of the defects that still cling to our parish schools which would not disappear under the wholesome influence of such a measure, carried ably and honestly into effect. For example, next to that measure itself, there is nothing more loudly called for to improve our parochial discipline than a plan of authorized inspection. This, we have seen, is regarded as an essential part of the Prussian and French system, and is executed by delegates appointed by the Minister of Public Instruction. It seems natural that the proposed lecturers, with assistants, if required, should have this arduous duty devolved upon them. Again, a well-arranged succession of school-books is still a desideratum: none would be so likely to supply it well, as men whose lives would be devoted to the study of their art. But if such a project shall appear to some, as we are prepared to expect, visionary and impracticable, let strenuous endeavours be at least made to multiply the number and increase the efficiency of the model schools we have. There is an endowment for such an institution, called the Barrington School, at Bishop Auckland; and the Metropolitan schools of both the societies are open, and have been used for such purposes, as far as their means would go. To improve and assist these would be a far more profitable way of expending the grant, than to build schools for the propagation of imperfect methods.

But in England, where almost every thing is to do, and a great deal to be undone, we doubt whether much can be effected of permanent utility without a Minister of Public Instruction. The duties of the Home Office are already too heavy. The only way to secure unity, promptitude, energy, and, we may add, impartiality, in any organized system of national education, is to lodge the undivided responsibility in the hands of a public officer, and to limit his duties to that great object.

ART. II.—*Ecclesia Anglicana, a Poem; containing an Historic Portraiture of the British Church.* By CHARLES OVERTON, Curate of Romalldkirk. Octavo. London: 1833.

THOUGH we shall hardly, we think, be suspected of any wish to undervalue the divine gift of Poesy—meaning thereby that true poetic feeling, which is the soul of all the arts, the source of whatever is grand and touching in this world,—we have not unfrequently, we confess, felt sceptical as to the use and value of those artificial contrivances, rhyme and metre, by which alone most poetry is distinguished from prose; and which, while they embarrass and often defeat the free expression of many a noble and natural thought, lend a sort of conventional currency to much wordy nonsense which, in no other shape, would have been tolerated by the world. The very fact, that metre and rhyme are the offspring of early and barbarous times,—the former having been adopted, as an aid to memory, before the discovery of Letters, while ‘the modern bondage,’ as Milton styles it, of rhyme, was an invention of the dark monastic ages,—might lead us to question the fitness of such restraints on the written eloquence of an enlightened period, when the language of passion and description should be left free to choose its own flow and cadence; and when, least of all, should Fancy, in her high soarings, bear about with her that Gothic badge of bondage, the jingle of rhyme,—as the mounting falcon, even among the clouds, betrays his slavery by his bells.

How hampered with the trammels of metre was, occasionally, even the harmonious Virgil himself, appears from such bunglingly constructed lines as the following:—

‘Saxa vocant Itali mediis quæ in fluctibus aras,’—

and all that Tasso must have suffered from the difficulties of rhyming and versifying, may be judged from the wonder with which, as his friend Manso tells us, he used to listen to the Improvvisatori, at Naples; envying them that facility of execution which Nature had, it appears, denied to himself.

That there is no natural connexion between verse-making and poetry, between the mechanism and the soul of the art, may be assumed from the fact that, as there have abounded in all countries accomplished and fluent versifiers, who had not the least pretensions to be poets, so, on the other hand, there have been found gifted spirits who, though poets in the highest and largest sense of that title, yet never wrote, nor were capable of writing, a

single couplet of verse in all their lives. None who are acquainted with Locke's beautiful Chapter on Memory can doubt, for an instant, that its author had the true vein of poetry in his soul. Yet, so wholly incompetent was the writer of those exquisite passages to judge of poetry in its artificial state, 'fringed with rhyme,' that, as is well known, the renowned Sir Richard Blackmore,—he who, according to Dryden, 'wrote to the rumbling of his coach's wheels,'—was, in the eyes of Locke, the paragon of all epic excellence.

The mighty Burke, too, in whose mind the spirit of poesy was mixed up largely with all its other great elements, yet knew so little of mere verse that, in suggesting some alterations in a poem of Crabbe, (of whom he was the early and efficient patron,) such utter abortions were the lines of his own which Burke proposed to substitute, that the poet, with all his deference for so kind and powerful a friend, could not retain them. We have little doubt that Bacon, Jeremy Taylor, Burnett the Cosmogonist, and all the other great poets in prose, would have been found equally inexpert and impotent had they stooped to meddle with an art, which stands pre-eminent among the conventional impostures of this world:—the fame awarded to its successful professors, in all ages, having been out of all reasonable proportion to the amount of intellect embarked in the pursuit.

We can ask, indeed, no more convincing proof of the comparatively inferior quality of the intellect, which in general has been manufactured into the form of poetry, than its being unable to bear the transport from one language to another, without losing, by the way, most of the imposing charm and force, which its peculiar verbal construction alone had imparted to it. The workmanship of the great prose-writers of antiquity,—men whose staple was thoughts, not words,—comes down to us but little despoiled of its first massy perfection, whatever may be the channel of translation through which it is but simply and faithfully conveyed. The Politics of Aristotle, for instance, literally rendered, will be found, in almost every sentence and word, as freshly applicable to the events of the present day as if written but yesterday; and even Plato, though often wandering into the Vague of poetry, abounds with passages, throughout his writings,—such as the striking dialogue between Thoth and a King of Egypt, in the *Phadrus*,—which have in them a power, a vitality of meaning indestructible through even the most diluted transfusion. But the poets, the men of metre,—how do *they* stand this process of transmission? Homer himself, the Prince of Song, the fountain-head at which all succeeding bards have drunk,—what is *he* in translation? Let the prose version of Madame Dacier give answer; if there be not sufficient in the significant fact, that, among ourselves, the trans-

lation of that poet which, in all respects, least resembles the original,—in versification, manner, tone of thinking and feeling,—is, for that very reason, among all mere English readers, the most admired and popular.

Were there wanting any thing to confirm us in our prosaic suspicion that verse-making is an exceedingly over-rated art, the facility with which, of late years, men, women, and children, have all taken to the vocation of Pindars and Sapphos,—and, in most cases, with marvellous success,—would be abundantly sufficient for that purpose. We are told by Lucian of a strange epidemic, once prevalent among the people of Abdera, which beginning (as he describes its symptoms) by an attack of fever, generally ended, about the seventh day, with a violent bleeding at the nose, and a profuse discharge of poetry, of the Iambic kind, from the head. In this latter stage of the complaint, the unfortunate patients ran wild about the streets, all raving in rhythm; while such verses as ‘Oh Cupid, Prince of Gods and men!’ were heard from them in all directions. Such, pretty nearly, is the far-gone state of a considerable part of our literary population at present; nor is there the same hope to look forward to as in the case of the Abderites, who generally, as Lucian tells us, got better towards the winter,—whereas among ourselves, the Christmas, or *Annual* season, is found invariably the most formidable period of the disorder.

Our strict abstinence, of late, from criticism on works of poetry, must have been observed, we think, by our readers; and the truth is, that to verses produced under such circumstances, under such an awful and general visitation of rhyme, we think it hardly right to call the attention of the public. The exception we are about to make in favour of the Poet before us, is induced solely by the peculiar novelty of his case; the project of bringing to the aid of a falling Church (as he, rather hastily we trust, considers his own) a neat octavo-ful of holy heroics, being, at least, a new form of the rhyming mania, and, as such, entitled to notice. The Reverend Poet seems himself fully aware of the chivalrous nature of his enterprise; and after stating what objectors might allege against it, thus answers their cavil:—‘I would venture to remind, that God, our Maker, “giveth songs in the night;” and that even when his tremendous judgments are abroad in the earth, and he is emptying the vials of his wrath upon the nations, it is promised to his own people—“They shall have a song, &c.”’—Accordingly, the Curate of Romaldkirk undertakes kindly to sing them one.

It is with no small awe we presume to offer an opinion as to the merits of Mr Overton's performance, after the lofty tribute to his

powers which he has himself quoted from a letter of the Bishop of Chester, to whom, both as critic and patron, his Poem is dedicated:—‘Your Lordship,’ says the Dedicator, ‘has kindly expressed your persuasion, that my “Muse will always be a Muse of sacred song, and that *it will be tuned as David’s was.*” This has reminded me that the sweet Singers of Israel, and Asaph, and Heman, seem to have composed their historical Psalms either when the Church was in imminent danger, or actually brought very low.’ From all this we conclude it to be the reverend gentleman’s opinion, that the lower the state of the Church is brought, the more abundant will be the supply of Davids, like himself, produced in it; an assurance, highly consolatory amidst the prospects which the Joseph Humes of the present day are opening upon us.

The First Part of the Poem comprises the history of Religion in Britain, from the first preaching of Christianity to the conversion of the Saxons by Augustine; and the following are some of his Muse’s reflections upon the superstition of the Druids:—

‘With shame she flies the Druid grove retired,
Where frowns the oak for deed accursed desired.
*What prayer devout, if view’d aright, each oak
From every heart in Britain might evoke;*
That from the stock antique, beneath whose shade
Our guilty sires such dread devotions paid,
“The acorn shed” a glorious barge may launch,
To bear the tidings of the righteous Branch!’

We have here, in the couplet, marked in *Italics*, a notable example of that figure of speech, called by the rhetoricians Amphibology,—a figure, dealt in much by oracles and oracular bards, the effect of which, is to split the poet’s sense (where there *is* any), into two or more different and opposite meanings, leaving the reader to choose whichever suits his purpose. Thus, whether it was the oak that evoked the prayer, or the prayer the oak, was a point that, on first reading the above couplet, considerably puzzled us; till, recollecting the old national phrase of ‘Hearts of Oak,’ we took for granted the poet’s meaning must be, that there is, in every British heart, a certain portion of that timber which may be ‘evoked,’ or called into action, as occasion requires. A page or two further, we meet with another fine instance of this recondite mode of writing, derived direct from the Apollo Loxias, who presides over riddles. In speaking of the first ‘Publishers of Christianity,’ in Britain, the poet says,—

‘Thus scattering light, Evangelists had been,
Thus Gospel morn had eyes in Albion seen.’

It is here evidently a moot point, between the ‘Gospel morn’ and the ‘eyes,’ as to *which* of them it was that saw the other;

and the question is no easy one to decide. According to the natural construction, however, which in all such cases we prefer, it was clearly the Gospel that saw the eyes, and *not* 'vice-versa.' While we are about it, a few more samples of this enigmatic grace of speech may not be found unedifying. Few authors, indeed, have ever known or practised what is called 'the unintelligible method of speaking one's mind' with more complete success.

*' Bless God, that thrives, where tares abound, the wheat,
That Christian Britain proved thy native seat.*

By worldly glare unhidden was the light,
By pest unsmother'd of the Papal night.

Pause, lest you help untimely to destroy
Wells where your fathers water drew with joy.

*Yet fail'd to quench, the baffled fiend, the brand,
Thy faithful breath had kindled through the land.'*

And, beyond all, the following magnificent close of a long passage, in praise of Christian psalmody :—

*' Strains such as these ne'er echoed from the grove,
Where bright Urania magic numbers wove ;
Or fell so softly from the silvan scene,
Where tuneful Pan (so Pagans sing) had been.
To Israel's—blackness is Promethean fire,
And heard with Judah's—jars the Orphean lyre.'*

The advantage of dashes and breaks was never more signally exemplified than in the printing of the last couplet of this passage. The poet, Dryden, in speaking of the construction of Claudian's verse, describes each line as being made up of 'two substantives and two adjectives, with a verb betwixt them to keep the peace.' But your verb is nothing, as a peace-preserver, compared to Mr Overton's breaks and dashes. Only remove them from the above couplet, and see to what loggerheads all its different members will fall.

*' To Israel's blackness is Promethean fire,
And heard with Judah's jars the Orphean lyre.'*

Here the 'blackness,' which had before belonged to 'Promethean fire,' becomes, by right of the genitive case, the property of 'Israel,' while the 'Orphean lyre' strikes up a sort of Dutch concert in conjunction with 'Judah's jars.'

The rapid spread of Heresy after the introduction of Christianity next glares upon the eye of the inspired Curate, calling forth from him the following denunciation of Arianism :—

‘ This doctrine blasphemous, of shifting hue,
 How dark to one who feels his Bible true !
 What but the blackness of the thunder-cloud,
 That hangs o’er summer skies sepulchral shroud !
 The impious theft that of it’s brightest gem
 Would rob, swath’d Babe, thy princely diadem !’

Among the dreadful consequences that would have arisen, had the heresy of Arius triumphed, the poet intimates, as not the least disastrous, that his own orthodox poem would probably, in that event, have been lost to the world. What do we not owe to St Athanasius !—

‘ How can the heart, with adoration burn ;
 How join the praises of the choirs above ;
 Untuned, Divine Redeemer, by thy love ?
 How had my soul eternal justice braved,
 By thee unwash’d, unsanctified, unsaved ?
 Could harp of mine upon the holy mount,
 Thy love unfelt, thy grace unshared recount ?’

He next proceeds to expatiate upon the mischiefs of Pelagianism ; and the dangers of the Doctrine of Merit are thus, not unpoetically, represented :—

‘ In quest of pleasure and convoy’d by pride,
 Gay floats the barge adown the treach’rous tide ;
 And bears its inmates lock’d in sinful sleep,
 With merit buoyant headlong to the deep.’

That *Merit* is a dangerous cargo to have on board, we are far too orthodox not to be aware ; and it is with perfect sincerity we congratulate Mr Overton on the safety of his own poetical venture in this respect.

The history of the York Minster, and of its various casualties from fire, Popery, and other such elements, down to its last burning, in our own times, occupies the Second Part of Mr Overton’s Poem ; and a discovery is therein made that the real and veritable incendiary who brought about the combustion of that noble pile, some years since, was no other than the Duke of Wellington,—by passing the Catholic Relief Bill !

‘ Just ere it fell, indelible the stain,
 Fix’d on my faithless country to remain ;
 The ancient fort impregnable that proved
 Through many a hard-fought conflict, was removed :
 The blood-built bulwark of the Anglian state
 Dismiss’d its guard and opened wide its gate.

* * * * *

‘ Oh, mystery vast ! the chieftain by whose hand,
 Heaven pour’d its vengeance on the Papal land ;

Whose name, once honour'd, and regretted still,
 Or Minstrel's harp, or Patriot's heart could thrill;
 The Warrior, crown'd with victory's choicest wreaths,
 Whose splendid triumphs wondering envy breathes:
 Blush, human greatness! ah his glory! see,
 His Country's Saviour! WELLINGTON! 'tis He,
 Yields her palladium, and "at one fell swoop,"
 Her safe-guards crash;—his thousand laurels droop!
 What next may follow? what but judgments dire,
 Thy temple, Ebor, is consum'd by fire!

The lawyer-like manner in which the act of arson is here brought home to the Duke of Wellington, cannot but convince every unprejudiced reader. Nor is the destruction of York Minster the sole calamity for which the Catholic Relief Bill is to be held responsible; as our reverend poet traces to the same prolific source, the burning of hay-ricks throughout England, the passing of the Reform Bill, and—the hurricane at Barbadoes.

' In guilt's dark annals deeds of blood unknown,
 Evoke from Heaven, the wrath not lingering, down:
 Destructive fires, by madness kindled, glare,
 And fierce tornadoes Indian cane-isles tear.
 Hark the wild cry, tumultuous as the storm,
 From crowded streets, and echoing glen, "Reform!"'

The author's Muse here, kindling with her subject, turns incendiary herself—becomes impatient to '*Indulge the burning impulse* which she feels,' and thus,—in words not fit to be trusted near a corn-stack—breaks out:

' Not then forbidden should the glowing verse,
 Events now hid in "words that burn" rehearse;
 And bolder then through dim conjecture roam,
 To sing what next shall happen to the dome.'

After imagining a variety of accidents that may, one or all, happen to the poor Minster, he at last comes pretty nearly to the conclusion that a relapse into Popery will be her Euthanasia, and that we shall see

—' Papal Rome once more ascendant reign
 And practise here her sorceries again;
 While crowds, by pomp deceived and specious sign,
 Give wonder first, then worship at her shrine.'

How this last line, which overtops its fellows so conspicuously, came to find itself in such company, we profess ourselves unable to guess.

It would give us pleasure to say that we are as much in good humour with this author's charity and tolerance as with his verses;

—but this is by no means the case. One of his favourite authorities, Augustine, complains somewhere in his writings, that ‘the wine of demons is too often administered in fair and precious vessels;’ and, without meaning any offence, we must declare that, in the precious volume before us, there is as full and foaming a bumper of bigotry poured forth as ever was yet pledged by priest. Of Ireland and the creed of seven-eighths of her people, the temperate Curate thus speaks :—

‘What peace? what rest? while Babel’s whoredoms still,
With rites unblest her sea-green borders fill!

* * * * *

‘While wretched compromise, her wounds to heal,
Led by the mania of reforming zeal,
Brings God-denying error to unite
Her killing plague, to neologian night!
Bids each with blazon’d blasphemy combine,
Blest Truth to poison, at her source divine;
And leave the hapless island to deplore
Heaven’s glorious lamp, receding from her shore!’

By this ‘glorious receding lamp’ is meant, of course, Irish Protestantism,—a lamp as wondrous in its power of calling up churches for parsons, as Aladdin’s was in providing ready-made palaces for princesses. Unluckily, however, the ‘Slaves of the Lamp’ in Ireland have of late become restive,—and the charm works no longer. Hence all the lamentations of the good Curate.

Of the nature of the subjects operated upon, in the Third Part of the Poem, the following items from the ‘Argument’ will give some notion :—‘History and land of Psalmody—Benefit of singing with the understanding—Preaching in Cathedrals—Its especial good effects after the Reformation—*How the Rulers of the Church were honoured at that period—Tide now turned—Notice of Prelates who were ornaments of the British Church,*’ &c.

Much has been written by critics, respecting the Catalogues of the great Epic poets, Homer, Virgil, Tasso, and others; but we doubt if any poetical catalogue-maker ever went through his business with half the steadiness and regularity of the Rev. Mr Overton. For example,—in passing in review the eminent Divines of Britain—

‘What thrillings deep your honor’d names recall,
Cranmer and Whitgift, Usher, Leighton, Hall!
How did your voices sound the glorious word,
Ridley and Jewel, Reynolds, Beveridge, Hurd!
How can the good your sacred Order scorn,
Bedel, and Wilson, Butler, Porteus, Horne!’

Again,—

‘ Departed labourers ! worthy of regard,
Andrews and Barlow, Abbot, Smith, and Ward !
The fires are kindled ! though my feelings fail,
Rogers and Hooper, Taylor, Bradford, hail !’

After going through this reverend roll-call, our Curate next enters into an elaborate defence of those gradations of rank and dignity, from himself up to an Archbishop, of which the frame of church government in England is constituted. The whole system, he assures us, is but an humble imitation of what is already established in Heaven,—the Archbishops answering to Archangels, and Bishops to Angels ; while the Cherubs, that unresting race, are represented, we take for granted, by Curates. Led away by this parallel, as well as by the Jewish use made of the title Angel in the Apocalypse, he at last fancies *all* Bishops to be Angels, and thus invokes the whole bench accordingly;—

‘ Angels of England ! consecrated band,
To combat error, doctrines strange withstand :
Fathers revered, and Pastors lov’d,’ &c. &c.

With at least equal success does our poet defend the wealth of the establishment. Having put in the mouth of its infidel adversaries the following shrewd question,—

‘ Why should the Priest monopolize the mine ?
Riches far less might answer for the shrine.’

He thus satisfactorily retorts upon them :—

‘ Language like this was in the heart conceived,
When first thy lie, dull Reason, was believed ;
Produced, ’twas grafted on “ all evil’s root,”
And death eternal is the bitter fruit.’

How far it is polite and considerate in a Protestant parson thus to give the lie direct to Reason,—seeing that Reason is the authority on which he mainly founds his creed,—it is not for us to determine. All that we can collect from the foregoing passage is, that the Church Reformers have indeed Reason on their side, but that said Reason is, and ever has been, a dull liar.

We must now prepare, reluctantly, to take leave of Mr Overton. Did we consult only our own tastes and fancies, they would lead us to linger on thus delightedly, regaling our readers and ourselves with such brief fragments of music, such airy snatches of a Harp, which (as the Bishop of Chester and the Reverend Performer himself both assure us) is ‘ tuned as David’s was.’ But, besides that duties of a more prosaic nature await us, we are not without apprehension lest, by dwelling thus in a strain of eulogy on Mr Overton’s effusions, we may be rather injuring than serving his

future career. Pliny tells us of certain families in Africa, whose praise was so fatal* that even a tree, if they once honoured it with their approbation, was sure to sicken and wither; and it would indeed grieve us if, in like manner, our encomiums on Mr Overton should have the effect of at all stunting his future growth as a poet.

There remains but one more observation which we are anxious to suggest. In one of those felicitous applications of Scripture to his own purpose, in which this sweet singer of Romaldkirk delights and excels, we find the following form of prayer:—

‘ I own my frailties, mourn my grievous sin;
Lord, purge me dross, and *take away my tin.*’

We would here venture to submit to the reverend gentleman whether, for a poet of his pretensions, ‘take away my *brass,*’ would not be a far more appropriate prayer?

ART. III.—*Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee appointed to Enquire into the Present State of Manufactures, Commerce, and Shipping.* Printed by order of the House of Commons, 1833.

THE discussions during the late and previous sessions of Parliament as to the state of the country, were remarkable for nothing so much as the contradictory allegations put forth respecting trade, manufactures, and agriculture. Had the half only that was stated by Messrs Attwood, Fielden, and others, been well-founded, the country must have been irretrievably ruined, and this ‘fair realm of England’ been little else than a huge pauper warren! Most reasonable persons knew that such statements could not be true, to any thing like their full extent; but it was, at the same time, very generally supposed, that, though exaggerated, a great deal of distress certainly existed. A few individuals, some of whom had very extensive means of acquiring accurate information, would not, however, admit even this much; and contended, that with the exception of one or two departments, the condition of the country was decidedly prosperous; and that, speaking generally, the labouring classes

* In eadem Africa familias quasdam effascinantium, Isigonus et Nymphodorus, quorum laudatione intereant probata, arescant arbores, emoritur infantes.—*Nat. Hist. Lib. vii. 2.*

were more favourably circumstanced than at any former period. Under such allegations, an investigation into the facts of the case by committees of the House of Commons became almost indispensable. When properly selected, such tribunals contain individuals of the most opposite opinions and varied attainments; so that the witnesses are exposed to a severe cross-examination, and mistatements are pretty sure to be detected and exposed. On the motion of Lord Althorp, a committee of this sort was appointed to enquire into the present state of the Manufactures, Commerce, and Shipping of the kingdom, and another to enquire into the state of Agriculture. The members were chosen with sufficient impartiality; and the facts and evidence they have collected are most valuable.

Not having as yet had an opportunity of seeing the whole minutes of evidence taken by the Agricultural, we shall confine our remarks to that laid before the House by the other Committee. The latter, indeed, embraces so great a variety of important subjects, that we shall not be able to do more than glance at a few of those that seem most interesting. The proceedings of the former merit a particular and detailed examination, and this we hope to be able speedily to enter upon.

Wherever a number of witnesses are examined as to matters only partially falling under their own observation, and with respect to which it is difficult to acquire precisely accurate information, there must necessarily be a good deal of conflicting evidence. But in the present instance, there are far fewer discrepancies than might have been expected. The statements as to the extraordinary prevalence of distress have been *completely disproved*. All the witnesses, most extensively engaged in manufactures and commerce, bear testimony to their flourishing condition. In as far as respects manufactures, they are carried on to a greater extent at present than at any former period; *all classes of workmen are in full employment*, and with the exception of the hand-loom weavers, their wages, as compared with the price of provisions, are decidedly higher than at any former period. It is true that profits in both trade and manufactures are very low; but this lowness is, partly at least, balanced by the greater security which now prevails in most branches of industry; and by the absence of those fluctuations which, originating in the vicissitudes of the war, and the changes in the value of money, continued down to 1825. During the war, fortunes were frequently made by a single successful hit, and were as suddenly lost. The battle of Waterloo doubled the wealth of Mr Ricardo; but had it terminated differently, it is questionable whether, instead of being able to retire with a princely fortune, he would not have been ruined. Thousands of similar instances might be specified. In

such a state of things, industry, frugality, and skill, ceased to be held in due estimation; and speculative and expensive habits were very widely diffused. The establishment of tranquillity, and the restoration of our ancient monetary standard, have again placed us in a situation when that economy and attention to details we had in a great measure lost sight of are become indispensable; and hence the complaints and murmurs of those who have not forgotten nor laid aside the habits prevalent during what may be termed the era of gambling. These, however, are every day becoming fewer in number. The evidence taken before the Committee shows conclusively that most businesses are now in a comparatively sound and healthy state. They are conducted with far more regard to economy than was usual a few years ago; the habit of dealing for ready money, though recently a little checked, has become much more general; the stocks kept on hand are not nearly so extensive; and the character of manufacturers and merchants, as a body, has materially improved in all that respects intelligence, prudence, and attention to business. But before making any extracts from the evidence, we shall submit a few details in relation to the present state and prospects of the principal branches of manufacturing industry, partly derived from that evidence, and partly from other sources; beginning with the greatest of all, that of Cotton.

I. The evidence taken by the Committee leaves no room for doubt as to the rapid advancement of the cotton manufacture, and the comfortable condition of most of those engaged in it. Mr Bates, managing partner of the house of Baring, Brothers, and Co., perhaps the most extensive, and certainly one of the best informed merchants in the country, made a tour through some of the principal manufacturing districts in spring last, at the time that the complaints of distress were at their acmé. Mr Bates had not been in those parts of the country for some two or three years previously; and being asked by the Committee whether he was much struck with the increase of manufactures, &c., in the interval, he answered,—‘ Every thing in that part of the country seems to be increasing, resembling very much a new country; in Liverpool there are whole streets building, and every thing has the appearance of a new town about it; and I see no great difference in going along through Manchester and that part of the country; and in Yorkshire there seemed to me to be occasionally entire villages, just out of the hands of the mason, consisting of beautiful little cottages. * * * To my view, *there never was so secure and healthy a state of things*, whether you look to the present state of things here, or to the probable state of things for several years to come, supposing that every thing remains tranquil here, and that there is nothing to shake

‘public confidence.’—(*Min. of Evidence*, p. 49.) Mr Kirkman Finlay, whose intimate acquaintance with the cotton trade, as well as with most departments of business, is too well known to require any notice of ours, informed the Committee, that though profits were ‘very moderate,’ the present character of the cotton trade was ‘one of *great extension, and of a rapid sale and activity.*’—(P. 36.) With respect to the condition of the work-people employed in cotton factories, Mr Finlay gave the following conclusive evidence :—‘The wages in the establishments with which I am connected, and, I believe, generally throughout the country, are *quite the same now as they were many years ago*; the employment at such establishments is regular and constant; it *never varies*; the prices do not vary; every body is paid according either to the work done by the individual himself, or according to the work done in the particular room in which he may work, according to the nature of the employment; and, therefore, the wages in such establishments being quite the same as they were many years ago, when the prices of provisions were a great deal higher than they now are, it follows, as a natural consequence, that the labourers must be much better off now in such employment than they were at any period I can name for many years back.’—(P. 37.) The evidence of other witnesses is to the same effect. But the least questionable proof of the unparalleled extension of the cotton trade, is to be found in the increased imports of the raw material. These, since 1820, have been as follow :—

Years.	Quantity of Cotton entered for Consumption.	Years.	Quantity of Cotton entered for Consumption.
	lbs.		lbs.
1820	152,829,633	1826	162,889,012
1821	137,401,549	1827	249,804,396
1822	143,428,127	1828	208,987,744
1823	186,311,070	1829	204,097,037
1824	141,038,743	1830	269,616,640
1825	202,546,869	1831	273,249,653

This is an increase unexampled in the history of any other manufacture. To suppose that the cotton trade should have increased so regularly and rapidly, had there been any real foundation for the statements so often put forth, and pertinaciously maintained, as to the distress and impoverishment of the manufacturers, is to suppose what is too contradictory and absurd to

deserve notice. It might, with equal show of reasoning, be contended, that the wonderful increase of population, and extension of agriculture in Kentucky, were occasioned by the growing poverty and misery of its inhabitants.

We subjoin, from 'Burns' Glance,' a tabular statement, annually published at Manchester, and admitted to be drawn up with great care and ability—an account of the cotton spun in Great Britain in 1832, and how it was disposed of. It is at once a highly curious and instructive document.—

STATEMENT of Cotton spun in England and Scotland in 1832, and the quantity of Yarn produced, separately showing the quantity spun in England, and how disposed of.

	Number of Bags con- sumed.	Average weight of Bags in lbs.	Total weight in lbs.	Weekly Con- sumption of Bags.
American Cotton, . . .	615,402	345	212,313,690	11,834+34
Brazil do.	135,298	180	24,353,640	2,601+46
Egyptian do.	45,864	220	10,090,080	882+ 0
West India do.	6,454	300	1,936,200	124+ 6
East India do.	55,416	330	18,287,280	1,065+36
Taken from Inland Stock,	33,160	310	10,279,600	637+36
Total number of Bags consumed,	891,594	lbs.	277,260,490	17,146+ 2
Allowed for loss in spinning $1\frac{3}{4}$ oz. per lb.			30,325,366	
Total quantity of Yarn spun in England and Scotland,				246,935,124
Deduct Yarn spun in Scotland,				24,338,217
Total quantity of Yarn spun in England,				222,596,907
HOW DISPOSED OF.			lbs.	
Exported in Yarn during the year,			71,662,850	
Thread,			1,041,273	
Manufactured Goods,			61,251,380	
Estimated quantity of Yarn sent to Scotland and Ireland,			5,700,000	
Exported in mixed Manufactures, not stated in the above-named articles, consumed in Cotton Banding, Healds, Candle and Lamp-Wick, Wadding, and loss in Manu- facturing Goods,			12,000,000	
Balance left for Home Consumption and Stock,			70,941,404	222,596,907

It may be right to observe, that the statements of Mr Finlay and others, as to the prosperous condition of the work-people engaged in the cotton trade, apply only to those employed in factories; that is, to the spinners, warpers, dressers, dyers, printers, power-loom weavers, &c.; but that they do not apply to those employed out of the factories, or to the hand-loom weavers. The latter, fortunately, is a comparatively small body. Their condition is, and has long been, one of great misery and destitution. We are satisfied, however, that a great deal of misconception exists with respect to it. We doubt much, notwithstanding the currency of the opposite opinion, whether the hand-loom weavers have been materially injured by the introduction of the power-looms. Had the weavers been in a prosperous state before they were exposed to this new competition, there would have been plausible grounds, at least, for concluding that it had been mainly instrumental in sinking them into their present hopeless situation. But, in point of fact, the condition of the weavers, when the power-looms were only beginning to be talked of, was very little, if any thing, better than at present. So far back as 1808, Mr William Radcliffe, one of the inventors of the dressing-machine, and intimately acquainted with the manufacture, was examined by the committee of the House of Commons appointed to enquire into the claims of the Rev. Dr Cartwright, the inventor of the power-loom, to a public reward, when he made the following statement:—‘ To that part of your question, whether I think the
 ‘ general adoption of the loom by power will operate to the pre-
 ‘ judice of the weavers in the old way? I answer, No. In the
 ‘ first place, their situation, for the last twelve or eighteen months,
 ‘ has been such, that it cannot be made worse; as during that time,
 ‘ generally speaking, they have neither been able to pay rents nor
 ‘ buy themselves clothes; *all their earnings have barely been suffi-*
 ‘ *cient to keep them alive*; and men who have families to support,
 ‘ are obliged to work from sixteen to eighteen hours in the day
 ‘ to do this.’ Nor was this distress temporary merely. From 1808, when this striking evidence was given, down to 1818, when there were not more than 2000 power-looms in Lancashire, the weavers were exposed to similar privations. Their wages have fluctuated since, according to the greater or less prosperity of the trade; but, a few short intervals excepted, they have always been so ruinously low, as to be altogether inadequate to support them in any thing approaching to comfort.

But it will probably be said, that how much soever the condition of the hand-loom weavers may have been depressed in 1808 or 1818, the subsequent extension of the manufacture would have ensured its being very materially improved, but for the in-

roduction of the power-loom. This, however, is a very questionable proposition. A very considerable part of the extraordinary progress of the manufacture of late years, is certainly ascribable to the employment of power-loom; but assuming that its progress would have been equally great, though Dr Cartwright's invention had never been heard of, the situation of the weavers would, we apprehend, have been very little different from what it now is. The truth is, that their low wages are not occasioned by the competition of the power-loom, but by *the easy nature of their employment*. The following remarks, proceeding as they do from one who has carefully considered this important question, seem to be quite decisive. 'The labour of the cotton loom requires little strength, and still less skill; it may be performed by a boy or girl of twelve years old, and may be quickly learned by men who have been brought up to any other employment. It is obvious, that that which is only a child's labour, can be remunerated only by a child's wages. In point of fact, women and children are continually put to the loom; weavers who have not an opportunity of sending their children to mills, teach them to weave as soon as they are able to throw the shuttle. Thus this department of labour is greatly overstocked, and the price necessarily falls. The evil is aggravated by the multitudes of Irish who have flocked into Lancashire, some of whom having been linen-weavers naturally resort to the loom, and others learn to weave as the easiest employment they can adopt. Accustomed to a wretched mode of living in their own country, they are contented with wages that would starve an English labourer. They have, in fact, so lowered the *rate* of wages, as to drive many of the English out of the employment, and to drag down those who remain in it to their own level. It is manifest that these are reasons amply sufficient to account for the long-continued and extreme depression of the hand-loom weavers; and as they are incapable of remedy so long as the employment itself exists, the introduction of the power-loom, which must put an end to it, is to be hailed as a national blessing.'*

A good deal of evidence was taken before the Committee as to the progress of the cotton manufacture in other countries; and an idea seems to be spreading abroad, that we shall have no little difficulty in maintaining our ground against the competition of the

* See the excellent history of the Cotton Manufacture, by Mr Baines, junior, of Leeds, in the History of Lancashire.—We hope that this valuable article may be detached from the voluminous work in which it has appeared, and published separately.

Americans, Swiss, Austrians, &c. We entertain no such apprehensions. Provided we have no agitation, that public tranquillity and security in fact and opinion be maintained unimpaired, we need be under no sort of uneasiness as to any competition to which we can be exposed. The American tariff forced cotton, woollen, iron, and other manufactures, into a premature existence in the republic; and we have little doubt that Mr Bates is right when he affirms, that except in the coarser fabrics, and those where it is necessary to use large quantities of the raw material, the late modifications of the tariff have given a death-blow to the American manufacturing system. But independent of this, there was nothing whatever to fear from this quarter. During the year ending 30th of September, 1829, the exports of all sorts of cotton goods from America, amounted to 1,259,457 dollars; while during the year ending 30th of September, 1832, they amounted to 1,229,574 dollars.* It is plain, therefore, notwithstanding the protection of the tariff, that the exports of manufactured cottons from America have not increased any thing during the last three years; and it is very unlikely that even the trifling quantity now exported will be maintained. The reason of their being able to export at all was, that they put a great deal of the very best cotton into their fabrics, which made them more durable and heavy than those manufactured here. But goods of this sort are only in very limited demand; and the Manchester manufacturers have already produced an article similar to and cheaper than the American 'domestics,' which will go far to expel them from the market. (*Min. of Evidence*, p. 57.)

Among the singular statements that have been put forth as to the cotton manufactures of America, one is, that the wages of labour are lower there than here. To dwell on the absurdity of such a statement would be an insult to our readers. If work people earn more in England than in America, how comes it that no fewer than 50,000 emigrants a-year leave the former for the latter? If there were any foundation for the statement referred to, this emigration would forthwith cease, and we should most likely be overrun with swarms of American emigrants. But though it were true that wages are as low in Massachusetts as in England, that would afford no real ground for anticipating any formidable competition from America in this department of industry. The price of cottons depends more on the profits of stock than on the wages of labour; and, so far as we know, it has not yet been alleged that they are lower in America than here. Suppose an English and

* Papers laid before Congress, 5th of February, 1830, and 15th of February, 1833.

an American manufacturer have each L.100,000 vested in cotton mills, and in the floating stock required to carry them on; if profits in England be 1 per cent less than in America, the English manufacturer can afford, *cæteris paribus*, to sell his goods for L.1000 less than the American. We are very far from insinuating or believing that this lowness of profits is an advantage; but whatever may be its influence in other respects, so long as it continues, it gives our manufacturers a decided superiority over those of every other country where profits are higher, in the manufacture and sale of all articles, such as cotton-yarn and stuffs, that are principally produced by machinery. It is ludicrous, indeed, to suppose that a half-peopled country like America, possessed of boundless tracts of unoccupied land of the highest degree of fertility, should be able successfully to contend in manufacturing industry, with an old-settled, fully peopled, and very rich country, like Great Britain. The government which encourages such a misdirection of the public capital and industry, and those who suppose it can end in any thing else than ruin to the parties, are ignorant of the merest elements of the science of wealth.

Little as we have to fear from American, we have still less to fear from Swiss or Austrian competition. America has some advantage over England in the greater cheapness of the raw material; but Switzerland and Austria, situated almost in the very centre of Europe, can only draw their supplies of raw cotton by a distant land-carriage by way of Marseilles, Genoa, and Trieste; or by a very lengthened navigation up the Rhine and the Elbe; and we have the best authority for affirming, that a bale of cotton may be conveyed at a less expense from Charleston to Manchester, than from Genoa or Trieste, Amsterdam or Hamburg, to Switzerland or Austria. Switzerland is altogether destitute of coal; all that she does is done by water power, and that is already pretty well exhausted. It is not, however, to be wondered at that the Swiss and Austrians should have succeeded in supplying their own markets, and some of those immediately contiguous, with certain species of yarn; but it seems to us quite visionary to suppose that they will ever do much more than this.

Mr W. Rathbone Gregg informed the Committee, that the French cotton manufacture had increased between 1812 and 1826, in the *ratio* of 310 per cent, while in England its increase was only 270 per cent.—(*Min. of Evidence.*) This statement is, we believe accurate as far as it goes; and yet it is eminently calculated, although, no doubt, without being so intended, to mislead. In 1812, and for some years previously, it was hardly possible to import cotton wool into France, and its price was quite excessive. When, therefore, the manufacturers got wool after the return of peace at an ordinary price, it was impossible, seeing that foreign

cottons are excluded from France, but that the manufacture should increase with extraordinary rapidity until the home demand was pretty well supplied. An increase of this sort is assuredly no proof of the capacity of France to prosecute the manufacture with advantage, or to export cottons without the aid of a bounty. Instead of stopping at 1826, why did not Mr Gregg come down to 1832? The situation of the manufacture seven years ago, is more a matter of curiosity than of utility. What it concerns us to know, is its situation during the last three or four years, and at the present moment. Mr Gregg says it is 'very profitable;' but this we take leave to doubt. At all events it is not increasing, as most profitable businesses are accustomed to do. In proof of this we beg to refer to the *Havre Price Current*, corrected and revised by a Board of Merchants, for 9th of May, 1833. It contains the following statement of the imports of cotton into France, the deliveries from the warehouses, and the stocks on hand in each year from 1826.

Years.	Imports.	Deliveries.	Stocks, 31st Dec.
	Bales.	Bales.	Bales.
In 1822	205,861	215,199	42,545
1823	169,845	172,312	40,078
1824	251,074	243,958	47,194
1825	204,572	216,460	35,306
1826	320,174	281,001	74,479
1827	290,617	279,693	85,403
1828	206,132	239,723	54,812
1829	242,230	264,750	29,292
1830	282,752	250,784	61,260
1831	218,393	243,843	35,810
1832	259,159	272,463	22,506

This certainly does not go far to corroborate the notion of the French cotton manufacture being peculiarly profitable. But however that may be, it is abundantly obvious that if it be not stationary, it is retrograde.

It is supposed by some, that the competition we have to fear from the Continent does not consist so much in the spinning as in the weaving of cottons; and that the probability is, that our exports of yarn will increase, and our exports of manufactured goods diminish. We do not, however, imagine there is much in this. Our power-looms are superior to those of any other country; and it is unhappily true, that the wages of weavers here are sunk below the general level of Europe. There is not, in fact, with the exception of the dyes, a single particular connected with the cotton manufacture, in which we have not a manifest

superiority over the Swiss, Austrians, French, Prussians, and every Continental nation. Certainly, however, we are inferior to some of them in the brilliancy and durability of their dyes; and this circumstance has occasioned a considerable demand for German and Swiss printed cottons in many parts of the East, where vivid colours are held in the highest estimation. But even there, the greater cheapness of our goods is proving an overmatch for the greater brilliancy of those of our rivals.

On the whole, therefore, we see no reason to think that the British cotton manufacture has reached, much less passed, its zenith. At the same time, however, it can hardly be necessary to observe, considering the vast importance of the trade, that while, on the one hand, nothing should be left undone that may serve to widen its foundations, and to promote its prosperity, on the other, nothing should be attempted that may, by possibility, have an opposite effect. The subsistence of 1,500,000 people is not to be endangered on slight grounds. The abuses even of such a business must be cautiously dealt with, lest, in eradicating them, we shake or disorder the whole fabric. We admit, however, that the case of children employed in the cotton factories is one of those that call fairly for legislative regulation. But it may be questioned, whether the plan for having relays of children is the best that might be devised. The general opinion seems to be, that it will, in most instances, be found impossible to carry it into effect. The whole subject, as to the limitation of hours, is confessedly one of great difficulty; and it would perhaps be better, before taking any very decisive steps in the matter, to try the effect of the system of inspection, and of the publication of the inspectors' reports as to the condition of the children employed.

II. By far the largest portion of the raw material of the Woolen manufacture being produced in the country, it is not possible to form any precise estimate of its progress at different periods. There can, however, be no manner of doubt, that it has advanced considerably. There has been a very decided increase in the growth of home wool within the present century, and the imports have also been largely augmented. The following is an account of the quantity of foreign wool imported for home consumption, during the twelve years ending with 1831;—

Years.	lbs.	Years.	lbs.
1820 .	7,691,773	1826 .	17,868,551
1821 .	15,898,353	1827 .	27,943,244
1822 .	16,256,924	1828 .	31,031,377
1823 .	18,787,329	1829 .	22,614,550
1824 .	23,995,458	1830 .	31,522,859
1825 .	41,101,636	1831 .	29,669,908

Those who were opposed to the repeal of the duty of 5d. per lb. on foreign wool imposed by Mr Vansittart in 1819, contended that it would deluge the country with foreign wool, and that the price of British wool would be so much reduced, as materially to check its production; at the same time that it would infallibly ruin the greater number of the wool growers. The advocates of the reduction contended, on the other hand, that unless the importation of foreign wool under a low duty were allowed, the manufacture of various descriptions of cloth in extensive demand, which were partly, though they could not be wholly, made of British wool, must be discontinued; and that in consequence of the loss of this important branch of the trade, and the difficulties under which every part of it was laid by the duty, the price of British wool would, in the end, be reduced much lower than it would be under a system of free trade, while the manufacture would be wellnigh destroyed. Government took this view of the matter, and we are glad to have to state that the result has fully justified the soundness of the principles on which they proceeded. The duties were reduced in December 1825; and in despite of all the confident assertions as to the ruin it would entail on the sheep farmers, *the prices of wool have gone on advancing from 1826 to the present time.* The rise was checked for a short while in 1828 by the proceedings of the Lords' Committee; but the moment it was known that the low duty was not to be disturbed, prices began instantly to advance. This is one of the most memorable and instructive instances to be found in the history of the country, of the triumph of liberal and enlarged over narrow and shortsighted views. Our readers cannot have forgotten the obloquy and abuse heaped on Mr Huskisson for the part he took in reducing the wool duties. But he knew well, that whatever inconvenience the measure might occasion at the outset would soon be got over; and that it was contradictory and absurd to suppose that the real and lasting interests of the wool growers could be promoted by maintaining a system that went to ruin the manufacturers. There is now but one subject of regret connected with this measure—that Mr Huskisson did not live to witness the complete success of his plans. We trust that this striking example of judicious legislation will not be permitted to remain without any attempt at imitation. Let the same thing be done by corn which Mr Huskisson did by wool, and we venture to predict that the results will be precisely similar.

The evidence before the Committee as to the present state of the manufacture is most satisfactory. Mr Henry Hughes, an extensive wool broker, says, ' I consider that the woollen manufacturers of this country were never better employed than at the present moment; *there is more manufactured at present than there has*

‘ been in any year within the memory of the oldest man living. The
 ‘ manufacture has so much increased, that no man, a few years
 ‘ back, would have supposed that Yorkshire would have been in
 ‘ the state in which it is at present: I am just returned from
 ‘ Yorkshire, and I never knew the trade in it so prosperous as at
 ‘ present, and particularly the stuff business.’—(*Min. of Evidence*,
 p. 68.) Being asked whether, in his recent journey to York-
 shire, he had remarked any appearance of mills being built, he
 replied, ‘ Immense, enough to astonish any body!’ It is grati-
 fying also to observe, that the state of the manufacture in the
 west of England has been materially improved within these few
 years, and that it is now recovering some branches which it was
 supposed were wholly transferred to the North. As to the im-
 provement in the quality of the cloth, Mr Hughes speaks very
 decidedly. On being asked in what respects it was improved,
 he answered, ‘ In every respect, as regards the manufacture of
 ‘ the cloth,— the dyeing, spinning, finishing, and weaving. I
 ‘ recollect a few years ago there was nothing like French cloth to
 ‘ be had in this country; but latterly, there is no better cloth
 ‘ made in any part of the world than in England. The British
 ‘ is quite equal in fineness and quality to the French, and it is
 ‘ somewhat cheaper.’—(*Min. of Evidence*, p. 70.) And in corro-
 boration of Mr Hughes’s statement, we may refer to Mr Bates’s
 evidence, who informed the Committee, that within the last
 week two French gentlemen had come to England with very
 considerable orders for British cloths; they were purchasing for a
 foreign market, and ‘ they remarked that a much handsomer
 ‘ cloth was made in England than they could make on the Conti-
 ‘ nent of the same materials, and therefore they came here to
 ‘ purchase.’ Mr Bates adds, that he had never seen any thing of
 the sort happen before.—(*Min. of Evidence*, p. 48.)

The evidence of Mr John Brooke, a woollen manufacturer near
 Huddersfield, employing 1000 work-people, is exactly similar to
 that of Mr Hughes. He states that the manufacture has ‘ deci-
 ‘ dedly increased’ of late years; that fewer bad debts are made
 now than formerly; that the wages of the work-people employed
 in the factories are as great as they were during the war, and
 that they are decidedly better off at present than they were then.
 —(Pp. 121-124.)

III. The Iron manufacture is rapidly recovering from its late
 depression. The price of bar iron, which had been as high as
 L.7, 15s. or L.8 per ton, during the depression of 1823, sunk in
 1832 to no more than L.4, 15s. a-ton. This heavy fall was
 productive of great temporary distress. It was, however, obvious
 to every one conversant with such matters, that the depression

could not continue; and, in point of fact, prices have already risen to L.7, 10s. a-ton. The reduction was entirely a consequence of previous over-production. The whole produce of the various furnaces of the United Kingdom in 1823 was estimated at about 470,000 tons; but in consequence of the excitement of 1825, the produce was so much increased, that it amounted in 1828 to above 700,000 tons; even in 1830 it amounted to 680,000 tons. Such an extraordinary increase, being much beyond what was required for the increasing consumption of the country, and for the supply of the foreign markets accessible to British iron, necessarily led to the fall of price already stated. In consequence, a good many furnaces were put out of blast; and the supply of iron having approached more closely to the demand, its price has risen to its proper level, or near it. Alterations of this sort are inherent in the very nature of manufacturing industry. They are as inseparable from it as bad seasons are from agriculture; and we might as well object to the latter, that it is exposed to the vicissitudes of drought and rain, as that the former is liable to suffer from the miscalculations of the producers, or from sudden changes of demand.

The evidence of Mr Samuel Jackson of Sheffield, is one of the most curious and instructive taken by the Committee. It appears from his statements that the average rate of wages in Sheffield varies from 2s. 6d. to 5s. a-day. A combination exists in almost every trade; and rather than submit to a reduction of wages, workmen that are employed subscribe largely for the support of such of their fellow-labourers as are unable to obtain work at full wages. The work in some departments is very severe, and in others it requires a peculiar sleight of hand, and great skill and dexterity. Mr Jackson says that one workman, in his employment, and his two sons, earn L.7 a-week. But it unfortunately happens that the workmen who receive the largest wages are not always best off. Those whose employment is constant, and wages moderate, that is from 24s. to 30s. a-week, are usually most comfortable. At present, there are very few persons in Sheffield receiving parochial relief; and though the population of the parish exceeds 90,000 souls, the rates are under L.20,000.

The accounts in the evidence as to Birmingham are conflicting. On the whole, however, we consider its state as decidedly satisfactory. It is not easy to suppose that a town should have increased as Birmingham has done of late years, in the number of its houses and inhabitants, had the distress been so great as has been represented. At all events it must largely participate in the general improvement of the iron trade; so that its situa-

tion at this moment cannot fail to be materially better than it was a few months ago.

IV. The Silk trade, which, as well as the interests of the wool growers, was said to be sacrificed to 'newfangled theories,' is steadily increasing; and we are quite sure we are within the mark when we affirm that it has made more progress since 1826 than it did in the whole previous century. The following is an account of the quantities of raw and thrown silk imported since 1820:—

Years.	lbs.	Years.	lbs.
1820 .	2,641,866	1826 .	2,665,225
1821 .	2,542,195	1827 .	3,610,727
1822 .	2,680,568	1828 .	4,765,241
1823 .	2,880,634	1829 .	3,805,933
1824 .	3,477,648	1830 .	4,318,181
1825 .	3,894,770	1831 .	4,621,874

This table shows conclusively, that the manufacture has increased nearly 50 per cent since the adoption of those sound and liberal measures that have been the theme of so much ignorant invective. It is of importance too to observe, that not only our imports of raw silk, but that our exports of manufactured silk goods are rapidly increasing. The following table shows this:

Declared value of all sorts of British manufactured silk goods exported each year since 1820:—

Years.	Declared Value.	Years.	Declared Value.
1820 .	L.371,775	1826 .	L.168,801
1821 .	374,473	1827 .	236,344
1822 .	381,703	1828 .	250,870
1823 .	351,409	1829 .	267,931
1824 .	442,596	1830 .	521,010
1825 .	296,736	1831 .	578,874

It is plain, therefore, that the manufacture is not increasing merely because of an increased demand for the home market, but that we are rapidly gaining on our rivals in the markets of foreign countries. This affords unquestionable evidence of the improvement as well as the extension of the manufacture.

The distress that has prevailed in some of the silk manufacturing districts during the last half dozen years, has not been occasioned by foreign competition, but by the competition of other and more favourably situated districts at home. The silk manufacture of Manchester, now of great extent, and which has entirely grown up within the last ten years, has risen on the ruins of that of Spittalfields, Norwich, &c. Even Macclesfield, where the ma-

nufacture was recently in a flourishing condition, is suffering severely from the same cause. Owing to the system of combination and intimidation prevalent among the workmen in that town, the manufacture is gradually leaving it for Manchester; and the workmen, who will neither themselves accept moderate wages, nor allow others to accept them, will shortly find that their services are no longer required; and that they have no alternative but to work at very reduced wages, or to go to the work-house. Combinations, more than any thing else, have been instrumental in driving the trade from Norwich.

V. The attention of the Committee was particularly directed to the state of the Shipping interest, which, we regret to say, is a good deal depressed. There is not, however, so much as the shadow of a ground for the statements of those who contend that it has been depressed in consequence of the relaxation of our old navigation law. But for this relaxation, the difficulties under which it labours would have been materially aggravated, at the same time that our manufactures would have been excluded from several important markets that are now open to them. The relaxation, however, was not made through choice, but necessity. The Americans forced it upon Mr Vansittart before the Prussians forced it upon Mr Huskisson. It seems to be altogether forgotten by the clamourers against the reciprocity treaties, that besides heavier harbour duties, a retaliatory duty of 4s. 6d. a-ton was formerly laid on English ships in the Prussian ports, and on the vessels of all countries that imposed discriminating duties on Prussian ships or their cargoes. Have the ship-owners forgotten their depositions and memorials to Mr Huskisson on the ruinous effects of this duty on our shipping and trade? But it rested on precisely the same principles as our navigation law; and it is certain that had we not made concessions, and come to an arrangement on fair terms, the discriminating duty on our shipping would have been increased and extended to our goods. Nothing, indeed, can be more unreasonable, unfounded, and hostile to the public interests, than the everlasting complaints of the ship-owners, and their partisans in Parliament, about the reciprocity treaties. Do they imagine that foreigners are so blind as to consent to sacrifice their shipping and commerce to our selfishness? If they cannot withstand competition on fair terms, they will never, they may depend upon it, withstand it by the aid of bounties and prohibitions. These are weapons which the foreigners are quite as able and willing to make use of as we can be. The moment we begin to deal unfairly by the foreign shipping frequenting our ports, that moment will the countries to which such shipping be-

longs, retaliate both on our ships and goods. And is it to be imagined that the manufacturers will submit to such proceedings? Are they to suffer themselves to be excluded from the markets of Germany, Scandinavia, and the United States, for no better reason than that foreign ships, as well as British, may not be employed in the carriage of their goods? This would not be killing the goose for the sake of the golden eggs, but for the sake of the offal she had picked up. And yet Government and Parliament are daily plied with such proposals!

Perhaps, however, a consummation of this sort may come sooner than is expected, or probably wished for, even by the ship-owners. The reciprocity treaty with Prussia expires in 1834, and it is by no means certain that *she* will renew it. Her manufacturers are adverse to it, and the treaty is not much more popular among her ship-owners than amongst our own. This, however, is no trifling affair. Prussia, in a commercial point of view, is now nearly omnipotent in Germany; and has succeeded in getting almost all the states of that country, with the exception of Austria, to adopt her tariff. Her commercial hostility is therefore a very serious matter. It is, indeed, true, that, by adopting vindictive measures against our trade, she would injure her own interests far more than ours. But nations are too seldom influenced by such considerations. They are quite as apt as individuals to act from pique and prejudice; and it is not to be denied that we have given Prussia much provocation. Our corn laws, and our timber duties, are not much less injurious to her than to ourselves; and while they are suffered to pollute our statute-book, very little attention will be paid by foreigners to our professions of liberality, and but little disinclination evinced to lay restrictions on our trade. It is, therefore, wholly out of the question to attempt bolstering up our ship-owners by engaging with foreigners in a miserable war of Custom-house regulations. This is a contest in which we should be sure to be defeated. But success would not really avail the ship-owner. Unless he were the victim of the grossest prejudices, he would see that reciprocity treaties have had very little, if any thing, to do with his distress. It is said that the value of ships has declined a half, and that an individual who, a few years ago, vested L.100,000 in shipping, is not at present worth L.50,000. But while we regret the fact, in as far as the individual is concerned, we rejoice at it on account of the public. It would seem to be forgotten that ships are constructed of timber, iron, and hemp; and as the value of these articles has luckily fallen a half or more since the peace, so must the value of whatever is made out of them. The price of a ship in 1833 is determined, not by what it cost to build and fit her out in

1815, but by the rate at which an equally good ship may be built and fitted out at this moment. And it will require more logic and more eloquence than the ship-owners seem to be possessed of, to convince any one that the public can be otherwise than benefited by the fall that has taken place in the cost of timber, iron, and naval stores generally.

Neither should it be forgotten that the depression in the rate of freight has been occasioned far more by the competition of the ship-owners against each other, than by the competition of foreigners. One would be apt to think, judging from the statements so frequently put forth, that the shipping business in this country was quite ruined; but those who look into the following official statement will be apt to arrive at a very different conclusion.

An ACCOUNT of the Number of Vessels, with the Amount of their Tonnage, that were Built and Registered in the several Ports of Great Britain and the Colonies, in the years ending 5th January, 1831, 1832, and 1833, respectively.

	Year ending 5th January, 1831.		Year ending 5th January, 1832.		Year ending 5th January, 1833.	
	Vessels.	Tonnage.	Vessels.	Tonnage.	Vessels.	Tonnage.
England, . . .	529	60,279	555	67,973	550	71,036
Scotland, . . .	156	12,692	148	13,454	156	17,055
Isle of Guernsey,	3	439			3	451
Isle of Jersey, .	7	896	4	623	9	1465
Isle of Man, . .	10	544	14	1232	14	819
British Planta- tions,	367	32,719	376	34,290	221	25,470
Total,	1072	107,569	1097	117,572	953	116,296

Is it to be supposed, were the shipping business so very bad as has been represented, that such large investments of capital would continue to be made in it? That a depression does exist, we admit and regret; but it has been extremely exaggerated, and ascribed to causes that have nothing to do with it. Mr Hedley, an extensive ship-owner and ship-broker, distinctly stated before the Committee, that the shipping business was not more depressed now than it had frequently been before; that '*as soon as one ship is lost, another of more value is bought or built by the owner;*' and that the business affords the usual rate of profit to those who employ the proper sort of ships, and manage them with due care and attention.—(*Min. of Evidence*, p. 527.)

Loud complaints are made of the extraordinary cost of British ships. These, perhaps, are not nearly so well founded as many suppose; but it is notwithstanding exceedingly desirable that no room or ground should be left for making them. We, therefore, think that it would be good policy to allow ships to be built in Bond. Instead of being dearer than others, English ships would then be the cheapest in the world; and would have nothing to fear from competition in any quarter. That there would be difficulties in the way of carrying a measure of this sort into effect is true; but they are difficulties of detail only, and might, with a little firmness, be easily overcome.

On the whole, therefore, as it appears to us, there cannot be a doubt that, generally speaking, all the great branches of mercantile and manufacturing industry are in no ordinary degree prosperous. It would be visionary to expect, in so complicated a system as ours, that any period will ever occur in which there is no distress in some department or other. Changes in the channels of trade, fluctuations of fancy and taste, new inventions and improvements, the miscalculation of producers, injudicious speculations—in short, an endless variety of circumstances, are always operating to the prejudice of a greater or smaller number of individuals. But looking at its general state, industry has been, since the agitation caused by the passing of the Reform Bill subsided, in a peculiarly sound and healthy state; and provided the public tranquillity be maintained, the corn laws modified, and the provincial currency placed on a sound basis, we may confidently look forward to a lengthened period of increasing prosperity.

The generally improved state of the retail dealers throughout the country, is one of the least equivocal symptoms of melioration; and we are glad to have to state that the evidence of this improvement is ample and decisive. Mr James, of the firm of Moore, James, and Co., (who, from his house being extensive wholesale linen and woollen drapers, silk mercers, &c., has every facility for acquiring accurate information as to the state of the retailers,) being asked by the Committee, what was their present condition, replied, ‘I should say, that the retail dealers of this country are in a situation to pay closer than I ever knew them; they have been gradually improving their method of managing their business, and are now enabled to pay for their goods in about half the time that they used to pay some twenty years ago, when I was first a partner in the house in which I am now.’—(*Min. of Evidence*, p. 87.)

The evidence of Mr Cook, one of the most extensively em-

ployed and intelligent brokers of Mincing Lane, is exactly similar. Mr Cook being requested to give his opinion as to the state of trade at present as compared with former periods, observed, ‘I never recollect a period when there was *so little mercantile and trading pressure as at the present time, and for the last six or seven months.* Since the 1st of May I have given credit to the extent of L.250,000 for sugar placed in my hands, sold and delivered to different consumers in the country. The amounts to each party have varied from as low as L.40, to as high as L.10,000, depending upon the credit of the individual; and it is a singular fact, that not a bad debt of any amount has been incurred; the warrants have also been regularly taken away at the prompt. From my knowledge of the sugar trade, I believe the grocers are a thriving body of traders.’—(*Min. of Evidence*, p. 103.)

Mr Lewis Loyd, who, from his being at the head of one of the very first banking houses of the metropolis and Manchester, has every facility for forming a just estimate of the general commercial state of the country, is not less decided as to its improvement. He speaks strongly of the improved habits, and the greater economy and industry of the manufacturing and commercial classes. And he affirms distinctly that the bills, of which there are always an immense number afloat, circulating in Lancashire and payable in London, ‘*are now paid more regularly than he ever knew them.*’—(*Min. of Evidence*, p. 24.) Evidence of this sort is not susceptible of corroboration; and we leave it to the reader to contrast it with the harangues of Messrs Attwood, Cobbett, and Co., and to draw his own conclusions as to their trustworthiness.

But though there can be no question that the condition of the industrious classes in general, and particularly of the great mass of the labouring population, is now decidedly better than it has been for a lengthened series of years, still we are very far from regarding the existing state of things as in all respects such as is desirable. We cannot shut our eyes to the mischievous influence of the *low rate of profit.* This, indeed, is not an evil calculated to attract much immediate attention. But its operation, though slow, is sure; and unless counteracted, it cannot fail in the end to sap the foundations of our national power and prosperity. With the exception of Holland, profits are lower in England than in any other country; and so long as this continues, we shall be exposed to a perpetual drain of capital. Had the continent been less disturbed than it has been since the peace, a much larger amount of English wealth would have found its way abroad. We might, in fact, as well expect that a snow-ball might be thrown into a furnace without being melted, as that

capital should not flow out of a country where profits are sunk below the general level. Temporary or accidental circumstances may hinder such transference for a while ; but it is not in the nature of things that they can be permanent. The only effectual means of arresting the efflux of capital, and, by consequence, the progress of decay, is to take measures for relieving the pressure on the national resources, and increasing the rate of profit ; or, which is the same thing, for rendering industry more productive. It is not possible to say beforehand, how much a reasonable modification of the corn laws, the equalization of the timber duties, and the abolition of the oppressive discriminating duties on foreign colonial produce, might raise the rate of profit ; but that they would do so, to a considerable extent, does not admit of any doubt whatever. Such measures are besides highly expedient on other grounds. The corn laws, in their present state, inflict the most serious injury on the commerce and manufactures of the country, without conferring any real benefit on the agriculturists. They render the importation of corn uncertain, and a matter, indeed, of hazardous and extraordinary speculation ; instead of that secure and regular trade which it would be, under a system of moderate fixed duties on importation, with a corresponding drawback on exportation. At present, the principal equivalent that most foreign nations have to exchange for our manufactured goods, is, at one time, capriciously excluded from our markets, while, at another time, it is forced upon them in excessive quantities. The risk proverbially inherent in the corn trade is thus artificially aggravated,—sometimes to an enormous extent. In addition to the variations of price arising from natural causes, the merchant has to contend with the still greater and more capricious fluctuations of the duty. So much is this the case, that supposing a merchant, when prices are between 69s. and 70s. a-quarter, orders a quantity of foreign wheat, and that previously to its importation prices decline 3s. a-quarter, he will, besides the loss occasioned by the fall of price, incur a further loss of *more than twice its amount*, or of 7s. a-quarter, by the variation of the duty ! We do not pretend to any very particular acquaintance with the legislation of Dahomey or Morocco, but we are bold to say, that neither the one nor the other can boast a regulation more anti-commercial in principle and mischievous in practice. It may be worth while to remark, that it is in no ordinary degree injurious to the ship-owners. The moment it is seen or believed, that grain will be admitted under a moderate duty, orders are sent to the places of export to ship forthwith, in any vessels they may be able to take up on the instant. Were the merchant to wait till he could send out British ships, the opportunity for importing might be wholly lost ;

and they, consequently, are never employed on such occasions, unless when they happen to be at the time in the shipping ports. This has done ten times more to procure employment for Prussian shipping, than all the reciprocity treaties of which we have heard so much.

The principal part of that gambling spirit which still infects some departments of our trade, is fostered and kept alive by the corn laws. The object of all commercial legislation ought to be, to increase and equalize the supply, and at the same time to lower the price of all sorts of desirable articles. Whatever law or regulation has a contrary effect, counteracts all those principles that bind society together, and is a nuisance that ought to be immediately abated. Now, our corn laws are precisely of this sort. They operate, at one and the same time, by narrowing the supply of corn, to keep up its price at an artificial elevation, while, by bringing a new element of fluctuation into the field, they treble the risk of loss to the merchant, and augment the chances of famine to the consumer.

It is absurd to pretend that the agriculturists can be benefited by such a system. Their interests are not in opposition to, but in perfect harmony with, those of the rest of the community. What, may we ask, is the real and effectual encouragement of agriculture? The obvious answer is, the number and wealth of the manufacturing and commercial classes. By adding to, or diminishing these, you at the same time, and to the same extent, add to or diminish the prosperity of the agriculturists. Nothing, therefore, can be more contradictory and unfounded than to suppose, that the agriculturists derive any real or lasting advantage by upholding a system injurious to the consumers of their produce. We shall take an early opportunity of showing, that there are no grounds whatever for supposing that the regular admission of foreign corn, under a moderate fixed duty, would occasion any very considerable reduction of its average price. The principal advantage of such a duty would be, the introduction of comparative security into the corn trade; the enabling our merchants and manufacturers to import at all times, and not as at present by fits and starts, one of the principal foreign equivalents for our exports; and the conciliating the good-will of foreign nations by giving to the leading classes among them a direct interest in maintaining an uninterrupted friendly intercourse with this country. The fall of price would be, in so far, advantageous to the community; and it would, even at the very outset, be more than made up to the landlords by putting an end to fluctuations inherent in the prohibitive system; and which, as they are destructive of all good management, are quite as injurious to them as to the rest of society.

The sugar, and foreign timber, annually consumed in Great Britain, may be moderately estimated as costing the public from L.13,000,000 to L.14,000,000 a-year. It is plain, therefore, that whatever tends artificially to enhance their price, must have a most injurious effect on the public interests; and cannot fail materially to cripple the commercial enterprise of the country.

Besides the low rate of profit, there is much in the present state of the country currency to excite uneasiness. This, no doubt, is a matter that may be much easier set to rights, and the sooner it is attended to the better. Since the evidence before the Committee was taken, there has been a sudden and general rise of prices, and various speculations have been entered upon that can hardly fail, if not speedily checked, to occasion mischief. Various circumstances have conspired to produce this excitement. The stocks on hand of most articles at the beginning of the year were unusually low; and in consequence of the improving state of the country, there was a naturally increasing demand, and a gradual rise of prices. The rapid rise in the price of cotton was principally, at least in the first instance, caused by a belief that the demand was outrunning the supply. How far this notion may be well founded we cannot undertake to say; but those who expect to profit by making speculative purchases of cotton at a high price, would do well to recollect that an increased price brings at once additional supplies into the market, and lessens the demand for them; being, in this way, almost sure to defeat itself. The speculations in sugar are of the most uncertain kind; inasmuch as their success or failure depends principally on the practical working of the new measures in the colonies. We are satisfied, however, that neither these, nor most of the many other speculations now afloat, would have proceeded the length they have done, but for the agency of the country banks. The issues of the Bank of England have recently been about stationary, or rather diminished; not by any proceedings on the part of the directors, but by an incipient demand on the part of the public for gold, indicating a redundancy of the currency—a redundancy, be it observed, that has been occasioned wholly by the proceedings of the country banks, whose issues do not, like those of the Bank of England, depend on the exchange, that is, on the demand for bullion, but on the state of prices at the time.

Bad as the system of country banking has hitherto been in England, it is not, in as far as we can learn, destined to be much improved by means of the recently established joint-stock banking companies. Though some of these may be highly respectable, and founded on sound principles, there is much that is objectionable about the greater number. They have the outward form and bearing of our Scotch Banks, but the substance seems

in many instances to be wanting. Some of them appear to rely more on the facilities for raising money in London, than on the extent of the means at their own disposal. This, however, is a very hazardous resource; and should only be resorted to on rare occasions. They might, indeed, easily dispense with it, if dependence could be placed on the statements they put forth as to the magnitude of their capitals; but these almost uniformly refer to the amount of their nominal or subscribed, and not of their *real* or *paid up* capital. The latter, however, is the only criterion by which the public can attempt to form any estimate of the responsibility of companies with whose partners they are unacquainted. A bank may say it has a subscribed capital of one or two millions; but if only five or ten per cent of this sum has actually been paid into its coffers, what security have the public that its partners would be able, should it get into difficulties, to make good their subscriptions? Such a state of things, by generating insecurity and suspicion, and affording opportunities for fraud, is hostile alike to the interests of the public and of all banking companies possessed of adequate capital, and conducting their business on sound principles. It would be as much for the advantage of the latter as of the former, that all banks, whether they issue or do not issue notes, should be obliged annually to disclose the real amount of their capitals, and *the names and addresses of their partners*. A regulation of this sort would be quite unobjectionable. It would not interfere with the formation or conduct of any association; it merely says, that those who claim the confidence of the public, shall declare who they are, and how much capital they have embarked in their business. None but those who were meditating fraud could object to an obligation of this sort. Honesty and publicity are never at variance.

The adoption of such a rule would be quite enough to place banks for conducting ordinary banking business on a solid footing; but it would not be enough in the case of banks of issue. They supply a part of the *currency of the country*; and it is the duty of government to take effectual measures to guarantee its integrity. The truth is, that unless it interfere speedily and effectually, 1825 will not be the last memorable year in the history of bubbles and banks. We have hanged some hundreds of wretches for issuing spurious shillings and sixpences, while, with an Irish sort of consistency, we authorize every one who chooses to dub himself banker, to issue as many worthless L.5 notes as he pleases! Neither is it any exaggeration to say, that the country has sustained ten thousand times more injury from the fraudulent proceedings of the latter class of persons than of the former. There is, as we have formerly shown, but one way of putting an end to

this enormous injustice, and of protecting the public from a recurrence of the bankruptcies that overspread the country in 1792, in 1814, 1815, and 1816, and again in 1825; and that is, by compelling all issuers of notes, whether individuals or companies, to give full security for their payment. Nothing short of this will do; but were this obligation imposed on banks of issue, and the others made to disclose their capital and partners, our monetary system would acquire all the perfection of which it is susceptible. It would still, no doubt, be liable to the inconveniences resulting from *conflicting issues*. But even these would be materially diminished; and it would possess a degree of solidity to which at present it has no claim.

We object altogether to the proposal that has been made, for limiting the responsibility of the partners in joint-stock banks. Such a measure would serve as a powerful incentive to and premium on fraud, whilst it has not a single countervailing advantage. If it were adopted, what would there be to hinder the partners in a bank from dividing large sums as profits, when, perhaps, they were incurring a loss, until both their capital and deposits had been wholly swallowed up? It would be to no purpose to attempt to punish such persons as fraudulent bankers; for the only evidence of fraud must be derived from their books; and, supposing they intended to defraud, they might easily construct their books so that they should afford no information, or none that was not false and misleading. The measure is besides wholly uncalled for. The number of joint-stock banks already formed, shows that there is no indisposition on the part of the public to embark in such concerns, even with their present serious liabilities. Why then diminish the latter? Assuredly they are small enough for the protection of the public.

Before concluding, we may mention that the Evidence taken by the Committee is not prefaced by any Report. This is not in itself a matter of any importance, but the circumstances in which it originated seem, notwithstanding, to merit some notice. The Chairman of the Committee drew up a series of comprehensive resolutions, in exact conformity with the Evidence; but they were rejected by the Committee, not because they were inaccurate, but because they were opposed to the preconceived opinions of some of the members, and because others shrunk from the avowal of statements which they admitted to be true. This sort of conduct cannot be too severely reprehended. It is the duty of members to investigate the alleged distresses of their constituents; but it is no less their duty, when such distress has been proved either not to exist at all, or to be much exaggerated, to come forward and say so in plain terms.

ART. IV.—*The Life of William Roscoe.* By his Son, HENRY ROSCOE. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1833.

THERE is a point of view in which the biographies of private persons, and particularly of men of letters, have not been sufficiently contemplated, nor their value duly acknowledged. Such works, when written considerably in detail, and presenting, through the medium of extracts from correspondence, a record of opinions as well as of events, may be regarded as running commentaries on the history and spirit of an age, more interesting, and more instructive in some respects, than any others. Whilst an important addition is made to our means of estimating the character and principles of an individual, by learning to what kind of public measures he gave his commendation or reprehension, his opposition or support; we often gain, conversely, more insight into the real nature of a public measure, or, at least, the contemporary understanding as to its objects and tendencies, from the sentiments of that individual, as thrown out in conversation or in familiar letters, than is to be obtained by the most assiduous study of official documents, Parliamentary speeches, or political pamphlets. Opinions, too, on subjects of taste and literature, and incidental notices of manners and modes of life, which show the man in connexion with his age, have all, from that connexion, a value which augments with the lapse of time, and which an enlightened posterity will not fail duly to appreciate.

The biography of Mr Roscoe is peculiarly rich, from various causes, in these adventitious sources of interest, as well as in intrinsic value. The protracted duration of his life, extending through the space of nearly eighty years,—the energy, activity, and philanthropy of his character, which led him to regard none of the great concerns of mankind as foreign to himself,—the variety of his own pursuits, and his distinguished success in many of them—and finally, the circumstance of his being almost entirely self-taught, and indebted to his own efforts for his rise from a very humble station to great local influence and high social and literary distinction, all conspire to render his career eminently the object of rational curiosity. Mr Henry Roscoe has likewise performed his task with great modesty, taste, and judgment, and with the frankness and evident good faith of one conscious of having nothing to disguise or conceal on behalf of the excellent man and parent whom he commemorates.

Mr Roscoe was born at Liverpool in 1753. To Sir Isaac

Heard, who, on forming an acquaintance with the author of Lorenzo de' Medici, had expressed a wish to trace and record his pedigree, he thus replied:—‘ From all that I can learn, it appears, that whilst other families have rolled on for centuries in distinct and appropriate channels, mine has always been mingled in the common mass, and has composed a part of the immense tide that daily falls into the ocean of oblivion. The *Origines Guelficæ* occupy five folio volumes, whilst the *Origines* in question will find ample space in five lines.’ At the period of his birth, his father was the master of a public-house, with gardens and a well-frequented bowling-green; but this situation, however unfavourable in appearance, was not destitute to him of some advantages, with respect both to moral and intellectual culture, which his happy dispositions enabled him to turn to the best account. At the age of six he was placed at a school where the master frequently admitted him to the use of his little book-case, filled with the best authors of the time. ‘ To his care,’ says his pupil, in an interesting sketch of his early days, inserted in the present work, ‘ and the instructions of a kind and affectionate mother, I believe I may safely attribute any good principles which may have appeared in my conduct during my future life. It is to her I owe the inculcation of those sentiments of humanity which became a principle in my mind. Nor did she neglect to supply me with such books as she thought would contribute to my literary improvement.’

He was removed in due time to a higher school, which he quitted at twelve years old, having, by the confession of the master, learned all that he could teach him, that is, the common branches of a purely English education. Instruction of a higher kind came neither within the plan, nor probably within the means of his parents; and from this time all his acquirements were to be the fruit of his own voluntary and strenuous exertions. ‘ Having quitted school,’ he says, ‘ and committed my English grammar to the flames, I now began to assist my father in his agricultural concerns, particularly in his business of cultivating potatoes for sale, of which he every year grew several acres, and which he sold, when produced early in the season, at very advanced prices. His mode of cultivation was entirely by the spade; and, when raised early, they were considered in that part of Lancashire as a favourite esculent. When they had attained their proper growth, we were accustomed to carry them to the market on our heads, in large baskets, for sale, where I was generally intrusted with the disposal of them, and soon became a very useful assistant to my father. In this, and other laborious occupations, particularly in the care of a garden, in which I

‘ took great pleasure, I passed several years of my life, devoting my hours of relaxation to reading my books. This mode of life gave health and vigour to my body, and amusement and instruction to my mind; and to this day I well remember the delicious sleep which succeeded my labours, from which I was again called at an early hour. If I were asked whom I consider to be happiest of the human race, I should answer, those who cultivate the earth by their own hands.

‘ Being now in my fifteenth year, I was called upon to make choice of a profession, when my attachment to reading induced me to prefer that of a bookseller. I was accordingly placed with Mr Gore, a respectable tradesman in Liverpool; but after remaining there for a month, and not finding the attendance on a shop reconcilable to my disposition, I quitted him, and returned to my labours. In the following year, (1769,) I was articled, for six years, to Mr John Eyes, jun., a young attorney and solicitor in Liverpool; and thus entered upon an anxious and troublesome profession.’

His leisure hours, however, were still, as in the unshackled freedom of his boyhood, devoted to literature, and particularly to English poetry; for it was one of those periods of political calm when elegant literature, and especially verse, was enabled to take its station highest amongst the objects of public attention and individual ambition. In the present day, a youth in humble life, gifted with his abilities and energies, would naturally become the orator of a political union, and oblige the world with his sentiments on tithes, poor’s laws, and an ‘ equitable adjustment;’ in those, he as naturally became an admirer and imitator of Shenstone and of Goldsmith. Mr Roscoe’s attachment to these favourites and models of his youth was deep and lasting. To the end of his career, he continued to prefer their mild and polished strains, both to the simplicity and the intensity of later schools of poetry. Whatever may be thought of the correctness of his judgment in this respect, it can scarcely be doubted that it was to this predilection for the elegant and refined in composition, which accorded well with the spirit of humanity breathed into him by his mother, that he owed the remarkable amenity and dignity of manners by which he was early distinguished, and which, as we have been informed, often gained for him in society the appellation of ‘ Nature’s Nobleman.’

With less rectitude of mind and manliness of character, such tastes might have diverted him from the sober aims of life, and rendered him an idler and a dreamer; but these qualities, joined to the consideration that his exertions formed the sole

reliance of a father and a sister, were sufficient to preserve him from undue indulgence in any pursuits not likely to lead to an honourable independence; and his professional diligence and acquirements were such as to give full satisfaction to his employer.

A friendship which he formed with an accomplished young man, of the name of Holden, then an assistant in a school, was the means of stimulating him to the acquisition of foreign languages. His friend gave him instructions in French; and, in concert with other congenial associates, he always devoted some hours, before the business of the day commenced, to the study of Latin; to which, at a much later period, he added a slight acquaintance with Greek. It was by Holden also, that, a few years subsequently, his attention was drawn to the literature of modern Italy. From passages of the celebrated poets of that country, recited by his friend, he imbibed a taste for the language, became a proficient in it by degrees, and, it is remarkable, very early conceived such an idea of the extraordinary talents and merits of Lorenzo de' Medici, as to form the project of becoming at some future time his biographer. Mr Roscoe formed a striking exception to that indifference for the works of art which artists have laid to the charge of the poets, with whom indeed, in youth especially, the charms of external nature, and the emotions of the heart, are usually all-engrossing interests. In him a fondness for the imitative arts seems to have been almost instinctive; his Italian studies nourished doubtless the predilection; and the first of his published poems, an 'Ode on the Formation of a Society in Liverpool for the Encouragement of Painting and Design,' composed in his twentieth year, gave an earnest of that enlightened curiosity respecting those objects which was to contribute to the illustration of his chosen theme. Four years later, in a poem of very considerable merit, entitled 'Mount Pleasant,' he sang the praises of his native town, now fast rising in opulence and commercial importance; and at the same time made a commencement of those laudable endeavours, in which he constantly persevered, to direct the attention of his townsmen to the more liberal pursuits of science and literature; and, in his own words, 'to abate that spirit of enterprise and thirst of gain, which, when too much indulged, is seldom productive either of virtue or happiness.' In this poem, he likewise entered his earliest protest against that peculiar reproach of Liverpool, its large concern in the African slave trade. Thus early had his well-constituted mind seized upon objects of interest and pursuit, both highly important and worthy in themselves, and so well adapted to his own powers, and to the circumstances by which he found himself surrounded, as never after-

wards to be abandoned by him as impracticable, or dropped as useless.

Scarcely had he completed his clerkship, and formed a connexion in business, than he likewise made his selection of a partner for life. Prudential considerations obliged the young couple to defer the completion of their union for several years; but the time was not lost. They read together, and communicated their thoughts on authors, especially on the poets, with equal improvement to their tastes and their affections. Several very pleasing specimens of their correspondence are here given. His wife proved herself a woman of such sound understanding, and so exemplary for all the virtues of her sex, that 'Mr Roscoe, to the close of his long and eventful life, never found reason to regret for one instant the judgment of his youth.'

The increase of his professional employment, whilst it obliged him to withdraw his attention in some degree from the pursuits of literature, enabled him to gratify his tastes, by becoming, on a small scale, a collector of books on art, and of prints. On a visit to London, in 1782, he formed an intimacy with Fuseli the painter, who was afterwards indebted to him for very solid proofs of friendship; and he found leisure to deliver before a Liverpool Society some lectures on the progress of art in general, on engraving, and on prints.

Benevolent and enlightened men had for several years been exerting themselves singly to awaken the public conscience to the enormity of the trade in human beings, when, in 1787, as the result of their efforts, a society was formed in London, which met weekly, to consider of the best means of procuring the abolition of the traffic, and, by their joint efforts, to render them effective. Mr Roscoe again took up his pen in the cause, and appealed to the feelings of his countrymen in a highly-wrought poem, entitled 'The Wrongs of Africa,' designed to illustrate the horrible nature of the means by which the slaves were procured on the coast of Guinea, and the sufferings of the passage to the West Indies. 'Throughout the poem, that love of freedom, that inextinguishable hatred of oppression, are displayed, which were such signal features of the writer's character.' He likewise gave a general view of the subject in an excellent pamphlet, which attracted attention in France as well as England, and seems to have been translated by Madame Necker. In a second pamphlet, he administered due castigation to the Reverend Raymund Harris, who had attempted to defend slavery as consonant to Scripture; and, in 1791, he published an 'Account of the Causes of the Insurrection in St Domingo,' designed to refute the arguments against

the abolitionists, drawn from the cruelties committed by the negroes in that island.

The French Revolution now broke forth, and even in this country the flames of political animosity soon blazed up with fury. It could not be doubtful, from the previous course of Mr Roscoe's public conduct, and the leading principles of his character, which side was to receive his support. His feelings and his convictions were all enlisted in the cause of freedom, which he regarded as that of human nature. He attended the two meetings held in 1790 and 1791, in commemoration of the destruction of the Bastille; and at the second, he recited his celebrated song, beginning 'O'er the vine-covered hills and gay regions of France,' which was written for the occasion. But the excesses of the French leaders soon became shocking to humanity like his, and grief and shame took place of the exultation with which he had hailed the dawn of French liberty. Through some propitious circumstance, of which his biographer has omitted to inform us, Mr Roscoe had before this time obtained the acquaintance of the late Marquis of Lansdowne; and that discerning nobleman, struck with his talents and his merit, had established with him a frequent and confidential correspondence, chiefly on political topics, which was maintained to the termination of his lordship's life. To his lordship, he thus expressed his sentiments on the aspect of affairs at home and abroad, immediately after the destruction of the Brissotines :

'The event which has pressed upon me with more weight than almost any other I ever as yet experienced, either of a public or private nature, is the execution of the Deputies in France,—men whom I had long been accustomed to look up to as the best friends of their country and of mankind; and for whom, if affection be acquired without a personal acquaintance, I may say I had a real esteem. Of these men, Verniaux was the most particular object of my regard. He seems to have possessed a grandeur and sublimity of imagination, coupled with an accuracy of judgment, beyond any of his associates; and if ever the love of his country was apparent in any man, it was so in him. In lamenting the fate of these great men, I cannot, however, forget their errors, which, I am convinced, they themselves discovered when too late. Their graves were dug on the 10th of August, and the 2d of September passed their sentence. The remainder of their lives was a struggle to repair either their mistake in assenting to, or their want of energy in resisting, the violence that then took place. Fatal day! that overthrew the labour of years, and placed the fortunes of the human race on the chance of a die. Surely, nothing less than absolute despotism can admit of the application of the principle of force.

'Wherever the sense of a whole community can be peaceably taken, the insurrection of a part is treason. This forms the distinction between

the destroyers of the Bastile, and the heroes of the 10th of August, or their rivals of the 2d of September.

‘As to the great point which the French think they have gained by the destruction of their monarchy, I think it of little consequence; not that I am become a believer in the maxim, that “whate’er is best administered is best,” but because I think that a monarchy is capable of being as well constituted for the happiness of a people as a republic. And though, I hope, not superstitious, I cannot help thinking that the voluntary and solemn oath of a whole nation, to abide by a constitution which they took three years in framing, ought, if there be any thing serious or binding in human affairs, to have some weight. I will not trouble your Lordship with my feelings on the conduct of the French rulers subsequent to this shocking event. The horrid industry employed in the discovery of the other proscribed Deputies, the deliberate mockery of their trial, and the bloody indifference of the people at large, on the execution of such men as Rabaut, who first rescued them from despotism, freezes my affections, and gives me a dislike, not only to the French, but to my species. Sorry am I to say, that this dislike is not much removed by any thing I can see in my own country, where the same selfish and slavish spirit that has contributed to bring on the enormities of France is apparent in the prosecution of all those who aim, by a cool, rational, and deliberate reform, to prevent a similar catastrophe here. With what face can our present administration commit Thomas Muir to the hulks, preparatory to his transportation to Botany Bay, when it is apparent to all the nation, that if *he* has been guilty, Mr Pitt and the Duke of Richmond ought to accompany him? But the leaders have apostatized, and the disciples perish. This is enough. The founders of a sect become its persecutors! To whom shall we compare those who punish what they have themselves endeavoured to promote?

‘I cannot conceive what can be the views of the people assembled in Edinburgh, under the name of the British Convention; but the whole is so ill-timed, and so ill-conducted, that I should easily be persuaded it was intended to bring additional odium on the cause of reform, did I not know, that one person appeared amongst them whose motives are beyond suspicion. I mean Lord Daer, whom I have seen in Liverpool, and whose heart, I am sure, is right. Why has he committed himself in such a business, and nipt his usefulness in the bud? Great harm has been done by the doctrine, so industriously inculcated by a sect of which I am a professing member, that whatever is ultimately right is to be pursued at all times. Perhaps, however, this arises rather from a misapprehension of the precept, than from the precept itself. It might be admitted in its general purport, but then, whatever is right is always to be sought for by means likely to obtain it, and not by such as can directly tend only to the injury of the cause, and the ruin of the individual. If I wish for a prosperous voyage, I must wait for the wind and the tide; but if I resolve to attempt it in spite of both, I become the unpitied cause of my own destruction.’—(Vol. i. p. 210.)

We next find Mr Roscoe among the answerers of Burke; urging, in a separate pamphlet, the practicability and expediency of peace

with France; and in a town meeting, using strenuous efforts to carry an address to the throne, so moderate in its language, that, by both parties concurring in it, a clash of factions might have been avoided, and the tranquillity of the town preserved. But in this laudable endeavour he was baffled by the violence of the stronger party, and in common with his brother dissenters, who had been his associates and supporters, and with the friends of peace and freedom throughout the kingdom, found himself exposed to suspicion, and calumny, and a kind of social proscription. A record, which ought not to perish, of the spirit of Mr Pitt's administration, and the working of his celebrated proclamation against seditious meetings, is preserved in the following extract from the correspondence with Lord Lansdowne:—‘ It was my
‘ intention to have stated to your lordship some other instances
‘ of the consequences felt under the present system, where every
‘ man is called on to be a spy upon his brother; but I have
‘ already intruded much too far on your Lordship's time. I must,
‘ however, mention that I have, for upwards of ten years, been a
‘ member of a little society of about a dozen persons (Dr Currie
‘ and others), who have, during that time, met in rotation at each
‘ other's houses. The object of our meeting was merely literary;
‘ but suspicion has for some time gone abroad about us, and I have
‘ good reason to believe we have been thought of importance
‘ enough to be pointed out to Government by the collector of the
‘ customs here. Some of us having openly appeared on the late
‘ address, has, I believe, completed the business; and, in the
‘ present state of things, we have thought it expedient to suspend
‘ our future meetings.’

In the study of the Italian writers, with a view to his great literary object, Mr Roscoe now sought relief from the vexations of politics; and his activity found further exercise for itself in an undertaking, to which he was partly prompted by his early love of agricultural occupations and a country life,—the drainage of an extensive tract of moss-land in the neighbourhood of Manchester, which occupied for many years a large portion of the time he was able to snatch from professional and literary pursuits.

After several years of anxious preparation, the ‘*Life of Lorenzo de' Medici*’ was given to the public in 1796. The persevering efforts of the author, aided by some signal circumstances of good fortune, by which the difficulties attending the collection of his materials were triumphantly overcome, are narrated by his biographer with considerable but interesting detail; as are the warm testimonies of approbation, domestic and foreign, which the publication justly earned for him. Lord Lansdowne assured the author that the success had been far beyond any book he remembered,

‘ though Hume’s publication of his first volumes was within his ‘ memory.’ Lord Orford was enchanted with the graces of the narrative, and the beauty of the poetical translations. The Earl of Bristol, from his residence at Rome, wrote to enquire the place of residence of ‘ the ingenious, learned, and elegant author ; ’ and what present of books, pictures, or statues, might be most welcome to him. His early friend, Dr Aikin, assured him that but one opinion was heard as to its being the most elegant and interesting work, of a literary nature, which had appeared for many years ; and congratulated him that a merit long conspicuous in the circle of his friends was now fairly manifested to the world at large. Dr Parr introduced himself to his acquaintance with a long list of learned remarks and corrections ; and he was at once gratified and embarrassed by a glowing compliment, from the author of the ‘ Pursuits of Literature.’ Even the periodical critics gave nearly unalloyed praise to the new candidate for fame. In Italy, the book was received with similar marks of approbation and esteem. The learned Fabroni laid aside a life of Lorenzo, which he had himself begun, and promoted in its stead a translation of the English work. Other eminent Italian scholars wrote letters of compliment to the author ; and his literary reputation, at this day, stands even higher in that country than in his own. The work was also translated into the French and German languages, with the accompaniment of learned notes. It was subsequently reprinted at Philadelphia.

All these triumphs had no power to corrupt the modesty and manly simplicity of the author’s mind. Not a trace of vanity or self-importance is discernible in his answers to the flattering addresses of friends or strangers ; but a success so far beyond his hopes seems to have hastened the accomplishment of his long-cherished project of retiring to a life divided between the cultivation of letters and the cultivation of the earth, and free from that circumstance by which his profession had long disgusted him—its affording ‘ a continual opportunity of observing the folly and ‘ villainy of mankind.’ He withdrew from the occupation of a solicitor very shortly after the appearance of his Lorenzo ; and the next spring, he indulged himself with a visit to London, where his celebrity, his merits, and the friendship of Lord Lansdowne, gave him facilities for forming new and valuable acquaintances, both in the literary and political world. His correspondence at this time affords some interesting notices and details.

‘ How you will envy me,’ says he in a letter to his friend Mr Rathbone, ‘ when I tell you, that last Saturday I had an hour’s familiar conversation with Mr Fox, at the Marquis of Lansdowne’s, where I before had accidentally met Mr Grey ! Of these rencontres, I put

nothing on paper ; not altogether because of the old proverbs, ‘ *Littera scripta manet,*’ and ‘ *Nescit vox emissa reverti ;*’ nor yet because of the provisions of the *two acts* ; but because it would occupy too much of my paper, and require more time than I can at present spare. I dine to-day with the Marquis ; but think there will be no company. Should any thing interesting occur, either there or elsewhere, I will again take up my pen.

‘ The people here are of opinion the French will pay us a visit : but they have no doubt that British courage will, with God’s assistance, soon make them repent of their temerity. A shopkeeper in the Strand told me, that as God had fought for us when the enemy appeared off Ireland, He would not surely desert us when they attacked England. What can such a pious people have to fear from a nation of Infidels ? When miracles are daily performed in our favour, it seems absurd to have recourse to human means. A few days since, I sent a short paper to the Morning Chronicle, pointing out the necessity of *immediately* adverting to the alternative of peace, whilst it was yet practicable ; but it has not been suffered to appear. In fact, every thing is matter of party ; and as the Ministry set up the cry of danger, the Opposition papers take the other side of the question, and affect to consider their wailings as a farther pretence to raise loans and impose taxes ; and those who have only at heart the real good of the country, without regarding either Ministry or Opposition, cannot obtain even a hearing. I much fear the predominating idea of men of all parties is *individual, personal* aggrandisement, and that the welfare of the country is only a secondary consideration ; or rather, perhaps, a cloak to cover their real purpose. There are only two classes of men ; viz. those who would sacrifice themselves for their country, and those who would sacrifice their country to themselves. Which of these are the most numerous I shall not pretend to say ; though I think I have in the course of my life met with an instance or two of the former.’

‘ During his stay in town,’ says his biographer, ‘ Mr Roscoe had hoped to have an opportunity of becoming personally acquainted with Lord Orford, who had frequently expressed a desire to meet him. Unfortunately at this period his Lordship’s state of health was such as to preclude the possibility of an interview. “ Soon after my arrival in town,” says Mr Roscoe, in a letter addressed to Dr Currie, “ I called at Lord Orford’s, but found him dangerously ill, and not in a state to be seen. I therefore introduced myself to his intimate friends, the Miss Berrys, who resided a long time in Italy, and with whom I dined yesterday. They told me they had mentioned to him that I was in town, to which he answered, ‘ Alas ! it is now too late—I shall never see him.’ He afterwards said, ‘ It is a melancholy thing to be so much dead and so much alive !’ It is not yet improbable that he may so far recover, as that I may get a sight of him, which I confess would much gratify my curiosity.” The illness, however, of this venerable nobleman, who had held a distinguished rank in the literary world for more than half a century, proved fatal.

‘ Amongst the persons with whom Mr Roscoe at this time became

acquainted, was the late Sir Isaac Heard, Garter principal King at Arms. This acquaintance led him to the knowledge of a singular fact respecting General Washington, which he afterwards communicated to an American gentleman in the following letter :—

“ I have now the pleasure of performing my promise of repeating to you, by letter, the information I gave you in Liverpool respecting the memorial of General Washington and his family, drawn up in his own handwriting, and sent by him to the late Sir Isaac Heard, Garter King at Arms, to be enrolled by him in the records of the Heralds' College, London.

“ It is now about thirty years since I had the good fortune to form an acquaintance with Sir Isaac Heard, who was a kind friend, an excellent patriot, and, I need scarcely add, a very worthy man. On visiting him one day in his office in Doctors' Commons, I observed a portrait over the chimney-piece, not sufficiently characterised for me to decipher, and to the best of my recollection, not in the first style of art.

“ I could, however, perceive that it was not the representation of the personage who might have been expected to preside at the fountain of honour ; and on expressing my surprise to Sir Isaac, and enquiring whose portrait it was, he replied, in his usual energetic manner, ‘ Whose is it? Whose should it be? but the portrait of the greatest man of the age,—General Washington.’ On my assenting to this remark, he added, ‘ Now, sir, I will show you something farther.’ And turning to his archives, he took out some papers, consisting of several sheets, closely written, saying, ‘ Here, sir, is the genealogy and family history of General Washington, with which he has, at my request, furnished me, in his own handwriting, and which I shall have a particular pleasure in preserving amongst the most precious records of my office ;’ which I have no doubt he has accordingly done, and where I presume they may still be seen on application to the proper authorities.”—(Vol. i., p. 218.)

It was not till after a considerable interval that Mr Roscoe felt himself disposed to sit down in earnest to a second work on Italian history, and, on his return from London, we find him engaged in botanical science, and in making botanical collections—in learning Greek, and in amusing himself with translating into the elegant verse which flowed so freely at his command, Tansillo's Italian poem, entitled ‘ Balia,’ the Nurse. The most pleasing part of this publication was, perhaps, the affectionate and appropriate sonnet in which he inscribed it to his wife.

‘ As thus in calm domestic leisure blest
 I wake to British notes th' Ausonian strings,
 Be thine the strain ; for what the poet sings
 Has the chaste tenor of thy life exprest.
 And whilst delighted, to thy willing breast,
 With rosy lip thy smiling infant clings,
 Pleased I reflect, that from those healthful springs
 —Ah, not by thee with niggard love repress—

Six sons successive, and thy later care,
 Two daughters fair, have drunk; for this be thine
 Those best delights approving conscience knows;
 And whilst thy days with cloudless suns decline,
 May filial love thy evening couch prepare,
 And soothe thy latest hours to soft repose.'

At this period, the death of Robert Burns, amid supposed indigence and neglect, called forth, in an extraordinary degree, the generous sympathy, and the equally generous indignation, of Mr Roscoe. These feelings roused his muse, and in the Verses affixed by his friend, Dr Currie, to his admirable 'Life of Burns,' will be found his own best passport to fame as a poet. We should have been pleased to meet with this beautiful Dirge in the present work, where its insertion would have been the more desirable as there is no separate publication of the poems of the author.

That fair idea of a life of rural retirement, supported by competence, cheered by domestic attachments, and embellished by elegant literature, which, from early manhood, had been the object of his aspirations, appeared to be agreeably and lastingly realized, when, in 1799, he was enabled to make the purchase of Allerton Hall, a mansion six miles distant from Liverpool, and there to sit down, to the composition of the great work to which he had now devoted himself,—the 'Life of Leo X.' But his lot was not thus cast. The busiest and the most chequered portion of his private life, and the whole of what, strictly speaking, may be called his public life, was still to come. The motives and circumstances under the influence of which he consented to relinquish his favourite plan, are thus detailed :

'In less than twelve months after removing his residence to Allerton, he became deeply involved in the laborious anxieties of commercial life. The family of Mr William Clarke had been long engaged in an extensive banking-house in Liverpool, the affairs of which, owing to various circumstances, were, at the conclusion of the year 1799, found to be in a position of considerable difficulty. The aid of Mr Roscoe, as a confidential adviser, was requested by the partners, and he did not hesitate to lend his best assistance. Chiefly through his instrumentality, the difficulties which existed between the Liverpool bank and their London correspondents, were removed, and it was the anxious wish of the latter, as well as the former, that Mr Roscoe should render his labours complete, by becoming an active partner in the banking-house at Liverpool. The sacrifice which this change required was undoubtedly great. It compelled him to resign a mode of life which had long been the cherished object of his wishes; to forego, at all events for a time, those literary pursuits upon which his mind was so ardently bent; and to plunge into an untried and hazardous occupation. The motives which led him to take the part he did, are explained in the following extract from a letter addressed by

him, in the spring of 1800, to Dr Parr. After stating how happy he had felt in his country retirement, he says, "The step I took was not a matter of choice and inclination, but of imperious necessity. No sooner did it offer itself to me than my determination was fixed. It was not my gratification, my pursuits, or even my interest, upon which the question arose. It was the irresistible claim of friendship, the right which society at large has upon the exertions of every individual, when he conceives he can be useful, that determined my purpose. I felt that my non-compliance would have embittered my future life. But though I have thus heartily devoted myself to my new undertaking, it need not surely follow that I have lost my individuality, and am become a new being. From the wreck of my former life and pursuits can nothing be saved? Must I for ever hereafter open no books but journals and ledgers, and breathe no air but that of the town? Happily for me, this is by no means the case; and though, from the peculiar state of the business when I engaged in it, it has hitherto required my unremitting attention, yet I already perceive the probability that, at no great distance of time, I may again enjoy some portion of those pleasures to which I supposed I had bade a last farewell. The daily routine of my engagements does not appear so irksome as I had reason to expect. I have the advantage of kind colleagues and able assistants. My province, to say the truth, has already become rather that of superintendence and direction than of labour and detail. I still can retain with ease and satisfaction my country residence; my daily exercise is conducive to my health; my evenings, and occasionally a larger portion of time, will soon be spent with my family; and, upon the whole, what I have sacrificed appears to me to be much less than what I at first expected."

The habits of his early life, joined to that constitutional energy which enables its possessor to exert on demand all the talent of which he is master, rendered it possible for Mr Roscoe to pass at once, without distraction of mind, from the business of the office or the banking-house to the exercise of the pen. Thus, he had no sooner succeeded in reducing his new occupation to a routine, than he resumed the composition of his great work; his interest in which was revived by some valuable manuscript materials obtained for him from Florence by the kindness of Lord Holland.

He likewise found leisure for some correspondence on the state of public affairs. A letter to Lord Holland, dated in October, 1800, is remarkable for the able manner in which he traces to the continuance of the war the distresses of the country, and the earnestness with which he calls for the efforts of his noble correspondent in the Upper House, and of Mr Fox in the Lower, to place this truth in the strongest light before the eyes of the nation. Of peace he was indeed always, on all occasions, and even, as some might think, in season and out of season, the earnest, eloquent, uncompromising advocate. The continuance of a war hostile to

the communications of the republic of letters, and the advancement of the arts, revolting to reason and philosophy, and agonizing to humanity, was deplored by him with that profound sorrow which most men reserve for their personal misfortunes; and it even seems at times to have materially interfered with his enjoyment of the blessings of private life.

Mr Roscoe, as already mentioned, was much devoted to Botanical science; and to him is due the honour of founding that splendid institution, the Liverpool Botanic Garden. The subsequent invitation given to the late Sir James E. Smith, to deliver botanical lectures at Liverpool, led to a sincere and lasting friendship with that amiable and accomplished person, who was surprised to find in the historian 'so good a practical botanist,' and also to the enrolment of Mr Roscoe amongst the fellows of the Linneæan Society, to the Transactions of which he contributed some valuable papers.

In 1805, Mr Roscoe was called to lament an irreparable loss in the death of Dr Currie, equally with himself the opposer of the war with France, the defender of civil and religious liberty, and, for many years, his associate in all plans for promoting, by public institutions, the moral and intellectual improvement of the rising population of Liverpool;—in private life the critic, counsellor, and friend, on whose accurate discernment, and tried affection, he had the strongest reliance. Another friend, Mr Clarke, to whom he had been greatly indebted for procuring materials for the *Life of Lorenzo*, closed his career about the same time. Both these deaths were preceded by long and severe sufferings; and they suggested to Mr Roscoe the following reflections expressed in a confidential letter:

'Surely, the misery that usually attends the close of life, affords one of the strongest proofs of a future state of existence. For how is it possible to suppose that the same Supreme Being, who has distributed such various and extensive happiness to his creatures, would finally conclude the whole with pain or distress? This view of the subject is the only one that can afford us any real consolation, either for the sufferings of our friends, or for those which we must experience ourselves. After a life evidently intended to exercise our virtues, and improve our moral powers, death may be considered as the last great trial of our fortitude; the display of which, as it exhibits a complete triumph over the weakness of human nature, seems the best calculated to terminate our labours in this world, and accompany us on our entrance into the next. In the meantime, we who survive are like soldiers in an army, who, as their ranks are thinned by the enemy, draw nearer to each other.'

A fine remark respecting Mr Fox, in a letter to Lord Holland

on his death, characterises the writer no less than the subject of his eulogium :

‘ Among the many great and striking endowments of Mr Fox, there is one in particular to which I cannot help adverting, and which I trust will still continue to animate all those who have admired him in public, or loved him in private life. I mean that deep and intimate feeling for human nature, which has generally been estranged from the bosom of statesmen, but which was with him a part of his existence, ever actuating him to alleviate the evils, to vindicate the rights, to soften the calamities, and to increase, by every means in his power, the happiness of mankind. In this respect he is not lost to us. As long as our language remains, the powerful effusions of his mind will continue to improve and enlighten his countrymen, and to diffuse a milder and more benevolent spirit, not only in the recesses of private life, but in the direction of nations and the intercourse of states.’

A journey of business to London in 1804, gave Mr Roscoe the opportunity of paying an affecting visit to the Marquis of Lansdowne, then nearly approaching the termination of his course. Of the correspondence between them, extending from the year 1790 to his lordship’s last illness, but delicately withheld from the public eye, Mr H. Roscoe thus speaks :—‘ Confidence, attachment, and respect for the opinions of each other, are freely manifested throughout the whole course of it. There were few subjects of political interest upon which the Marquis did not address his correspondent; and in his open expression of sentiment, his capacious and liberal views, his attachment to freedom, and the accurate foresight of his judgment, reflect the highest honour on his statesman-like character. On the part of Mr Roscoe, the correspondence is conducted with freedom, with sincerity, and with the respect due to the station and talents of his correspondent, and to the conspicuous part he had long acted in public affairs.’

The ‘ Life and Pontificate of Leo X.’ was at length given to the public in the summer of 1805, in four volumes quarto. The second work of an eminently successful author has always a severe ordeal to pass. Under the most favourable circumstances, it is not probable that the ‘ Life of Leo,’ like its predecessor, would have been received with a full chorus of thanks and plaudits; but, from the operation of peculiar causes, its author was destined to a treatment very much the reverse. That he was not altogether unprepared for such a result, and that he deliberately incurred the hazard of a loss of popularity in preference to the suppression of what he regarded as useful truth, appears from a letter which he addressed to Earl St Vincent, a few weeks previously to the appearance of the work :

‘Your Lordship’s repeated kindness encourages me to mention, that a work on which I have been employed for several years, the “*Life and Pontificate of Leo X.*,” is now nearly printed, and will, I expect, make its appearance in the course of two months. On referring to this period it will immediately occur to your Lordship, that a publication on this subject must comprise some topics of considerable delicacy, as well in religion and politics, as in morals and literature; or, in other words, must involve those questions which have given rise to dissension and persecution in all subsequent times. In the account of the Reformation, I am well aware that my book will give satisfaction neither to the Catholics nor the Protestants; yet, of the two, I apprehend most the displeasure of the latter. The former have been so accustomed to be abused, that they will receive with patience any tolerable degree of castigation; but the latter, who conceive their principles and conduct to be above all censure, will be surprised to find their early leaders accused of a spirit of intolerance and uncharitableness, which has, unfortunately, continued with but little diminution to the present day. Should your lordship ever honour the work by a perusal, I shall hope for a liberal and candid construction of my opinions, both on this and other subjects; assuring your lordship that, however contradictory some of them may appear to the received notions, both of characters and of events, they have not been hastily adopted, nor are they now delivered to the world without the most serious and deliberate conviction that, if they attract any notice whatever, they cannot but be favourable to the cause of civil and religious liberty, and have a tendency to soothe those animosities between nation and nation, and sect and sect, which have so long afflicted our quarter of the world.’

The work, as the author had anticipated, encountered the effects of political hostility in some quarters, and of theological rancour in others; and there were some impartial critics who thought that the style tended to prolixity, and that in some cases there was too much detail of minute facts. Its many merits were, however, acknowledged by very competent judges. Combined with the former work of the author, it was perceived to answer most of the purposes of an express narrative of the revival of letters; and it had the further recommendation of forming a connecting link between Gibbon’s ‘*Decline and Fall,*’ and Robertson’s ‘*Charles V.*’ Nor was it unobserved, that the sentiments were every where those of an enlightened lover of mankind, and of a promoter of their best and highest interests.

From his youth, Mr Roscoe had interested himself, as we have seen, in public questions, but he had never contemplated the entering personally into public life, when, on the eve of the general election in 1806, he was surprised by a requisition from a number of the most respectable burgesses of Liverpool, to become a candidate for the representation of his native town. He acceded, however, readily to a request so strongly expressive of the respect

and attachment felt towards him in the place where he was best known ; and after a severe contest, he was brought in at the head of the poll, and by a great majority, to the exclusion of General Tarlton, one of the former members.

The Parliamentary career of Mr Roscoe opened auspiciously. He spoke repeatedly, and with success ; especially on that subject which he had had so long at heart—the Slave Trade—to the abolition of which, now triumphantly carried, he enjoyed the satisfaction of giving his vote. He also came forward as a supporter of Sir S. Romilly's bill for making real property liable to simple contract debts, and of Mr Whitbread's plan for the education of the poor ; and he had at least the consolation of protesting against the Catholic disabilities, when the Whig Administration broke up on that question. In general society, and in the highest political circles, he was received with the respect due to his literary reputation, to his public principles, and his excellent character ; and with the favour which the amenity of his disposition and the charm of his manners never failed to conciliate. But the flattering scene was abruptly closed by the hasty dissolution of Parliament at the end of the session. Mr Roscoe, thus sent back to his constituents, was requested by a numerous meeting of his friends to stand again, and he had again consented. But great changes had occurred since the last election. His conduct respecting the slave trade had exasperated many—the cry of No Popery had been raised—the Whig Ministry was at an end. Great efforts had likewise been made by the adherents of the new Administration ; Mr Roscoe's entry into Liverpool was obstructed by a furious mob ; his return was evidently more than doubtful ; and dreading to endanger the peace of the town, and the persons of his friends and supporters, he withdrew from the contest. His friends, public and private, were earnest in their expressions of regret and mortification on this occasion ; but his own mind was speedily reconciled to the change : ' I sink back,' he wrote, a few months afterwards, to a friend, ' with such a rapidity of gravitation into my natural inclination ' for quiet and retirement, that I totally despair of ever being roused ' again to a similar exertion.'

Soon after his retreat from Parliament, the Earl of Derby handsomely proposed to nominate him to the King as one of the Deputy-Lieutenants for the county of Lancaster. To this proposal Mr Roscoe, a dissenter by birth, returned the following answer :—

' I should have esteemed it a very great honour to have been recommended by your Lordship to his Majesty, as a Deputy-Lieutenant of the county, had I not been one of those, whom the operation of the test laws excludes from all offices of trust under Government. I well

know, that if others thought with the same liberality as your Lordship, these disabilities would be removed; but whilst they remain, I think it better that those affected by them should implicitly submit to them, rather than by an occasional conformity to, or an open disregard of them, invalidate the reasons for their repeal.

Mr Roscoe did not lose with his seat his interest in public affairs. To the cause of peace his wishes and his energies were, as ever, devoted. He published in 1808 a pamphlet on the subject, written with considerable power, and which contained an impassioned denunciation of the attack upon Copenhagen. He also republished in a single volume his *Occasional Tracts on the War*. He was an active member of the African Institution, on the affairs of which, as well as on general topics, his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, during a long series of years, held frequent and intimate correspondence with him.

From this period, no considerable undertaking, of a purely literary kind, was achieved by Mr Roscoe. He projected and commenced, but never completed, a '*History of the Progress and Vicissitudes of Art and Literature*;' and, on the whole, it is pretty apparent that the taste of public life had somewhat impaired his relish for literature and the arts. The subject of Parliamentary Reform was one on which he had long made up his mind and taken his part. On his election, he had explicitly stated his opinion of its necessity: he had further unfolded his sentiments in a letter to the Duke of Gloucester; and in 1811, in compliance with the written request of Mr Brougham, who was then collecting opinions on the best means of bringing into Parliament a measure for this purpose, he cast his thoughts respecting it into the form of a letter, which that distinguished statesman received with favour, and communicated to Mr Bentham, by whom it was highly approved. Thus sanctioned, Mr Roscoe gave it to the public as a pamphlet. The principal aim of this eloquent, and well-considered piece, was to encourage his Parliamentary friends not to stop at the imperfect measure which they then contemplated, and which, as he showed, without giving any satisfaction to real reformers, would create as much alarm and opposition in the Tory party as a much more effectual one, from which the people would derive substantial benefit and full satisfaction. 'At the close of his life,' says his biographer, 'he had the happiness of seeing a scheme of reform introduced, founded upon the principles which he had himself thus earnestly supported. He witnessed an attempt made to abolish "the various and capricious qualifications" of voters, and to substitute, in place of them, a franchise at once just, simple, and rational, in those "who as householders are heads of families, and contribute to the exi-

‘gencies of the state.” He saw a system proposed which realized, in almost every particular, the plan recommended by himself. He did not, indeed, live to see the completion of this great measure, or to witness the confirmation which it afforded of the many important truths contained in his Letter to Mr Brougham : to mark the accuracy of his assertion, that “the feelings of the people, when once warmed and excited, will not stop short of an ultimate and substantial reform,” and that “alterations or reforms in government are more to be dreaded from the opposition they meet with, than from the effects they are likely to produce.”

On the general election in 1812, the sense entertained by the friends of freedom of his integrity and abilities, was flatteringly manifested, by a request from a number of the electors of Westminster to know whether, if returned free of expense, he would be willing to perform the duties of their representative,—by his nomination, without his knowledge, at Leicester, where 412 votes were polled for him,—and by the earnest individual entreaties of many of his friends, that he would again become a candidate for his native town. But to all these flattering requests, his increasing years and his engagements in business induced him to return a decided negative. The most considerable event in three or four succeeding years was a visit paid by Mr Roscoe to Mr Coke at Holkham, where, in addition to the gratification which he prized the most, that of cultivating the friendship of the excellent owner, whose tastes and opinions met his own at many points, he had that of examining the treasures of MSS. and rare and early printed books, chiefly collected in Italy by Lord Leicester, the uncle of Mr Coke, which had remained, as it were, buried during a long series of years, in the repositories of Holkham. By the interposition and under the superintendence of Mr Roscoe, these precious objects were rescued from the injuries of time and neglect; repaired, bound, arranged, and afterwards accurately catalogued. It is probable that his early ardour for Italian history and literature, roused by the discovery of documents of the very existence of which he had previously been ignorant, might have urged him to appear again in that field of investigation, but for the cares and distresses in which he was unhappily plunged by the stoppage of his banking-house at the beginning of the year 1815. Without entering farther into this unfortunate occurrence than to express our approbation of the manliness with which his son has met and treated so painful and delicate a part of his subject, we may mention, as one of its most deplored results, the necessity under which it placed Mr Roscoe of parting with

those interesting collections of books, pictures, prints, and drawings, the formation of which had been to him far more than an elegant pleasure; since the presence of these objects, and his taste and knowledge of them, had served to impart much of their distinguishing merit and attraction to his writings. But if he had well known how to acquire, and how to employ his acquisitions, the time of trial evinced that he knew still better how to resign them. His conduct on the occasion was that of a true philosopher. Amid the distraction of innumerable other engagements—for the settlement of the affairs of the partnership had then been confided to him by the creditors—he performed, almost entirely with his own hand, the task of preparing for the press catalogues of his collections; on which, his intimate acquaintance with bibliography and with the history of art, and his anxiety to give the public some benefit of his knowledge, enabled him to bestow a character much superior to that of common sale-catalogues. The celebrity of his name attracted the most eminent purchasers from all parts of the kingdom, and the profits of the sale formed a solid testimony to his taste and judgment as a collector. The affection of his friends was manifested on this occasion by a private subscription to repurchase for him the books which he would most have desired to retain; but he declined, though with gratitude, to avail himself of this honourable mark of their esteem.

Four years of trouble elapsed before Mr Roscoe found himself liberated from his unfortunate concern,—withdrawn entirely from business,—secured from indigence by the generous contributions of a band of friends, and at liberty to apply his yet unbroken powers to objects of spontaneous exertion. The subject of penal jurisprudence, had occupied many of his thoughts even during this interval; and for several years subsequently, it was that on which his feelings were the most keenly awakened. We have not left ourselves space to enter into a particular account of his various publications, and his extensive correspondence, relative to this momentous topic; and it is sufficient here to observe, that native benevolence, a generous faith in human nature,—perhaps it should be added—the ardent and sanguine spirit which always tinged his opinions, led him to become the strenuous defender of the position, that the reformation of the offender is one of the principal ends of punishment; that this end, by judicious and lenient measures, may be, in a large proportion of cases, attained; and that to it, the employment of vindictive and terrifying punishments ought to be sacrificed. The Penitentiaries in different parts of the United States were the institutions to which he principally appealed in confirmation of his system. The substitution,

in some of these establishments, of solitary confinement for the system of productive labour by day, and separate cells by night only, affected him with the keenest sense of sorrow and disappointment; and it was after writing a whole night, for the purpose of early despatch, some observations addressed to one of his American correspondents on this subject, that (in consequence probably of excessive exertion and over-excited sensibility) he was seized with a paralytic affection, from the effects of which he never entirely recovered.

In the meantime, various other occupations filled up his time and his thoughts, and evinced his unwearied activity in laudable pursuits. He twice revisited *Holkham*, and engaged in drawing up a catalogue of its valuable MSS.;—he published, in refutation of the objections of *M. Sismondi* and others, a volume of ‘*Illustrations of the Life of Lorenzo de’ Medici* ;’—as president of a society in *Liverpool* for the abolition of slavery, he drew up a declaration of its objects, and offered a plan for their accomplishment;—he printed for the benefit of its subject, a memoir of a self-taught linguist, named *Roberts*;—and, whilst on a visit to *London*, undertook to superintend a new edition of the works of *Pope*, to which he prefixed a copious *Life of the poet*. He had the satisfaction of being called upon to prepare new editions of his two great works;—and, finally, resuming his botanical studies, he undertook, and at length published, in a splendid form, a work on the *Monandrian plants*, of which he gave an entirely new arrangement, which has placed his name high in the list of scientific botanists. All these undertakings had been completed, or nearly so, when paralysis overtook him at the close of the year 1827. From this period, his weakness, and the necessary attention to his health, confined him almost entirely to his chamber, and a cheerful adjoining apartment, fitted up with books, busts, vases, and basso-relievos—almost all offerings of friendship, or tributes of respect. His serious pursuits were of necessity given up; but he retained the warmth of feeling, and the animating views of human nature which had distinguished his early life; and never, under the pressure of misfortune or the weight of years, lost his lively sympathy in the welfare of others. His sensibility to the beauties of poetry remained unimpaired to the last; and so serene was his mind, that ‘there probably never was a period of his life when his spirits were more uniformly cheerful than the last three years of it during which he was awaiting its close.’ That event took place, without suffering, on the 30th of June 1831.

Want of space has obliged us to pass over with slight notice the extensive correspondence of *Mr Roscoe*, which, as we began

by stating, serves to connect him with many of the most distinguished public characters of his age, and with almost all the topics and events which, during a space of nearly sixty years, most exercised the powers and excited the passions of individuals, influenced the destinies of nations, and the moral and intellectual progress of the species. We have likewise been compelled to refrain from paying a due tribute to the attractive graces of the occasional poetry interspersed in these volumes; but we hope we have done enough to awaken attention to their contents generally, and to the extraordinary beauty and merit of the character which they commemorate.

ART. V.—*Dramatic Scenes from Real Life.* By Lady MORGAN. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1833.

PERHAPS few, if any, writers of ability have, without serious dereliction on their part, incurred a larger share of ridicule and censure than Lady Morgan. Criticism has rarely been friendly to her, and frequently unjust. Her blunders have been magnified into gross instances of ignorance—her flippancies into scandalous violations of propriety. Even misprints and errata have been adduced as proofs of her insufficient acquaintance with French and Italian. We have witnessed with regret this spirit of acrimony and unfairness; odious even if a man had been the subject, and still more odious when manifested against a woman. But these attacks have afforded cause for disapprobation rather than for surprise. Lady Morgan as a writer had many qualities which invited assailants. She had sufficient cleverness to be worthy of notice—sufficient vehemence in the expression of her political opinions to render her obnoxious to the opposite party—and a sufficient display of crude reasonings, and inaccurate statements, to afford opportunities for a malicious critic, by dexterous selection, to reduce the value of her works greatly below their real amount. While we deprecate the severity with which she has been treated, we cannot wholly defend her. The public ought to be put on their guard against the faults of attractive writers, more than against those whose dulness is an effectual antidote. Lady Morgan was justly amenable to much of the censure which she received; but the censure ought to have been mixed with commendation. Her critics were blameable in withholding the due award of praise, and in treating some of her best performances as if they were a mere tissue of error and conceit.

There are, perhaps, nowhere in Lady Morgan's writings, ten consecutive pages of which we wholly approve—but at the same time, perhaps, any ten pages of hers would be found to contain more graphic expressions, more original ideas, more pointed specimens of sparkling truth, than a fourfold number in many a work which scarcely merited a single censure. Impartial treatment of Lady Morgan requires a full estimate both of her merits and defects. Each are so numerous and so prominent, that an exclusive notice of either would raise her much higher, or depress her much lower, than what we conceive to be her true position. Her faults are chiefly those of her sex and country. She is apt to be guided by the impulse of feeling, where calm judgment is chiefly required. She is frequently incorrect in her reasonings, and unsound in her conclusions. Her style is overlaid with excess of ornament and quotation. She is fond of elaborate turns and foreign phrases, and loves to say common things, in an uncommon manner;—clothing her ideas in a garb which no more resembles that which would be selected by a chastened taste, than the gaudy dress of a fancy ball resembles the common costume of society. These are her prevailing faults; but she has many merits to counterbalance them. A lively imagination—a good deal of humour—a fervid flow of animated language, sometimes swelling into eloquence—much epigrammatic point and felicity of expression—no slight share of dramatic talent—and the faculty of characteristic delineation. These are the agreeable qualities which her writings exhibit, and which, after the largest admissible deductions for her defects, leave an ample balance in her favour.

Lady Morgan has lately produced the above two pleasant volumes, and has taken the superfluous pains to explain, in a preface, why she did so. The reading public care so little about the motives which impel an author to appear before them, that Lady Morgan may surely venture to offer whatever species of composition it may be her pleasure to endite, without fear of having a reason demanded at her hands. It is well for the public, in the present instance, that they are so incurious on that point; for they would find, like Mr Dangle, that it is most difficult to understand the interpreter. The explanatory preface is much less intelligible than the subsequent work. We are not aware of the existence of any good reason why Lady Morgan should *not* write 'Dramatic Scenes,' if she pleases; and we defy the wit of man to extract from her Preface any reason why she *should*. We are informed that 'it is no 'easy matter to write up or down to the present state of British 'literature;' that 'we are living in an era of transition;' that 'movement has succeeded to meditation;' that 'the public re-

‘fuses its attention to literary claimants, whose pretensions are not either founded on utility, or backed by the brilliancy or brevity of their appeals;’ and that ‘the candidates for contemporary notoriety must seek it by other means than the pathways of book-making and bookselling.’ Admit these questionable apophthegms to be true, and we may still ask, *quid ad rem?* What do they prove? If they tend to show any thing, it is rather that Lady Morgan had better not have written at all. They leave quite untouched those weighty questions—why ‘Dramatic Scenes’ are preferable to Tales—and why they are to be read rather than to be acted. But the concluding sentence is perhaps a clew to the meaning of this singular preface—it is all a piece of modest self-depreciation—if she had any thing to offer ‘more light and trifling, she would of preference have selected it, not in presumption, but in deference to the great questions by which the world is occupied.’ We accept the humility; but we have yet to learn that a public, occupied with great questions, finds a trifling publication more acceptable than one of superior importance. We hope Lady Morgan does not expect to be assured that her work is by no means so light and trifling as she modestly terms it—because the former epithet is applicable (though not altogether in an unfavourable sense) to much—and the latter to nearly half of it. We notice it, however, not because it is trifling, or in spite of the pressure of important questions, but—because the world *is* occupied by great questions, and because some of them are illustrated by such portions of her work as are *not* trifling—in short, because one of its pieces exhibits an able and animated sketch of the state of Ireland. The work consists of three dramas,—‘Manor Sackville,’ ‘The Easter Recess,’ and ‘Temper.’ There is little to be said in favour of the two latter. The last is rather overcharged, and betrays no peculiar felicity of discrimination. The former of these two is dull and undramatic—saved from utter insipidity (like an ill-dressed dish) only by its bad taste. We hope to be enabled to quiet the fears expressed in Lady Morgan’s preface, lest her work should not be sufficiently trifling, by assuring her of our belief that it is scarcely possible any thing more trifling than ‘The Easter Recess’ should be endited by the pen of woman. If her two volumes contained nothing better, we would not write a syllable upon them.

But we turn with pleasure to the first and longest of the three dramas—‘Manor Sackville.’ There we are on Irish ground—ground on which Lady Morgan is always strongest, and over which she can rarely be accompanied without amusement. The drama exhibits, in a series of spirited scenes, a many-coloured picture of Irish life—its comedy and its tragedy—its humours and

its horrors. The centre of the group is the owner of Manor Sackville, a young Englishman, of large fortune, liberal spirit, and benevolent intentions, who comes over to take possession of his Irish property, anxious to improve the condition and heal the dissensions of his neighbourhood. Unable to concur entirely with any one of the several parties into which he finds the country split, and unwilling to give to any his entire support, he is opposed by all. The Orange magistrates dislike him because he is liberal—the Catholic malecontents, because he is a foe to agitation—the High Church party disapprove of his principles of toleration—the Low Church and Protestant Dissenters, of his want of the proselytizing fervour of saintly zeal. The poor are dissatisfied, because he is not disposed to do good in the way they expect, and are soon taught to lose confidence in the sincerity of his professions; while some among his immediate dependents are glad to aggravate all his difficulties, hoping to drive him disgusted from the country, that they may again resume their pristine power under the easy sway of an absentee master.

The comic portion of this drama is very successful, but the tragic predominates; and the incidents and their termination are abundantly serious. Mr Sackville, accompanied by his agent Galbraith, the secret instigator, is met and assaulted in a neighbouring town by an Orange mob, and afterwards, when attended by the same agent, more dangerously encountered by a party of infuriated Whiteboys. The agent is killed, and Sackville saved only by the intervention of a peasant, to whom he was enabled to prove that he had interceded successfully for his pardon. In the last scene we are transported to Sackville's house in London, where we find him disheartened by his experience of Ireland, replying ambiguously to his wife's entreaties that he will never return thither—and reading in an Irish newspaper an account of the execution of his humble preserver. We should be sorry to think that in real life uprightness, benevolence, and impartiality in an Irish landlord were likely to be as ill rewarded as in the imaginary case of Mr Sackville—but this we are perhaps not required to believe. The picture may purposely be highly coloured, and the troubles of Ireland brought forward in bold relief, that they may be more apparent to English readers.

Among the diversified scenes of this dramatic tale, is a good description of the commencement and progress of an Irish riot, arising ostensibly from a trivial cause, fed in its course by deep rooted antipathies, and swelling gradually into frightful outrage, requiring the active intervention of the military, and dignified at last in the public journals by the name of 'the slaughter of Sally 'Noggin.' Then follows a striking conversation between a Roman

Catholic priest, Dr Everard, and a few agitators, in a shop in the town where the riot had occurred.—

‘DR EVERARD.—I *am* a little weary; I have been up the mountain, to see that poor dying creature, Pat Kelly, who was hit with a stone, at the disgraceful business at Sally Noggin the other day.

‘MR O’HANLON, (*coming forward.*)—Why then, begging your pardon, Dr Everard, I thought it great fun. Good evening to your Riverince! I saw the ind of the scrimmage, all fighting through other for the bare life. The tint-keepers and their wives making off with the crockery, the bacon and pullets flying in every direction, the *thackeens* powring like hail, and every where the *Sassenach* bate to chaff.

‘DR EVERARD.—What do you mean by the *Sassenagh*? that’s a new jargon! In all that affair—the result of drunkenness, brutality, and party spirit—Irish blood, Irish temperament, and Irish names alone were concerned; for the few military present, were peace-making, moderate, and patient, beyond example. Talk of *Sassenagh* indeed!—talk of your own domestic vices! your addiction to whisky, and its frightful violence! Talk of the mischievous agitation of all your parties and sects, all goading the unfortunate people for the worst of purposes, though by the most opposite means.

‘MR FINNIGAN, (*comes forward.*)—Oh! Dr Everard, there’s never smoke without fire; and th’ agitaytors would do little, if the people weren’t ready to be agitayted. The people’s minds, sir, are disturbed,—and with good reason. There’s but one cure for all their grievances; and till that comes, th’ emerald gem will often have its fine brightness sullied, and its rays dimmed.

‘DR EVERARD.—Don’t talk to me of gems, and rays, and brightness. What had the gathering at Sally Noggin to do with such trash? It was all faction and drunkenness on both sides, and a disgrace to the country.

‘MRS BRALAGHAN, (*laughing.*)—I hear tell, that there was the greatest of fun going on, for all that, at that turn-coat, Widdy Fogarty’s, sorrow mend her, for better luck she doesn’t deserve!

‘DR EVERARD.—Fun do you call it, Mrs Bralaghan? children left fatherless, mothers sonless, every feeling of humanity violated, every duty to heaven scorned! [*with a deep sigh*] hopeless, hapless country!

‘MR M’DERMOT, (*comes forward.*)—Not so hopeless, Father Everard; there are still those

Glimpses of glory ne’er forgot,
That fall like gleams on a sunset *say*,
What once hath been, but now is not;

but which may come round once more yet, sir, for all that—and will.

‘DR EVERARD, (*shading his eyes from the sun, and looking round.*)—Why, gentlemen! you start forth from Mrs Bralaghan’s back parlour, like the warriors of Roderick Dhu from the heath! Mrs Bralaghan, this parlour of yours will become the Tims’s of Mogherow.

‘MR M’DERMOT.—The corn exchange, rather, sir, I should think. We’ve no Swadlers here.

‘DR EVERARD.—Oh! Mr M’Dermot, I have miss’d you at mass so

many Sundays, that the assurance might be wanting. In truth, I feared you had been knocked down by the prevailing epidemic.

‘ MR M'DERMOT.—Thank your Riverince, I never was better ; only I step up to town generally, from Saturday till Tuesday, to see what is going on, in the political world.

‘ DR EVERARD.—Humph ! Then, you no longer “give” to the brewery, “what was meant for mankind.” But how can your employer spare you from his establishment ?

‘ MR M'DERMOT —Mr Brazier knows very well, that private business must give way to public interests. Oh, sir, he's a raal pathriot.

‘ MR O'HANLON, (*emphatically.*)—And so is Mr Dickson. Our distillery yields to no man in pathriotism.

‘ DR EVERARD.—So then, it is public interest that carries you so often to Dublin ?

‘ MR M'DERMOT, (*in an oratorical manner.*)—Yes, sir, while the voice of an Irishman may yet brathe forth its complaints, and a muzzle is not placed upon the great organs of public opinion, I go to raise mine in behalf of the land of my love and my purtection.

‘ DR EVERARD, (*smiling.*)—Happy country, to be so protected ! And what public meeting has had the advantage of your eloquence and talents ?

‘ MR M'DERMOT.—All, sir, in turn—I hurried up to town last, however, to join those great and glorious bands, the successors of the Volunteers of '82, who again rally upon the spot where th' immortal association triumphed ; and have the amazing moral courage to take that heroic and imposing name.

‘ DR EVERARD.—The amazing impudence, you mean. It is a sacrilege, a political sacrilege, to usurp such honoured appellations, and for such purposes too !

‘ MR M'DERMOT, (*oratorically.*)—Allow me, Father Everard, to say, that the great Irish national guard of the present day . . .

‘ DR EVERARD.—Pooh ! pooh ! man. The little national blackguards of Mogherow there, who are rolling in the mud with the pigs, would laugh at such trash as this ! It would be well in you, sir, to be sparing of such comparisons and allusions. Are you not ashamed, for instance, to place your recent meetings at the Brian Borru, over the way, in the same line with that landmark of Irish pride and virtue, the Catholic Associations, as I see you have done, in your own report of your last speech ? Gracious heaven ! it makes one's gall rise, to hear that glorious assembly (embodied for the best and wisest purposes, with motives so clearly defined, so deeply felt, and so wisely and so perseveringly acted upon, till it wrung its triumph from its oldest and bitterest enemies) thus mingled up with every gathering of the idle and the ignorant, the meddling and the mischievous. For my part, I never mention the term Catholic Association, without feeling inclined to pay it bodily homage. [*Touches his hat.*] If to the Volunteers of '82, we owe national independence and a free trade, to the Association we are indebted for our religious freedom, and a reformed Parliament, with all the promised blessings which must eventually come along with it, even in spite of the

exertions now making to avert them. The Catholic Association, sir, struggled openly with its open enemies,—the enemies alike of every civil, every religious right: and it commanded the sympathies of all mankind. It did not enter into a base and unnatural alliance with its ancient oppressors, to make an ungrateful war on its oldest and longest-tried friends, till it had left itself without the countenance of one generous, one enlightened supporter.

• **MR M-DERMOT.** *(Concerningly.)*—Oh, Father Everard, the present government, I see, have a staunch friend and advocate in your Reverence.

• **DR EVERARD.**—And so they have, sir, as far at least as Ireland is concerned, and so they shall have, until I find others to take their place, more able and more willing to serve the country, than either of the parties who are striving to displace them. I admit, they have not regenerated Ireland, by a comprehensive Act of Parliament: they have not, by the stroke of a magician's wand, undone the work of centuries of misgovernment: nor anticipated the course of nature, to reap a harvest of moral and physical regeneration, before the ground can be prepared, or the seed sown. I admit, sir, that, surrounded with difficulties, encompassed by enemies encumbered alike with the ruins of the system they have themselves overthrown, and by the raw, very raw materials of the system which is to follow it, they have not yet done for Ireland all they might have effected. They have, I allow, kept in power and office too many of their worst enemies,—the worst enemies of Ireland: while they have neglected the friends of both. But if the liberal Protestants have cause to complain, it was not for us, Catholics and Irishmen, to be the first to detract from their merits, to revile their feelings, to distract their councils, and to calumniate their intentions. — If guilty to others, they were still but too faithful to us. Oh, Mr M-Dermot, you have been playing an ungrateful, as well as a foolish game!

After making due deductions from that reverence for the Catholic Association, which comes appropriately from the mouth of a Roman Catholic priest, we agree with the foregoing sentiments more cordially than we often agree with the political speculations of Lady Morgan.

There are many other passages which we could quote with commendation, and among them the following, which occurs in an amusing dialogue between the proprietor and his agent:—

• As a matter of the plainest self-interest, I shall set earnestly to the task of improving not only the moral, but the animal condition of the peasantry.

• **MR GALBRAITH.**—I see, sir:—you subscribe, I suppose, of course, to the *Edinburgh Street Society*?

• **MR SACKVILLE.**—I believe I do; I have subscribed to so many things, by the advice and desire of my Irish friends in London, of all parties, that I really cannot remember the names of all. The multiplicity of these charities, by one or, as a sad evidence of the disorganized state of the country: and I am sure, Mr Galbraith, in your better knowledge of Ireland, you will agree with me in the wish, that a thorough,

philosophic, and statesmanlike reform of its institutions may soon render such quackish expedients, and feeble *remedi-termini*, wholly unnecessary.

• Mr GALBRAITH, (*paraded*.)—Och, sir, surely—you are par-fectly right, Mr Sackville.

• Mr SACKVILLE, (*earnestly*.)—There is a want among you Irish gentry [*Mr Galbraith bows*] of seeing the Irish question in all its wholeness.—at least so it appears to me: (though I promise that I am no politician;) and you have an inveterate habit of taking shelter in temporizing schemes, which, by frittering away time and money, divert patriotism from its true channels, and involve first principles in an endless imbroglia of incidents and contingencies.

• Mr GALBRAITH, (*judging in his chair*.)—Surely, Mr Sackville—the peopish and the agitators are mighty great schamers, as you say, and unless government—

• Mr SACKVILLE.—The present government is bound by the errors of many barbarous centuries of legislation: and an infinity of public vices and private interests have sprung up, which at every step impede its efforts to reform: out of this monstrous state of things, two parties have sprung up equally hostile to real improvement: forming the opposite extremes, which meet at the same point of ignorance and anarchy, and labour by different means to consolidate and perpetuate the poverty and degradation of their common country.

The following conversation between Sackville and an intelligent but hot-headed Irish priest, makes skillful allusion to that unreasoning nationality of which declaiming agitators have so successfully availed themselves:—

• I should wish you to feel the importance of keeping up the national spirit, by preserving the glorious remembrance of past times. Let not Ireland forget what she was, and what she yet may be. As our native and immortal bard says,

“ Let Erin remember the days of old.”

• Mr SACKVILLE, (*smiling*.)—What—

“ When her faithless sons betrayed her?”

• Mr O'CALLAGHAN, (*vehemently*.)—No, sir.—that's not the meaning.
“ *Ere her faithless sons betrayed her?*”

“ And Malachi wore the collar of gold,
That he won from the proud invader.”

• Mr SACKVILLE, (*shaking his head*.)—Oh! that collar of gold! It was still a collar. But, my dear sir, such signs and images of the worst times in the history of humanity, have served the purpose for which they were now furnished, and lievaught once more forward. The *piece de circonstance*, in which they were introduced as appropriate machinery, has been brought, thank God! to a successful conclusion: and they should now be returned to the old property room of Irish vanity, as no longer applicable to the wants of the times. I must repeat, that men, so influential as yourself in your community, might reach with good effect the necessity of forgetting the past, and of concentrating all the

force of the country upon the present,—its peace, prosperity, and moral improvement.

‘ MR O’CALLAGHAN, (*earnestly*.)—Oh, Mr Sackville, it is neither for the present interest, nor for the future fortunes of the country—neither for her pride nor her glory, that Ireland should forget the past. She should not forget that her soil, where for centuries “many a saint and many a hero trode,” has been bathed in the blood of her brave sons, who were deprived of their liberty, and of their ancient, national, and venerated church.

‘ MR SACKVILLE.—But your poetical saints and heroes, in plain English, were idle monks and ferocious banditti—alike barbarous, bigoted, and living by the plunder and degradation of the people. They have no longer advocates or admirers in the nineteenth century, save only in that house of refuge for all by-gone institutions and forms—Ireland. It is her unlucky peculiarity to have been thrown back on the past, through distrust of the future: and partly, perhaps, by her remote geographical position—partly by the denial of education—to have been excluded from the lights which have beamed upon the rest of Europe. But a new era is come; your religion is free. The spirit of the age will no longer tolerate that proconsular government which has so long impeded the national energies. No longer, therefore, degraded, you should learn to bear the truth; and with a career opened to praise, you should not seek to be flattered. The past, even if your early history be not altogether a delusion, is at least inapplicable to your present position. Other virtues, other energies, than those of your barbarous ancestors, are necessary to lead you to prosperity and happiness. You want not saints, but citizens; not heroes, but peaceable, industrious, and calculating utilitarians.

‘ MR O’CALLAGHAN.—O none of your Utilitarians, none of your Bentham! Patriotism, Mr Sackville,—patriotism teaches another lesson. Where else can our fine pisantry learn to love their country, and devote themselves to its freedom, but in the records of the courage and piety of their ancestors—the pages of O’Flaherty, Keating, and O’Hallorum?

‘ MR SACKVILLE.—Oh! Mr O’Callaghan, that is no declamation of yours; you are evidently too clever, too clear-sighted a person, to be the dupe of such vague generalities, or monstrous fables, as the authors advance, to whom you allude. You must know and feel, that your peasantry are no longer the finest in the world; whatever they may have been. Neglect, oppression, want, and the influence of others over their deep, dark ignorance, have degraded them in too many instances, to the level of the brute animal, who shares their hut and their scanty food. Their very nature seems changed. Human life has ceased to be valued among them; they take it without remorse,—as they part with it without regret; and if the soil of Ireland is still bathed in blood, it is not drawn by her enemies, but by her infuriated children.’

One more short extract—Sackville is interposing in a dispute between a Catholic and a Protestant dissenter:—

‘ What I have heard to-day, tends only to satisfy me of what I have

long thought,—that spiritual pride, and the thirst for spiritual dominion, are among the most powerful causes of Irish misery. I see in your irreconcilable disputes, and common intolerance, the greatest obstacles, not only to domestic peace, but to every common effort for your common improvement. It is the curse of this country, that it is overcharged with a fiery zeal, which is as fatal to every other virtue, as it is to Christian charity. It is this morbid excess and derangement of the religious feeling, or rather the ignorance in which these are founded, that has rendered Ireland the prey of every impostor, who, under the cloak of piety, of patriotism, or of political ascendancy, has sought to mislead her. False zealots in religion, false patriots in politics, of every shade and colour, inculcate a blind respect for authority; and Catholic and Protestant, orange and green, alike agree in hating and fearing the man who dares to think for himself, and act according to the dictates of an independent conscience. Give to Ireland knowledge, and you will soon give her repose; give her repose, and her fierce energies will be turned upon her own interests, and find a healthy and happy scope in a well-regulated and productive industry.'

We concur with Lady Morgan in thinking that Ireland greatly needs repose; but we cannot hope that the gift of knowledge will be alone sufficient to ensure that blessing. In saying that Ireland needs repose, we mean not that of indolent supineness, not the sleep of forgetfulness and stupefaction, but that healthful rest which comes from the absence of pain and disease. To say that Ireland requires repose, is but to say that it requires the removal of those grievances which have hitherto been productive of irritation and disquiet.

To some of these we shall now advert. The general features of Irish policy, and the principal subjects which demand the consideration of the Government, have been comprehensively viewed in a recent Number of this Journal.* A survey so extensive, it is not our present purpose to resume, but merely to occupy some few portions of untrodden ground—to examine some subjects more narrowly—and to adduce some illustrative circumstances of more recent occurrence.

Foremost amongst the causes which impede the attainment of tranquillity in Ireland may be placed the tithe system. Need we wonder that it should be so fruitful a source of discontent, if we consider who are the payers of tithe, and who the receivers? If tithe is unpopular even in England, where the parishioner and the incumbent are Protestants alike, what must it be in Ireland, where its obnoxiousness is not softened by any such identity of creed? where, on the contrary, the pecuniary grievance is aggravated by sectarian antipathies? where it is paid by the improve-

* No. 115, p. 248.

rished Catholic occupant to the minister of that which he regards as a hostile church?

To add to its unpopularity it has been made to fall in Ireland, much in reality, and still more in semblance, on those by whom the burden ought not, in truth, to be borne at all. It has appeared in the hateful light of a tax upon the occupying tenant, wrung from his scanty earnings, and too often swelled in amount by the heavy costs of exaction—costs which fall on him alone; and meanwhile, it is not by him but by his landlord, that the tithe is, or ought to be paid. When purified from that objectionable pressure upon industry, which is no more an essential quality of tithe than it is of rent, it will be found to fall wholly on the landlord. The rent which he receives under an equitable system, is less than that which he might have got if his land were tithe-free, by just so much as the tithe amounts to; while the tenant should pay to the incumbent and the landlord in the shape of tithe and rent, just so much, as, if there were no incumbent, and if no tithes existed, he would pay to the landlord alone in the shape of rent. But, instead of tithes being exhibited to the Irish people in this comparatively unobjectionable form,—instead of an avoidance of the evils of collision,—we find whatever mischief could result from tithe, painfully aggravated under the existing system. We find the needy Catholic tenant of the wealthy Protestant landlord seeming to bear for the support of the Protestant Church, the unmitigated burden of an impost which that landlord does really bear in part, and ought to bear for him entirely. We earnestly desire to see these pernicious appearances dissolved. We desire not to invest circumstances with a delusive colouring, but to exhibit the truth;—to see the question of tithe so settled that the Irish Catholic tenant may no longer have reason to believe (what even now is scarcely true, save in appearance) that he is taxed for the support of a Protestant Church. We desire, moreover, (since names weigh much with the imperfectly educated,) to abolish a name which tends only to perpetuate the recollections of disunion and discontent. We would abolish the name of tithe in Ireland, and would wish a *land-tax* substituted in its stead. It is to be feared that no commutation short of this will be attended with the decided effect; and, on the other hand, there is great reason to hope that such a tax would be promptly paid. It should be paid not by the tenant, or directly to the incumbent, by which means it would lose its most obnoxious properties; and it is important that it should be so applied that *all* parties might have some interest in enforcing it. It is important that it should be applied not exclusively to the maintenance of the Protestant establishment. We desire to see maintained the unimpaired efficiency of that establishment,—we desire that it should be amply pro-

vided for. How this provision should be made,—whether, for instance, a just portion should be secured in the shape of land, to be obtained by redemption of land-tax to the requisite amount, is a question which we will not at present attempt to discuss. We will only say, that on whatever footing the temporalities of the Protestant Church in Ireland are placed, it is advisable in that country that the land-tax which might succeed to tithe, should be raised not exclusively for that church. More should be raised than is required for this sole purpose; and, in the application of the surplus, the tranquillity and welfare of Ireland is interested in no slight degree. Some have called for its application to the purposes of education and charity. But these modes of application are not those of which it is at present our purpose to speak. We would especially wish to see a general tax of this kind employed in the good work of conciliation, in removing the marks of partiality, in mitigating the jealousy of rival sects. We would wish that out of this general fund, payment should be made, not only to the Established Church, but to the Presbyterian and the Catholic. At present the Catholic is less favourably treated than the Presbyterian. The State pays an annual sum to the Presbyterians of the North of Ireland, (a very deserving body of men,) and has recently granted them an increased supply. While the Established Church and the Presbyterians are thus acknowledged and paid, six millions of Catholics, forming three-fourths of the population of Ireland, are exposed to the irritating spirit of discontent and hatred which such partiality engenders. They regard the exception as a stigma—and can we say that they so regard it without reason? We hold that a decent provision for the Catholic priesthood, such as might rescue them from that dependence on the people, by which they are often tempted to be demagogues or tools, would be a measure both politic and just, and would imply no such acknowledgment as ought to give offence to the most sensitive scruples of the most rigid Protestant.

A state of transition, albeit from evil to good, is almost ever a state of difficulty. A bad system of long standing cannot even be abolished with impunity. Its expiring throes are dangerous. Like a foundering ship, it may in sinking draw within its whirlpool some of those who had the sense to quit it. Thus, in the ‘*extinction of tithe,*’ it is found a matter of no small difficulty to afford substantial redress to numerous claimants, many of whom have long drawn their sole means of subsistence from that source. Whatever may be the vices of the tithe-system,—whatever the difficulty of affording redress,—of this there can be no doubt, that justice imperatively demands that those claimants should be

satisfied as far as is possible. We unhesitatingly condemn the doctrine, that even strong objections to a legalized system afford any plea for withdrawing protection from such property as under that system is by law secured. In this kingdom, where, happily, bad laws are not immutable, but we trust are destined, when bad, to a short existence, it is above all things essential for stability and order that they should be respected as long as they exist—that the protection they afford should be, while they last, a *bonâ fide* protection; and that no man should, on account of their defects, consider himself excused for not complying with their injunctions. Such non-compliance may be an *ultima ratio*, meet for subjects of despotic states, but not for us; yet we sometimes see ignorant, presumptuous, and mischievous men resist legal imposts, and fancy themselves Hampdens! Let them study the conduct of the patriot more accurately, before they arrogate to themselves the merit of walking in his steps. They will find that Hampden did not set himself in opposition to the known and acknowledged laws of his country,—that he did *not* resist the payment of an impost unquestionably legal, but that he resisted a tax of less than doubtful legality; and, in a contest between the prerogative and the people, offered himself as a victim, that in him might be tried a great disputed question of constitutional right. Who could answer for the stability of Government or Property, if dislike to a lawful claim were to authorize and to sanctify resistance to its enforcement? Those of our fellow-citizens of this place who, following the bad example of a distracted country, have lately engaged in pseudo and fantastic exhibitions of resistance to an objectionable, but undeniably legal impost, may rest assured, that the evil tendencies of their conduct are not the less certain, that it has hitherto only served to expose themselves to the penalty of derision.

But it is more to our present purpose to mention, that resistance to the payment of tithe legally due, has existed in Ireland to an enormous extent. It appears from the statement made by the present Secretary for Ireland, in the House of Commons, on the 5th of August, on introducing the resolution for the Tithes Arrear Bill, that after deducting the sum collected by the Government, there remained of unpaid arrears of ecclesiastical tithe, for 1831-1832, L.412,185, and of lay-tithe for those years, L.148,385, 18s. 2d. That, moreover, to this might be added for the present year, ecclesiastical tithe estimated at L.600,000, and lay-tithe to the amount of L.74,192, 19s. 1d.; of which the proprietors are as little likely to receive a shilling without the special intervention of the Government. The arrears for the years 1829 and 1830 were not included in the statement made on that occasion.

They have not, we believe, been accurately ascertained, but are supposed to amount to not less than L.120,000. It is thus seen that the unpaid arrears of tithe for the four preceding years amount to little less than L.700,000. In order to secure to its rightful owners some part of this vast amount of debt, one measure has been already tried, and, we regret to add, has failed completely. The Bill of 1832 for the recovery of tithe was an unfortunate piece of legislation. The very period of its birth was inauspicious. It came forth on the eve of a general election; and the unsatisfactory issue of that election in Ireland is perhaps in no slight degree attributable to the irritation which this measure produced. It exposed the Government in Ireland to a large share of the popular antipathy to the system of tithe. It involved the army in degrading duties; and while doing in some respects positive harm, it has for all purposes of substantial good completely failed. The whole sum collected under this act by the Government, with all the civil and military force at its command, out of the vast arrears above mentioned, is only L.12,100; and the pittance thus painfully gained has been exceeded by the costs of collection. The expense has been great in money, and greater still in that good-will which no Government can afford to spare.

A new measure for the relief of the suffering tithe-owner is now before the public—a temporary remedy for, we trust, a temporary evil; an evil attendant on transition from a faulty system to one less objectionable. This measure offers no new means for recovering the older and smaller arrears of 1829 and 1830; it applies itself only to redress the more recent and heavier grievance,—the non-payment of the tithes of the two last years, and the anticipated non-payment of the present, amounting altogether to the enormous sum of L.1,234,763, 17s. 3d. The expenses incident to the recovery of these dues are estimated at 25 per cent for the years 1831 and 1832, and at 15 per cent for the present year. This per centage would amount to L.241,242, which, subtracted from the above sum, reduces its amount to L.993,521, 17s. 6d. Temporary relief to this amount the Government is disposed to grant; and it has accordingly been resolved, that Exchequer bills for not more than L.1,000,000, shall be issued, for the purpose of advancing the arrears of 1831 and 1832, subject to a deduction of 25 per cent, and the value of the tithes of 1833, subject to a deduction of 15 per cent, to such as are entitled and desirous of receiving aid. The amount so advanced is to be included in the tithe composition, and to be repaid in the course of five years by ten half-yearly instalments. It is unnecessary to describe the provisions of the bill by which this measure of relief is to be carried into effect; but we will mention one

important difference between this and the measure of last year. By the latter, the charge was thrown on the occupying tenant—by the present, it falls upon the landlord. We know that the spirit of faction is never satisfied—and that there will be factious men in every land. Unhappily there are many in Ireland, who would part as readily with life as with the privilege of discontent—who would view even assistance as an insult, and hate their political opponents only more bitterly for having treated them better than they expected. Some exhibitions of this temper we could anticipate; but we were not prepared for that strange excess of resentful raving which has issued on this occasion from a portion of the Irish press; least of all could we expect that the most acrimonious virulence would have flowed from those who profess to be the warmest supporters of the party relieved; and that the loan of L.1,000,000 would be designated as an act which only added ‘insult to injury.’ The organ of the Conservative party in Ireland, can designate the Bill by no milder appellation than an ‘impious fraud;’ and, on the 30th of August, it calls upon the clergy ‘unanimously to reject the ministerial proffer!’ It recommends, moreover, that they should immediately ‘hold diocesan meetings for the drawing up of resolutions and remonstrances; and to *establish a system of mutual communication and co-operation throughout the country.*’ Much injured Whitefeet! You too have established ‘a system of mutual communication and co-operation throughout the country’—and what has been your reward? Your ‘co-operations’ have been visited by a Whig Government with the penalties of a ‘Coercion Bill.’ Be comforted! You have been doing that which a Conservative journal considers it just and decent to recommend to the clergy. But this is not all. The impoverished clergy are recommended to raise, ‘for the purposes of mutual support,’ ‘a joint-stock fund, by appealing to the lay public at large,’ and ‘*by subscriptions amongst themselves.*’ They are invited to subscribe out of their own pockets, for their own relief! By pursuing which course, they are assured, ‘they cannot be worse off than they are; and they may, nay *must*, be much better;’—that is to say, by ‘appealing to the lay public,’ and paying themselves out of their own pockets, they *must* be better off than if they accept the loan of L.1,000,000! But where are the means of subscribing to a fund for their own support? Where are the tithes? Must they give them up? Oh no. They are recommended to ‘proceed to collect their tithes in every way the law warrants’—it being notorious that ‘every way the law warrants’ has been tried and has failed; and it is moreover suggested, ‘that no individual should be allowed to be at the expense of such proceedings; the cost coming from the joint-stock

‘purse recommended above.’ Now, since the whole power of the Government has, ‘by every way the law warrants,’ been able to collect out of the immense arrears before mentioned only L.12,100; and this sum, thus collected, has been exceeded by the costs of collection, we apprehend that the bitterest enemy of the Established Church in Ireland, could desire for it no harder fate, than to be reduced to subsist upon the residue of that ‘joint-stock ‘purse,’ after the foregoing recommendations had been fully complied with. Yet these recommendations form the *practical* portion of a laboured and eloquent address, from one of those who call themselves the best friends of the Church in Ireland. Truly the ravings of insanity are sometimes tame and reasonable, compared with the eloquence of faction! Well may the Irish clergy exclaim, ‘Save us from our *friends*,’ if they be only friends of this kind. We have quoted the foregoing passages only as a specimen of the unreasoning violence of a faction. We do not impute to the great body of the Irish clergy any sympathy with such ravings. But even if they were equally unreasonable it would not alter our opinion of the measure; and our sincere desire to see them assisted, even though it were in spite of themselves. We would not pause to ask a drowning man if he wished to be saved from destruction—we would save him without enquiry; if he is ungrateful, be it so; it troubles not us—we should have done our duty.

The spirit of faction is one of the widely spread, and deeply rooted evils which disturb the tranquillity of Ireland. For an evil so multiform many various remedies will be required; but the greater part may be comprised under one comprehensive name—*impartiality* on the part of the Government. It is highly desirable that the Government should place itself above the suspicion of being partial. We do not doubt that such a line of conduct, on their part, will eventually be amply rewarded; but considering how Ireland is constituted, we fear a course of strict impartiality will not have the immediate effect of placing its rulers on a bed of roses. First, they must be prepared to gain but little credit for it. Partiality has been so long the rule of government in Ireland, that while by one party a departure from it would be regarded as a dereliction of duty, by the other it would be viewed only with suspicion. Nothing, however, but a long course of impartiality, rigidly and consistently pursued, will, we fear, convince the great body of the Irish people that it is a virtue which really does exist, and that it is one which a government ought to practise. Chiefly do we desire to see them inspired with a well-grounded confidence in the administration of justice. Earnestly do we wish that the cloven foot of Orangeism, or of any other party spirit, may not be allowed to sully at its source the pure current of the

law. The people must be taught to feel that the law is a friend from which they can obtain redress; and that the verdict and the sentence will depend upon the evidence, and not upon the creed. To restore this confidence will be difficult, but no means should be neglected by the Government. One, to which we will now advert, is the appointment of Crown Prosecutors. Such is the disinclination of individuals to prosecute in Ireland, that the great majority of prosecutions are of necessity undertaken by the Crown. In the appointment of this important instrument for furthering the ends of justice, the Government possesses one great means of exhibiting impartiality and restoring public confidence,—a means which we trust will not be neglected.

We can scarcely, however, venture to hope that public confidence will be greatly restored till the spirit of partisanship is banished from the Bench. In reading some recent charges to Irish Grand Juries, we have been compelled to lament their political tone. We can conceive, that to a discursive and imaginative mind it may seem irksome to be confined within the dry and unexciting limits of the law; and we have wished that the playful fancy and metaphorical eloquence of Baron Sir W. Smith, would either have avoided the dangerous ground of political speculations, or would have found some safer vent than a judicial charge. We are, moreover, sorry to perceive, that the animadversions which his eloquence has excited, have produced not recantation but a defence. The defence (conveyed in a charge) is curious; but we have no room for more of it than his allusion to what he considers an unfair attempt to abridge his right of talking politics, and his disdainful description of such judges as confine themselves strictly to legal matters. ‘There are those,’ says the learned Baron, according to the report of a friendly journal, ‘who would be for abridging the diameter of the judge’s sphere. Some from a saucy depreciation of the importance of the judicial rank, character, and duties; more from a sense of the importance of the influence of the Bench, if not disparagingly interfered with, counteracted, and curtailed. These latter,’ he proceeds to say, ‘would fain reduce the law to an ignoble craft, or those who dispense it to mere tradesmen. Seated on their *bench-board*, they would allow them to dispose of *suits*, or *take measure* of crimes and misdemeanours, and furnish penalties that should *fit*. But they must not dilute their black letter with the spirit of philosophy or sense. They must be *journeymen* and servile plodders, lest they should do the state some service by entering on the more dignified functions of a master mind.’ This, we repeat, is reported by an admiring journal, as part of a judicial charge delivered by Baron Sir W. Smith! This, we presume, is dignified! This is *not* ‘a saucy

‘depreciation of the importance of the judicial rank, character, ‘and duties!’ A judge on the Bench alludes to a trade which is the most frequent object of vulgar contumely, for the sake of casting ridicule on those among his brethren who confine themselves to the strict execution of their legal duties! And to execute those legal duties is ‘to dispose of suits, or take measure of crimes and ‘misdemeanours, and furnish penalties that should fit!’ Surely these expressions could not have been premeditated. They must have been uttered thoughtlessly and in haste. The learned Baron could not have remembered when, from his judgment-seat, he spoke thus sportively of crimes and penalties, that among those crimes is *murder*—among those penalties is *death*. We know not which of his ‘functions’ he may consider ‘more dignified;’ but we can conceive none more awfully important than to hold trembling in the scales of justice the life of a fellow-being. For what higher functions Baron Smith is better qualified we know not; but we cannot desire that the labours of the Bench should be imposed on any ‘master mind,’ that can look down with contempt from its fancied elevation upon an adherence to duties such as this.

While political partisanship is considered not inconsistent with the duties of a judge,—the functionary, of whose office impartiality is an essential attribute,—we cannot be surprised if we find a factious, unjust, and partial spirit raging fiercely in the lower ranks. Happily, however, we can record an instance where the impartiality and firmness of the judge was promptly and exemplarily applied to counteract the injustice of a jury. At Cavan, on the 12th of July, 1832, a procession of Orangemen took place to celebrate the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne. The persons forming the procession carried fire-arms and flags, and marched, attended by a band of music, before the court-house, in which were then sitting the Judges, who sent out an officer of police to command them to desist, as their noise interrupted the business of the Court. They were nevertheless allowed to pass on. A few days afterwards, a procession of Roman Catholics took place in the same town, in imitation of the Orange procession, carrying in like manner fire-arms and flags, and attended by a band of music. Informations were laid against the Catholics soon after their procession had taken place; and at the Spring assizes of the present year, true bills were found against them. Complaint was made to the Lord-lieutenant, that the magistrates had refused to take informations against the Orangemen who had joined in procession on the 12th of July, 1832; whereupon the Lord-lieutenant directed that such informations should be taken at the same assizes. This course was adopted,—true bills were found, and both parties—Orangemen and Catho-

lies—postponed their trials to the ensuing Midsummer assizes. The Catholics, whose offence was subsequent to that of the Orangemen, but against whom bills had been found first, were tried first, and were all found guilty. The Orangemen, whose similar offence had been antecedent to that of the Catholics, were afterwards tried and were *all acquitted!* Such were the proceedings of the jury. We now turn with satisfaction to the conduct of the judge. Mr Justice Burton called up the Catholics for judgment; and said that he could not shut his eyes to the glaring fact that their offence had been provoked by that of the Orangemen, and was intended as an imitation of it. He should, therefore, discharge the prisoners upon their entering into their own recognisances to appear and receive the judgment of the Court, whenever they should be called upon so to do.

The existence of these party processions is, in Ireland, a serious evil, and much affects the tranquillity of the country. The legislature has endeavoured to suppress them; but it is lamentable to observe, that their efforts have succeeded hitherto only in rendering more apparent the deplorable extent to which the spirit of party can pervert the feelings of men intrusted with the administration of the laws. In August, 1832, an act was passed (2 and 3, W. IV. c. 118) to facilitate the prevention of these insulting processions—to meet the difficulty which existed in getting Orangemen to do their duty, and to avoid the delays caused by offenders traversing indictments at common law. It was provided by this act, that any person who should meet or join in procession for the purpose of celebrating any religious distinction between the King's subjects, should be guilty of a misdemeanour, and punished accordingly—that any one magistrate might order the dispersion of such a procession, by using a form of words given in the act—and that any person forming part of such a procession, who did not retire within fifteen minutes after such order, might be apprehended by a magistrate's warrant, and summarily convicted by any two magistrates, and by them committed to prison. Magistrates were thus invested with more than ordinary powers, in order that there might, if possible, be left no excuse for permitting the continuance of these processions. What has been the result? On the 12th of July in this year, numerous Orange processions took place, completely answering the description given in the act of last year; and one of them, at Coote-hill, was attended with the loss of four lives. The power of summary conviction given to the magistrates afforded them easy and efficient means of suppressing these processions; yet, throughout the whole of the North of Ireland, *in only one instance*, did a magistrate avail himself so far of the powers of the statute, as even to order an Orange proces-

sion to disperse. The magistrate who did his duty was Sub-Inspector Crossley. We are glad to mention by name an honourable exception. With respect to the conduct of the rest, investigations have taken place; and we regret to learn they have elicited no satisfactory explanations of their not having proceeded on the provisions of an act passed in the preceding year to meet the precise cases which had occurred.

One lamentable truth is, we are sorry to say, clear—that passive resistance to tithe is not more general and successful in the south of Ireland, than is the passive resistance on the part of the magistrates to all attempts of the Government to put down Orange processions in the North. With which lies the greater sin? If we measure the sin of resistance only by its immediate consequences, we might say—the resister of Tithes—but we must extend our consideration further. Those who resist the payment of tithe are for the most part poor and ignorant. The Orange magistrates are comparatively wealthy, educated, and enlightened. The non-payer of tithe, in opposing the law, opposes that which he has never been taught to regard as his friend—the magistrate is its sworn executor. Public notice, and public disapprobation have been most strongly excited by the resistance to tithe, because it has been of a more formidable and extensive nature, and associated with atrocities of an aggravated character. But what shall we say of *magistrates* who practically instruct the misguided peasant how laws may be made of none effect!—ay, even laws of which the object is not to tax or to oppress, but merely to deprive one sect of the hateful privilege of insulting others. It is needless to recapitulate the often-told and well-known tale of Whiteboy outrages—but justice requires that attention should sometimes be directed to the less notorious delinquencies of the other party.

An occasion has arisen in which the Government has taken an opportunity of exhibiting the desirable spirit of impartiality, combined with an unshrinking earnestness in the investigation and detection of abuses—we mean the appointment of a Commission of Enquiry into the state of Corporations in Ireland. We are glad that such a Commission should have been instituted—and still more, that the appointments should have been so made as to induce a belief in Ireland that it is meant not to be a mockery, but to fulfil its professed objects with impartiality and strictness. A travelling Commission of Enquiry seems more likely to attain the desired object than any other mode of investigation. An enquiry into the state of more than one hundred corporations, existing and in abeyance, before a Parliamentary Committee in England, would be attended with a vast expenditure of money

and time—and the abuses in them are so multiform, that no single order for returns could have been so framed as to effect their complete exposure. In this latter mode of investigation, therefore, it has been left to individual members to move for such returns as might expose the particular abuse of which they had knowledge in any particular corporation—while for further light we must look to the proceedings of the commissioners. They commenced their sittings on the 5th of last September, and will proceed by two and two in six circuits through the several corporate towns of Ireland; examining the officers of each, and receiving such other evidence as may be offered to them. The abuses of Irish corporations have heretofore excited the attention of the legislature. The corporation of Limerick was, in 1761, made the subject of investigation before a committee of the Irish House of Commons. This committee stated in their report, that the office of town-clerk had been sold for L.500—that the mayor had procured the office of pilot for his son, a boy of nine years of age, and afterwards sold it for L.80—that the existing chamberlain had never, since his appointment, accounted for the revenues received by him—that the estates of the corporation which were vested in them for the public uses of the city, had been disposed of among a few members of the council, and the greatest part demised to some of them for 999 years at trifling rents. These were a few out of many alleged abuses. The corporation of Limerick is now purified from the stains which once disfigured it (owing, we believe, in a great measure, to the exertions of Mr Spring Rice); but, if report speaks truly, numerous abuses in other corporations, too strongly resembling those alleged by the committee of 1761, may be expected to be brought to light by the investigations of the present Commission. The concurrent course of enquiry which is taking place in the corporations of England, deprives the Irish corporators of all reason for thinking they are invidiously subjected to the stigma of suspicion. The comparison too, even if unfavourable, may be attended with beneficial results. If the Irish corporations pass from out the ordeal of scrutiny more blemished than those of England, some advantage may still be extracted from the painful contrast. It must elicit an expression of public opinion, which may, we trust, strike shame into the corrupt portion of Irish corporators—it will raise the moral standard by which such delinquencies are to be judged, and tend as much as any legislative enactments, to check the growth of that pernicious and tenacious weed—the spirit of *jobbing*—which has long been fastly and widely rooted in the misgoverned soil of Ireland.

We believe this evil spirit to have been fostered and sanctioned,

in no slight degree, by the Grand Jury system in that country—a system which we are glad to perceive that the Legislature has endeavoured to improve. A Bill for the purpose of amending the laws relating to Grand Juries in Ireland (to which, while it was pending before Parliament, allusion was made in a previous Number of this Journal) has now been passed; and seems well calculated to remove the defects of the system, especially in what regards the administration of the county purse. A vast power of taxation and expenditure has been vested in Irish Grand Juries, subjected to a very inadequate degree of responsibility and control. By this new measure powers which hitherto resided in the Grand Jury alone, are henceforward to be divided. With a few specified exceptions, the sole direction of the purposes for which money may be granted by the Grand Jury, is vested in Special Sessions of Magistrates, aided by a certain number (which number is to be determined by the Grand Jury) of the highest payers of county cess in each barony. To Special Sessions so constituted, all applications respecting works to be undertaken by the county, must be referred for examination and approval. Such as have been approved are to be communicated to the Grand Jury, who may re-examine and present or reject such applications at their pleasure. But their province is confined to approval or rejection. The initiative is taken out of their hands; and, with a few exceptions, they are not empowered to make any presentment for raising money, unless an application has been made and approved at the Special Sessions. County works are to be directed by a county surveyor, appointed by the Government, but removable by the Grand Jury. Works are to be executed by contract,—tenders being received, and the lowest proposal accepted; whereby one means of favouritism is abolished, and jobs can no longer be given to friends. More ample time is to be allowed to the Grand Jury for executing their fiscal duties, before they commence their functions in criminal matters; and they are especially relieved from all those obligations of secrecy respecting the former, which are held incumbent in the latter case. The constitution of Grand Juries is also to be altered;—the Sheriff, in giving the panel of persons summoned to serve, shall contrive, that, ‘as far as can be, one fit and competent person shall be taken from each barony or half-barony, if such can be found therein respectively;’ such being persons having freehold lands of the yearly value of L.50, or leaseholds of L.100 per annum, over and above the rent, in any one barony or half-barony.

Such are the leading provisions of a bill intended to restore the public confidence in Irish Grand Juries, and to crush the

spirit of jobbing. Would we could believe this spirit was dead, and yield our assent to the flattering assurances of Mr Baron Pennefather, in his charge to the Grand Jury of Cork, on the 14th of August last: 'That there were complaints against 'Grand Juries in former times,' says the learned Baron, 'and 'well-founded ones, I do not doubt; but, in these days, I am 'satisfied that there are none who would give their sanction to 'that which they knew in their consciences to be wrong.' This well-turned compliment was, doubtless, agreeable to the Grand Jurors. But it had the effect of eliciting, in the following week, a letter in an Irish newspaper, signed 'John Peters,' which controverts the opinions of the learned Baron; and, in support of the contradiction, proceeds to state, that, in a recent printed prementment sheet of the Grand Jury of Dublin, is found 'a single 'item of upwards of L.5000, without any public notice, presented 'for a certain job, which job was by them given to one of their fellow-jurors;' and that 'the true value of the said job,' as appears by documents in the hands of the writer, 'is not more than 'L.2000:' consequently, the Dublin householders are defrauded to the amount of L.3000. If these confident statements are inaccurate, we shall be glad to see them refuted. We have searched for some attempt at refutation in subsequent Irish newspapers of opposite politics, but none has hitherto met our eyes. Yet the above are allegations which, if untrue, surely might be, and ought to be, promptly contradicted. If, in having called forth this attack upon the Grand Jury system, Baron Pennefather's charge may be considered unfortunate, we fear it is equally impossible to congratulate him upon the remaining part of his defence. That 'gentlemen of the Grand Jury' should be treated as 'gentlemen,' is unquestionably right; and a well-bred man (as, doubtless, the learned Baron is) may naturally feel disposed to show them every civility in his power; but a judicial charge is, perhaps, too grave a vehicle for much of so light a ware as compliment; and civility, however proper towards individuals, is not required towards a system. But it is not so much with the good-breeding of the learned Judge that we propose to deal, as with the arguments it ushered in. He says, in reference to the contemplated changes, 'If such as you, gentlemen, are to be 'swayed in the exercise of public duty by private interest; if 'the important and solemn duties you are called upon to execute 'are to be discharged under the influence of private feelings; if 'the men I now address are unfit, what class of men, then, are 'capable of properly sustaining them?' We answer, None. No class of men is fit to be intrusted with that degree of irresponsible power which used to be invested in the Irish Grand Jury.

The learned Baron proceeds to ask, ‘ Are we to seek among the ‘ lower orders for more integrity ? Are we to give the preference ‘ to men of small property, over those of great estate and charac- ‘ ter ? or expect to find them more willing and more capable than ‘ those now returned ? ’ We answer, No. If the powers hitherto exercised by Irish Grand Juries were to be transferred, without any additional control, into the hands of men of inferior wealth and station,—men more tempted and less observed,—it is too probable that it would be exercised in a still more objectionable manner. But who ever proposed to make such a transfer ? The learned Baron is combating a chimera of his own creation ; or he is asking irrelevant questions, for the sake of gaining an apparent triumph. He goes on to ask, ‘ Who is to be intrusted ‘ with the control and disposal of the public purse ? It is said that ‘ men of large property are regardless as to the expenditure of ‘ the money ; as if the men out of whose estates, although paid ‘ by the hands of their tenants, it eventually comes, should not ‘ be deeply interested in the mode of its disposal ; and are those ‘ tenants to become, in your stead, the holders and distributors ‘ of the public money ? ’ Without dwelling upon the theory, so quietly assumed, that the man out of whose estates money *eventually* comes, will be as careful of its expenditure as he who pays it more directly, we must remark, that these questions, whether tauntingly made, or from desire of information, would have been rendered unnecessary by a mere perusal of the Grand Jury Bill itself. This would have informed the learned Baron, that it is not proposed to make any class of men sole ‘ holders ‘ and distributors of the public money,’ in the stead of those whom he was then addressing. The intention of that measure is, not to concentrate, but to divide the power of distribution, so that the selection of objects for the application of money, and the grant of money for such objects, shall not be exercised by the same men. The selecting body cannot grant—the granting body cannot select any new channel of expense—and thus each operates as a check upon the other. In a strain of similar compliment to the present purity of Grand Juries, we find another learned Baron (Sir W. Smith) thus addressing them in a recent charge :—‘ It is strange,’ he says, ‘ that the comparatively un- ‘ cultivated and jobbing gentry of my younger days were upheld, ‘ while the improved, correct, and upright gentlemen who have ‘ succeeded, it is become the fashion to disparage, and endeavour ‘ to put down.’ Not so : it is assuredly the wish of the Govern- ment to uphold the gentlemen of Ireland, as long as they show themselves worthy to be upheld, and ‘ to disparage and put down’

only the *system* under which the ‘jobbing gentry’ of the learned Baron’s younger days were so long able to job with impunity.

We have now adverted to several causes which militate against the tranquillity of Ireland. We desire to see that tranquillity ensured, both by the removal of whatever is *per se* galling and vexatious, and by curtailing the means of agitation. Wherever there is an abuse to be denounced, let the Government pre-occupy the ground. It is true that Ireland has been tranquilized, and that we have reason to congratulate the nation at large on the successful result of that Bill for the *protection* of the Irish people, which it has pleased the public to call ‘coercive.’ Crime has been greatly diminished in the districts hitherto disturbed; and in the proclaimed district of Kilkenny, the peaceable inhabitants have felt security and confidence revive under its operation.

If we could be content to look merely at the present state of Ireland, we might, perhaps, be satisfied by such results. It is true, tranquillity is restored; but how long can we answer for its continuance, if recourse is had to no other remedy than coercion? The enactment of laws more severe, and the maintenance of an army more powerful than, under happier circumstances, would be tolerated or required, may, for a while, press down the spirit that called for their existence; but, unless the cause of discontent is abated, the spirit will rebound with frightful violence when the temporary pressure is removed. We remember, in our own time, a great public building having been declared insecure, in consequence of the unsoundness of a part of its foundation. An ingenious method was devised of supporting the superstructure by temporary props, while those faulty portions were rebuilt. The method was successful: the foundations were secured; the disfiguring props were then safely discarded; and the building, unchanged in the eyes of the multitude, stands forth as a monument of the ingenuity with which man can avert the dangers he has created. Let this example illustrate the mode in which the ills of Ireland may receive a remedy. Ireland has a right to expect such a change in the causes of her discontent as shall enable her present rulers to cast away, with safety to the country, those measures called ‘coercive,’ which the moment of danger has demanded. May they obviate all necessity for the re-enactment of such measures, by exhibiting, unlike their predecessors, an active zeal in the correction of abuses. May they pursue the wise and generous principle, not only of complying promptly with what is just, but even of anticipating such demands as are reasonable.

Unhappily an opposite policy was too long pursued in Ireland.

Temporizers deemed it politic to withhold redress, until to withhold it was no longer safe—until the last disgraceful moment, when what might have looked like generosity wore only the aspect of submission—till what might have been the result of principle, was pointed at as the effect of fear—till the admonitions of a far-sighted wisdom dwindled into the suggestions of temporary expediency—till what should have been hailed as a concession to justice was only sneered at as a surrender to force. It was this policy which neutralized the benefits of Catholic Emancipation. It was a great—a beneficial—an indispensable measure ; but its benefits have come not unalloyed with evil, owing to the manner in which it was granted. It was a good thing, ill done. Too long deferred, it was at length conceded, on grounds scarcely better than the tyrant's plea—necessity. It was given merely because it could not safely be denied—not as if the immutable laws of justice enjoined the removal of religious disabilities, but as if principle enjoined their continued enforcement ; and as if the abandonment of a righteous principle was at length cruelly demanded by imperious need. The rightful position of the advocates and opponents of this measure was reversed. *Fiat justitia, ruat cælum* was the cry of the opponents, as if justice had been ranged on the side of intolerance ! It was a senseless cry ; for when did the judgment of Heaven ever fall on any act of substantial justice ? but it was a cry which imposed on many. And what was the best rejoinder which the Ministerial advocates of that measure could offer ? Not a bold avowal, that their own was the side of justice, and that they took their stand upon the solid ground of an immutable principle ; but a deprecation of those evil consequences which the champions of misnamed and mistaken justice were so bravely willing to incur. The Great Captain threw the convenient shelter of his name over a policy, which, in any other statesman, would have been called timid. And it *was* timid : it was, as proposed, a mere submission to the necessity of the moment—to importunities which could not be resisted. We applaud the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel for having seen the necessity—for having yielded to it when seen—and for having had the courage to brave the taunts of many among their former friends who reproached them with a dereliction of principle. They did all they could ; and they did it upon the only principle which they could consistently avow—expediency ; a shallow and a dangerous principle : and verily its disciples have had their reward ! The Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel practically announced to the Irish Catholics—‘ You are numerous—you are clamorous—you are powerful ; be it right or wrong, we *must* satisfy you ;—but, if you would only be

‘ quiet and contented, we would not grant Emancipation even ‘ now !’ This was implied too plainly to be mistaken ; and there were many who took care that the important lesson should not be lost. We have heard much of incitements to agitation ; but all sink into insignificance before the encouragement *practically* afforded by the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel. If Catholic Emancipation was not a healing measure to the extent which was anticipated, it was partly because it had been introduced by Ministers, whose previous political conduct had created a belief that they were not friendly to the *principle* of the measure. Besides, it had been a grievance of which the apparent paramount importance had so occupied the attention of the public, that, while it existed, other grievances remained unnoticed. But this being removed, the people of Ireland began to see more clearly the many other grievances that were unredressed ; and the popular agitators, flushed with triumph, were but too ready to apply—for the attainment even of the most justifiable objects—those unjustifiable means, the efficacy of which they had already proved. These are the consequences of having yielded, not timely to reason and justice, but late and reluctantly to force. These are the fruits of the best measure of statesmen who granted, merely because it was expedient to do so, that of which, if we may judge by their previous conduct, in principle they disapproved. Sir Robert Peel appears to have been sensible of the evil consequences which must result from such a course. In one of his speeches on Parliamentary Reform, he vindicates the Administration, of which he had been a member, for not having attempted to grant a reform, which he admitted it was no longer possible to withhold. He defends their conduct on these grounds,—that Reform would be more thankfully received by the country, and would more probably be beneficial in its results, if conferred by those who had ever been its advocates, than if by those who had systematically opposed it. Better that it should be received at the hands of those who approved of it on principle, and *therefore* granted it, rather than of those who, disapproving of the principle, could offer it only as a concession to force. Wisely and truly did he speak to this effect ; and, in accordance with these sentiments, wisely did he stand aloof during the vain endeavour to form a Ministry, by whom, if they had succeeded, with disapprobation at their hearts, and words of condemnation fresh upon their lips, Reform of some kind must nevertheless have been brought forward.

The good or evil of a Legislative measure long survives the temporary good or evil attendant on its introduction ; yet it is not immaterial by whom, in what manner, and on what

grounds, even a beneficial measure is introduced. There have often been unprincipled men—and such there may be now—who are ready to outbid the Ministry of the day, for the attainment of temporary power; who, though hitherto opposed to what are called popular measures, would, for the sake of power, concede more than is thought safe and right, by their more liberal opponents: and there are ever those who would willingly ally themselves with the unprincipled outbidder, and who, provided they get the promised measure, care not how tarnished with inconsistency are the hands from which they receive it. But ‘the corrupt tree cannot bring forth good fruit;’ and even the beneficial measure thus carried, will bring with it a train of evils that will almost convert its benefits into poison. The liberal measure of an illiberal politician, is merely a concession to popular clamour; a concession not to enlightened reason, but to ignoble fears. Such a concession tends only to encourage that clamorous and craving appetite for change, which a wise Government would endeavour to discourage. It teaches the clamorous that, since a request, which is considered unseasonable, has nevertheless been granted, any other request, be it ever so unseasonable, may be similarly successful, if it be only urged with sufficient vehemence. To the demands of reason and justice there are fixed and certain bounds; but there is no assignable limit for concessions to mere importunity. Nothing is less conservative than the reluctant liberality of a Tory politician; nothing less destructive than the free gifts of those who are liberal on principle, and can be promptly generous without compulsion.

There are minds, inaccessible to arguments that are based on less contracted grounds than a bare consideration of what is requisite at the existing moment—whose best wisdom is to cry, that ‘sufficient for the day is the good, or the evil thereof.’ With such minds statesmen may too often be obliged to work, and to such they must consequently appeal. It may therefore happen, that the policy of any Government, however well inclined to a far-sighted and comprehensive system, may partake occasionally of a temporizing character. To such a course, springing from impediments of a transitory nature, we ought not perhaps too rigidly to object; but, in consideration of the many unseen difficulties which may beset the path of an administration, should withhold our complaints if, in the government of Ireland, a substitution of palliatives for searching remedies, of temporary expedients for comprehensive reforms, shall be found—as we anticipate—to be only the exception, and not the rule.

ART. VI.—1. *Records of Travels in Turkey, Greece, &c., and of a Cruise in the Black Sea, with the Capitan Pasha, in 1829-30-31.* By ADOLPHUS SLADE, Esq. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1832.

2. *Turkey and its Resources; its Municipal Organization and Free Trade; the State and Prospects of English Commerce in the East; the new Administration of Greece, its Revenue and National Possessions.* 8vo. London: 1833.

THE iron rod of Mohammed is rapidly losing its power. The faith which prevailed from the Wall of China to the Pillars of Hercules, and stretched southwards to the unknown sources of the Nile, is now divided and decaying. The martial and fanatic devotion, and the assurance of success which hurried on its warriors from one arduous achievement to another, are no more. The wide and exuberant regions over which they held sway, have long lain dark and desolate, but twilight has at length dawned, and we who assisted at the opening of the mighty sources of civilisation in the New World, are now called upon to witness and aid its regeneration in those extensive regions of the Old.

Much ingenuity and some charity have been of late employed to assert the good qualities of the Mohammedan faith;—to assign it as a spurious Christianity to the children of the son of the bond-woman. That it is, and more especially was, both in its creed and its practice, vastly superior to the degrading rites and superstitions of the East, may be readily conceded; but it bore not the less within its bosom many poisonous doctrines which the hot-bed of conquest rapidly matured. In the very early days of Mohammed's career, its pretensions were indeed humble, but when victory shone upon his banner, then though Islam—or resignation—continued to be the denomination, war and conquest became the practice of the religion he established. It was a faith as admirably fitted for these last purposes as it was repugnant to the maintenance or progress of civilisation. Fatality and despotism are very closely allied; and every code which restricts the social influence of woman is essentially opposed to the arts, and the cultivation of peace. The glories of Bagdad, of Dehli, and of Grenada, were lights glimmering only in a dark night, and whose splendours have been much exaggerated by Oriental fiction and Western credulity. They ceased, and left not a trace behind.

Of all the tribes of Mohammedans, the hardy and illiterate Turks have most strictly adhered to the stoical and unsocial principles of their faith. They also have longest maintained their political

ascendency: the vivacious Saracen has long since passed away and been forgotten, save upon our signposts. The great Mogul is a pageant; and the sons of Tamerlane in the far China have abjured the faith of their fathers. But the Turk held fast his own, and that, too, in the face, and in defiance of Christendom. He, too, is now fallen. He has drunk the waters of bitterness at Belgrade, Tchesme, and Navarino; and he has seen the flag of Russia burst through his Dardanelles, and wave before his capital. Every war has been disastrous, and each peace purchased by a loss of territory. Greece is now free and independent. Algiers is gone, and the remaining Barbary states yield a scant obedience. Egypt, too, is lost, and with it Syria, and all the illusion of supremacy. The armies of the Sultan have been scattered before the forces of his rebellious Pasha, till the haughty Mahmoud has found himself reduced to ask 'in bondsman's key' for the insidious aid and dangerous presence of those very Russians, who, within less than four years, dictated a peace to him under the threat of storming his capital. The finances of Turkey are utterly disorganized, and her currency is in the last stage of depreciation and uncertainty. Her tribute, for so may be called her debt, to Russia, is unliquidated; and the once formidable army which might have paid it in kind, is annihilated, and its very name and memory denounced. Her ancient usages and institutions are thrown down and scorned; the exactions and prescriptive bonds of her religion severed; and the sacrosanct mystery with which her sovereign and pontiff wont to be enveloped, is now laid bare to the vulgar gaze in the habit of a Frank hussar.

Whither does all this tend? Is the Turkish empire about to be dissolved? or, by the renovation of old, or the adaptation of new constitutions and habits, is it, with a diminished territory, about to resume a portion of that high rank it once held in Europe?

These are the questions we propose to discuss. To assist their solution, we know of no late authority to which we can with more safety refer than to the short and comprehensive work of Mr Urquhart, the second of the two placed at the head of this article. He may entertain some exaggerated notions of the immediate benefits of the direct mode of taxation still prevalent in Turkey, and of the control and independence afforded by the municipal and local jurisdictions that have been suffered to subsist in her provinces. But even these predilections have reason in them; and his views, both commercial and political, being drawn from facts and experience, are generally sound, and afford his reader much food for reflection. He is an advocate for Mahmoud's reforms, and praises them for their tendency to destroy the fictitious privileges of caste or race, and to exalt the

industry, power, and intelligence of the many-tongued people over whom he rules.

Mr Slade, on the other hand, holds opposite opinions. He is an officer in the British navy; and from having served on board the Capitan Pasha's ship during the war with Russia, he also has had many opportunities of judging of the Turkish character. Reasoning from military and aristocratic notions, he foretells the fall of Turkey, from the destruction of the feudal power of the Beys, and from the annihilation of all those anti-European prejudices which it has hitherto been her policy to keep up, but which her present Sultan seeks to destroy. Without deferring implicitly to either of these writers, we shall endeavour to collect from them, and from some other sources, such information as may enable our readers to judge for themselves.

The power of the Turks once terrified Europe; their weakness now alarms its jealousies. The decrepitude of Turkey has been rendered more important and apparent by the increased and increasing resources and civilisation of the other European states. For the last 150 years, she has retrograded as they have advanced; and, unfortunately for her, none have made more constant strides in the race of power than her encroaching neighbour in the North. The causes of this variation are not difficult to trace, and their specification may throw some light on the question at issue. When war and conquest were the primary objects of pursuit, it was natural that a horde, whose faith devoted them to these objects, should attain a certain moral advantage over nations, who, though sometimes yielding to their seductions, professed a creed which denounced and held them in abhorrence. That which became the transgression of the Christian was the duty of the Mohammedan. The Turks were single and consistent in schemes of conquest; the Europeans divided, contradictory and disloyal in their resistance. In those days, too, when martial discipline was not yet consolidated, the armies of Turkey were perhaps less irregular and better paid than any troops of Europe, while plunder and success allured to their banners a succession of daring spirits. Tribes of Tartars repaired her losses by war, while the energetic Christian captives whom her cruel policy carried off, thinned the ranks of her opponents, and swelled the numbers of her Janizzaries. The highest rank and most despotic authority were not only open to, but generally won by adventurers. Bold and desperate renegades imported valuable information, and led on successful attacks, in which they often found the avenging death or glory which they sought.* Europe,

* In the flourishing days of Solyman the Magnificent, and the Selims, the more successful Viziers and Commanders were nearly all renegadoes.

too, was attacked on her weakest side; while Turkey, having her own rear and flanks protected by Egypt and Asia, exposed only the narrow and hardy front of that wedge with which, impelled by the forces alluded to, she penetrated to the capitals of the Eastern and Western Cæsars.

All is now changed. Science, by mingling with war, has fortified civilisation. Modern armies are powerless without large parks of artillery, and other scientific resources of war. Medical and commissariat departments are essentially necessary. Disciplined infantry have succeeded irregular cavalry; experienced officers are found more serviceable than reckless adventurers; and pay takes the place of plunder. The European states have become intrinsically stronger by the union of detached feudal dependencies; and by the sentiment of nationality and patriotism which springs from a greater or less experience of the benefits of good government. In all these points the Turk has been careless; he has ruled his provinces as a conqueror, not as a governor; he has scorned the discipline and instruction necessary to an army; and has passed his days in the fairest corner of Europe utterly regardless of the progress made around him. Accordingly, victory has deserted his banner, his dominions have been curtailed, and the flanks of his empire uncovered and commanded.

If there be any truth in this view, then it may be allowed, that without a radical change or renovation of system, Turkey must perish, and that shortly. This appears indeed to have been the opinion of the Turks themselves for the last century. But until the reign of Selim III., there appeared amongst them no actively reforming Sultan: he began the arduous task, and like most leaders, fell in the trench he opened. His printing presses, his manufactories, his artillery, even his tolerant habits and fondness for European customs, were for a while submitted to; but when the Janizzaries saw him building at Constantinople a long range of barracks, sufficient to contain 20,000 men, they clearly read his intentions, and forthwith anticipated their own fall or supercession by the dethronement of the reformer. His death, and the death of Mustapha, his successor, soon followed. Mahmoud ascended the vacant throne at twenty-four. This was in 1808. He had been the prison companion of Selim during the short reign of Mustapha, and it is probable, gained many useful hints from the dethroned Sultan; at all events, the disorganized and rebellious state of his empire, the abortive reforms of his predecessors, and the sanguinary insurrections which had removed them, and placed him, the last scion of the house of Othman, upon the throne, offered ample food for reflection. He had one of two courses to pursue: either, if we may so speak, to

Europeanize his country, or to revive in it the old Osmanli spirit. He chose the first: in other words, he proposed to substitute a disciplined army for an irregular force; to establish a responsible administration in his provinces; and to abolish all invidious distinctions of race or religion amongst his subjects. Having resolved on this wise course, there was still open to him for carrying his measures into execution, the choice between relying for support upon his people, or upon the aristocracy of the country. He again chose the first.

The Aristocracy of Turkey may be said to consist, in the first place, of the chiefs of the law, civil as well as spiritual, who maintain their exclusive and corporation authority by virtue of certain statutes, and a prescription which preserves a power nearly hereditary in their families. These are the Ulema. A second branch is composed of the large landed proprietors,—of the Dere Beys of Anatolia, the Timariots of Roumelia, the Capitani of Albania and Greece, and the Boyards of the provinces on the Danube. By carefully abstaining from entering into the personal service of the Sultan, many of these families have contrived to preserve their possessions and the feudal authority which has descended to them from their fathers. For the Sultan is heir to his servants only, and the Dere Beys, ‘the Lords of the Valleys,’ so well foresaw the dangers of this precarious honour, that on their submitting to Mahomet the Second, they obtained a special exemption for the heads of their families from personal service. Ephemeral and upstart favourites, together with the Pashas and officers of the Court, who have contrived to amass riches and consequence by their talents or fraud, in the several offices their intrigues have won, form another and the worst branch of the Turkish Aristocracy. The Janizzary chiefs might formerly have been added to this list.

Mahmoud resolved to undermine, or to destroy the power, of all these classes. He has succeeded. We will not shock the feelings of our readers by recalling the dark measures, and merciless fortitude with which he accomplished his purposes. Since his accession, blood has flowed incessantly; it has been shed in secret and in public; by general executions and by preconcerted massacres; by civil and by foreign wars. But he has at length swept away all internal opposition; and having thus maintained and strengthened his own individual seat, it may be questioned, when we remember the shattered state of Turkey at his accession, whether he has done so at the expense of his empire. Mr Urquhart, who is, perhaps, too warm an admirer of Mahmoud, thinks not: he says, ‘When Mahmoud assumed the reins of government, the political horizon of Turkey was completely darkened and confused; but unexpectedly cloud after cloud was

‘ dispelled ; the Mamalukes were destroyed, the Afghans chastised, Vidin, Bagdad, submitted to his authority, the Wahabs were punished, the pilgrimages were resumed, and the keys of the Holy City laid at his feet. The opinion gradually established itself—“ Mahmoud is fortunate”—the first of qualities in an Eastern hero. In pursuance of his policy of extirpating the Dere Beys, he had recourse to various arts to circumvent them, which were signally successful. The mass of the nation which generally rejoiced in the punishment of its oppressors saw the destruction of the Dere Beys with no less gratification than amazement, and universally exclaimed, “ the Sultan has a head.” But the most tragic scene of a reign spent in ceaseless executions—the extirpation of the Janizzaries—fell like a thunderbolt on the nation. Their Sultan appeared in the character of an avenging angel, while the most extraordinary good fortune seemed combined in him with the utmost fertility of resources, sternness of purpose, and sanguinariness of disposition ; so far his character was only calculated to strike terror.’ But it appears that he also understands how to conciliate favour, for Mr Urquhart adds, ‘ That when this ruthless executioner was seen entering the cot of the peasant, enquiring into his condition, asking for plans for its amelioration, subscribing for the erection of schools and churches, (or at least reported to have done so,) is it to be wondered at that he became the object of the idolatry of the Greek and Christian population, or that the measures which he adopted for thoroughly breaking the pride of the Turks, gained him the confidence and attachment of the Rayas, much more important than the applause either of the stubborn Turk or of his European judges ? He has effected three things which have each been the principal objects of every Sultan since Mahomet the Fourth ; the destruction of the Janizzaries, the extirpation of the Dere Beys, and the subjugation of Albania, which had not admitted the supremacy of the Porte, even in its days of conquest.’

Mr Urquhart appends a note in corroboration of this important change of sentiment towards Mahmoud ; in which he says, ‘ From the year 1827 to 1830, I do not recollect ever hearing a Greek peasant speak of the Turks, when he could get an opportunity of addressing me privately, but to express his hatred, contempt, and horror. In 1832, I passed through Lower and Higher Albania, the district of Monastir, Macedonia, Bulgaria, Servia, &c., and seldom (especially towards the west and north) have I found a Christian peasant speak of the Sultan or Grand Vizier without saying “ May God take ten years from our lives to add to his.”—P. 114.

‘ The value of this popularity will be appreciated when it is con-

sidered, that eight out of the twelve millions of his subjects in European Turkey are Christians. But it may be objected that Mr Urquhart's is the praise of a partisan. We must remember, however, that it comes from one who is speaking from personal observation, and who shows no signs of adulation to any party. Indeed the advantages here stated to have been gained by the people flow naturally from the course Mahmoud has adopted. We need not enquire into his motives, nor be so credulous as to believe that he has patriotically cared or struggled for his people; it is quite sufficient that it has occurred to him, (as it occurred to the feudal monarchs of the middle ages,) that his, and his people's interests, have been for a time identical, and that their oppressors were his foes.

Of all these by far the most pernicious are the remote Pashas, with the irregular forces under their command. In former times, the appointment, as well as the duties of the judicial, military, and civil functionaries were distinct and comparatively independent of one another; but latterly, by corruption and neglect, they have either merged in one person, or their administration has been controlled by one ill-appointed officer. The Pasha of the province is responsible to the Sultan for its revenue. In fact, he farms it. But since few Turks of character or property can be found to undertake the mortal hazards of a Pashalec, the office falls generally to persons of desperate fortune or low condition. The barber of to-day may be Vizier or Pasha to-morrow, and return again ere the following night to the peaceful avocations of his razor; provided always he has had the wit or the good fortune to preserve his head in the interim. But the Porte requires ample security from such men for the due remittance of the revenue of their province. This drives them to the Armenian and other merchants of Constantinople, who, being few, the whole body not exceeding eighty in number, have acquired, by acting in concert, a strong control over all these appointments of the Sultan. They use this power to their own temporary profit, at the expense of the new Pasha and his province. He is in fact the tool of the Armenian merchant, who becomes his guarantee, factor, banker, and creditor. A partner or trusty agent of this Armenian attends the Pasha to his province, where he remains, to receive the revenue for which his principal has become responsible; and where, under the protection of the Pasha, over whom he rules, he is free to indulge in as much violence and extortion as his fears or his conscience will allow. Meanwhile the Pasha is retained in due subjection to the Porte by the hold which the Sultan possesses over the purse strings and head of his patron; who is kept as a hostage, always resident at Constantinople,

and from whom an equivalent for the revenue is punctually exacted.

A more abominable system of misrule cannot well be imagined. It tends directly to the encouragement of extravagance, extortion, and fraud. A thrifty Pasha, who, by paying his debts, releases himself from the control of his banker, instantly becomes an object of hatred to the Armenian, and of suspicion to the Porte. Should he, by any accident of good government, acquire popularity, he is lucky if by a sudden removal he is saved from choosing between the bowstring and revolt. Few, however, subject themselves to this dilemma. To grind the people has hitherto been the object of all parties; and whether Sultan, Schroff, or Pasha ultimately carry off most of the spoil, it matters little to them. Their sufferings are the same, or perhaps greatest under a beneficent Pasha, for then occurs the greatest chance of a revolt. Under such a system of government, we need not so much wonder at the decay of the empire, and the frightful frequency of internal commotions, as that its authority should have continued to subsist. When the Porte had an army disciplined only in name, it was difficult to apply a remedy to this circle of abuse. The occasional imprisonment or execution of a well-fed Armenian patron, or the treacherous assassination of his refractory, or too powerful nominee, might minister to the Sultan's cupidity or revenge, but had no power to arrest the evil. But when once an efficient army shall have been formed, independent of the Pasha, and subject to the immediate control of the government at Constantinople, then, the Sultan's arms being lengthened, he may stretch them out to remove or coerce a remote governor, for greater offences than good government and well-earned popularity. Meanwhile, the removal of the Pasha's armed force, and the substitution of disciplined and regularly paid forces, will immediately relieve the provinces from the outrages and oppressions they have suffered from the free quartering of vagabonds, who, receiving little or no pay, can subsist only by plunder and extortion. The Pashas also, when they shall find their power paralyzed by the loss of the command of their troops, will fear to practise their present extortions in the collection of the revenue; while the exercise of an equitable code of discipline in the army will afford an example of justice to the observation of the people. It is thus that a disciplined army may become an efficient instrument of reform in Turkey, and offer the best substitute for the present ruinous system of controlling the Pashas by the purse-strings of their bankers, or the bow-string of their Sultan.

Another object which has engaged the attention of the Sultan, and by the accomplishment of which he will acquire popularity

and power, is the re-establishment of the old Arab system of government by local jurisdictions. The root of these is still scattered over European Turkey. Many a Rajah has long exercised, without being aware of the value of possessing, the right of equality in the apportionment of burdens, and an equal voice in communal affairs; with the power of electing, as well as of paying and superintending, his village priest and schoolmaster. The exercise of these functions, and the deliberative habits and respect for public opinion, which their long descended practice engenders, and conveys, perhaps unconsciously, to their possessors, render the subjects of the Porte less unfit for free government than might at first be imagined. This is proved, indeed, by the promptitude and facility with which the factious, but free Greeks, organized and worked their little confederated municipalities, under the heavy pressure of foreign invasion.

The progress of provincial reform has been unequal and precarious; and, singular to say, the most efficient has taken place in the wild regions of Albania. This was commenced in 1830, immediately after the peace of Adrianople, when the force and misfortunes of Turkey seemed at their very lowest ebb. From Persians, Greeks, and Russians, she had suffered a succession of ignominious defeats: her old army was gone, and her new forces had failed. Revolt in the provinces, and treason in the capital, omened the dissolution of the empire. The insurrection of the Albanians seemed the crisis of her fortunes. It was so. But in a sense far different from that which might have been expected. The Grand Vizier was sent to quell it. He had few, and spiritless troops. The Albanians had never been subdued: every advantage was now on their side. The example and freedom of Greece, the virtual independence of Servia, the good wishes of the whole Rajah population of Turkey, cheered on the Albanians to brave the efforts of a defeated army and exhausted treasury. The empire was unsupported by a single ally or sympathy from without, and undermined at home by the sullen hate with which a large mass of conservative Turks regarded the Sultan and his reforms. Who could have anticipated success? No one—at least none who viewed the coming strife as a trial of strength. Happily the Grand Vizier was not of this number; he saw other and better means of success; he regarded the expedition with which he was charged, as a means of trying the value of his Sultan's reforms. He put these, and not his military and despotic authority, to the test, and the result gloriously verified his expectation. The fierce Albanian bent the neck of obedience to an invitation to equal rights, and a deliverance from oppression. The Grand Vizier opened the campaign by subscribing 80,000

piastres for the erection of a Greek church at Monastir, and by abolishing all invidious distinctions of dress and privilege between Turk and Christian. Hitherto there had been much fear and suspicion of the Sultan's sincerity. The Greeks, and other subjects of the Turks, could not believe it was seriously intended that they should be raised to a level with their oppressors. But these, and other similar acts of the Vizier, dispelled all their doubts. They awoke to the benefits held forth to them; and from that hour the reforming Sultan has strengthened himself in the hearts of his Christian subjects. Mr Urquhart, who visited these districts subsequent to their new administration, tells us, that the system promised,

‘ 1st, To substitute for all exactions, legal and illegal, a property-tax, to be assessed by their own municipal authorities, on land, houses, shops, and yokes of oxen. The amount was greatly to exceed the sum formerly paid to government, but on this consideration they were relieved from the robbery of all classes of government officers, and from the grievous oppression of forced labour and conack, (that is, furnishing officers, soldiers, and Turks in general, with lodging and board): all servants of government were henceforth to be paid by the Treasury, and were to provide for themselves; and all expenses on government account to be defrayed by government. I am not prepared to say to what extent this arrangement would improve the revenue, or relieve the people throughout Roumelia; but I am not, I think, beyond the mark when I say, that with one season of tranquillity, the revenues might be quadrupled, and yet the people remain the most lightly taxed of Europe. 2d, The Greek capitani, the Albanian Dirven-agas, or guards of the mountains, and no better than banditti themselves, and the Turkish pashas, beys, ayans, musselims, vaivodes, agas, zabitis, with their train of chaoushes, cavashes, gramatiki, Jew and Armenian brokers and sarafs, were to be swept away, to be replaced by a military police, composed of regular officers as military commandants, and by treasurers, whose only duty would be to receive the taxes collected by the municipal officers. I must entreat the most particular attention to this all important consideration, which is the key to both the present and future prospects of Turkey, viz. that in sweeping away these functionaries, you burst asunder no ties, you destroy no institutions, you injure no interests, you leave no blank to be filled up. There is centralization of power in Turkey, but not of administration. The population administers itself—has recourse to Turkish law or authority in no case except through violence; each community apportioned its own burdens, collects its own taxes, and whether these taxes are paid into the hands of a provincial collector, or extorted by swarms of locust functionaries, makes not the slightest difference in the relations in which the provinces stand to the Porte; though it makes the difference of prosperity or misery to the people—of strength or weakness to the government. Instead of those swarms of functionaries, the passes and principal villages were to be occupied by small detachments of regular troops,

having fixed pay, and restrained from demanding a single para from the inhabitants, who are themselves to collect their own taxes, and pay them to the chief collector of the province. The Pashas are also to receive a regular salary from the government, and to be placed on the footing of the prefects of France. In fact, the functions of the Executive are restricted to the maintenance of police, no difficult matter in a country possessing the ample means of employment, and the frugal and industrious habits of Turkey.'

These are invaluable promises, and so long as Mahmoud shall fulfil them, he will have cause for trust in his own people. Prosperity, contentment, union, and strength may grow out of the soil he has so roughly ploughed. But we confess, we are not very sanguine in our expectations of such happy results; though we are not the less feelingly alive to the blessings they would confer upon Turkey, and indeed upon the world at large. Nor ought we to despair, when we witness the wonders which have resulted from the vigorous administration of Mehemet Ali, in Egypt. In the race of reform, he was the precursor of Mahmoud. The massacre of the Mamalukes and destruction of their Beys, was the type of the annihilation of the Janizzaries, and the overthrow of the feudal chiefs of Anatolia. The French uniforms, the battalions of Grand Cairo, and their success against the Wahabees, produced the *Tacticoes of Pena*. But it is easier to imitate the outlines than to fill up the picture. The Albanian peasant is no common man, and he who would tread in his footsteps must have deeper thoughts and less obstinacy than we fear belong to Mahmoud. Born at Cavalla, an obscure village in Roumelia, and having lost his father in early life, Mehemet entered the service of the governor of his native town. From the humble office of taxgatherer he worked his way up to that degree of consideration, which gained him the command of the contingent of troops furnished by his native district, for the forces Turkey sent to defend Egypt from the French under Napoleon. How far this command, which opened the field of future greatness to him, was won, by the fact of his having married a rich wife, we leave to be discussed by those who attribute the fortunes of Bonaparte to the accident which, in the same year, connected him with Josephine. The *Bim-bashi*, or Captain Mehemet Ali, reached Egypt with his 300 men in 1798, and from the day of his landing his rise was uniform and constant.

Since the death of Ali Bey in 1779, the power of the Turks and of the Mamalukes had variously alternated in Egypt. Both were now destined to yield to the new comer, who successfully played them off against each other. Changes of authority were rapid, and each change brought an accession of power to Mehe-

met. He became a general of division, and was sent against the Mamalukes—he coalesced with them, and expelled the governor who had appointed, and would have dismissed him: then he drove his allies, the Mamalukes, out of Cairo, at the point of the sword, and recalled the banished governor. Shortly afterwards he again expelled the governor, and on this occasion he permitted his *factions* army to *compel him* to fill the vacant seat. These transactions occupied six years, and in less than two years more he had quelled all opposition, and received his formal investiture as Viceroy of Egypt from the Porte. From that time he has bent all the energies of his vigorous mind to the amelioration of his adopted country. He has repelled every attack that has been made upon his authority or dominions, whether from within or without, and gained an accession of strength or territory in each struggle. He has found favour with the believers in his faith by the recapture of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, and by vanquishing the Wahabees, who had put to scorn the armies of Persia and of Turkey. To the south he has pushed his conquests in Nubia further than either Greek or Persian ever trod. Meanwhile, he has fearfully but entirely quelled the anarchic power of the Mamalukes, and put down every attempt and disposition to rebellion. The most dangerous insurrection was that of the military in 1815. From his first accession to power he had encouraged the formation and training of Turkish and Albanian troops in the Frank uniform and discipline. It was unpopular, but he enforced his commands with all the rigour of Oriental despotism, while the success of his arms encouraged him to persevere. But hard pressure at length broke the head of the screw. The soldiers mutinied, murdered their officers, pillaged Cairo, and would have torn Mehemet Ali to pieces. Fortunately he escaped. At the first lull of the storm, when their sated indignation had momentarily subsided, he reappeared; and the value of his character may be understood from the wisdom he displayed on this critical occasion. He showed neither fear nor anger; but forthwith pledged himself, if the troops would return to their duty, to discontinue the obnoxious system, to indemnify the merchants who had been pillaged, and to grant a general amnesty: *and he kept his word*. But he not the less resolved to possess a disciplined army—he, therefore, left the discontented Turks and Albanians to themselves, and applied himself to the natives of Egypt. He had the good sense to attribute his first failure to the rigour he had employed, and he therefore changed his system. He resolved to make his military projects popular by rendering the profession of arms desirable—and he has succeeded. His soldiers and officers are now well fed, well clothed, well

paid, and well treated; and, above all, protected by an equitable military code from outrage and oppression. The moral character of the Egyptian army has been thus raised, and its devotion further secured by promotion from the lowest to the highest ranks being thrown open to all; while its discipline and efficiency are kept up by the services of numerous intelligent and well-paid foreign officers. The brilliant successes of this army have amply rewarded the liberality of Mehemet Ali, who now reaps the full benefit of that most difficult wisdom, which knows how to amend a fault. But it is not by the vulgar glare of war and victory, that his name will be honoured. His are much higher achievements than mere feats of arms. The proud boast of Bonaparte, his co-temporary, that he found France in the kennel, and placed her in the van of Europe, might be used with more truth by Mehemet Ali concerning Egypt. Undoubtedly Napoleon found utter confusion, but it was the confusion of brilliant materials. Not so the Albanian, who out of a mere chaos of ignorance, treachery, and ferocity, has formed a kingdom, possessing a disciplined and successful army of more than 40,000 regular troops, with a respectable marine of 10 ships of the line, and more than double that number of frigates and smaller vessels. His finances are flourishing, and he has organized a vigilant police, established an active administration of the laws, and reared an industrious population. He has constructed roads, dug canals, and introduced manufactures. Greedy of information himself, he has spread a thirst for it amongst his subjects, and ministered to their mental wants by the erection of schools and colleges throughout his empire.* The exports and imports of Egypt have risen during his reign from a mere trifle to millions. 'Tis true, indeed, the unhappy Fellahs are still governed, if not oppressed, by a rough and coercive hand, and that too much of their earnings is wrung from them by the shortsighted cupidity of their severe taskmaster. But Mehemet Ali may silence much rebuke on this head, by pointing to the many monopolies which are still selfishly upheld in some enlightened communities of Europe. At all events, a country long devoted to misrule, now teems with labour, and produces cotton and flax, which vie with the best in our markets; and exports silk,

* The Military College of Grand Cairo educates 1400 boys in languages, arts and sciences, at an expense of L.12,000 a-year; and Egyptian *gentlemen* are now to be found in all the capitals of Europe, who have been sent by Mehemet Ali upon their travels, not to ape fashion and manners, but to study the institutions, laws, and practical working of modern civilisation.

sugar, tobacco, and various other riches, which so long as personal security is maintained, will continue to multiply in a land where an annual renewal of the soil, irrigation, and sunshine are certainties.

We have dwelt the longer upon these happy results, and more especially upon the prudence and integrity with which Mehemet Ali extricated himself from the difficulties which the rigour of his early military reforms produced, because we would fain hope that Mahmoud, while he emulates the success, may have the discretion to emulate also the firm, but patient and docile labours of his former tax-gatherer. Let him, like Ali, beware of the overweening ignorance and conceit of his brother Turks; let him encourage the rural population and the inhabitants of the smaller towns; let him make it the interest of the many that his reforms should take root; and he may then acquire strength and popularity sufficient to prevent or resist any dangerous reaction. But while we are thus anxiously pressing the cause of reform upon Mahmoud, we should remember, that we also have duties to perform in this work, if we can by any lawful means contribute to its success. Undoubtedly we have given, and will continue to give, the full weight of our moral support to the liberal party in Turkey; but beyond this, it is in our power, by a generous exercise of our great manufacturing and commercial advantages, to stimulate the industry and promote the welfare of the people. This will best secure their obedience. They may understand little or nothing of abstract questions of Government, but when the evidence of increasing comforts and prosperity is brought home to their hearths, they will not be slow to thank and aid the hand under whose sway it has been bestowed.

Taking a large view, we may say that some forty millions dwell within the two Turkeys, and along the Levant and the Euxine, where they occupy a fruitful soil, beneath a benignant climate. They are so far barbarian, that the working of their manufactures is manual, expensive, and generally defective; but on the other hand, they are so far civilized, as to have many wants which their own rudeness imperfectly supplies, or which poverty and want of communication prevent them from gratifying. The industry springing from increased security will certainly remedy these evils in part. But though their teeming earth should, if properly cultivated, bring forth abundantly and cheapen the price of raw materials throughout Europe, yet unless they find consumers for their produce, they will have raised it in vain, or to speak more correctly, will not raise it at all. They will grow only as much as may subsist themselves. The measures of corn and oil,—the flax, hemp, wool, cotton and silk, which

would have gladdened the sight of thriving producers, and which they would, with eagerness, have exchanged for the wares and manufactures of Europe, will exist only in the speculations of the closet. We say *exchange*, for the financial and currency transactions of Turkey are so variable, and her pecuniary relations and correspondence with Europe, nay, even between her own markets, are so broken or intricate, that no extensive commerce can be carried on with her, except by the means of a liberal exchange of commodities. The difference between this method of trade, and that of effecting the return by means of gold or bills, is just the difference between small and great profits. Let us, therefore, in the case of Turkey, sagely depart from the old Midas system of seeking to convert every thing into gold. Unless we do so speedily, we shall see other nations or the smuggler supersede us in the Levant. It cannot be ignorance, it must be the influence of monopolists, which ties this country down to the pursuit of that perverse greediness, which fain would force the most extensive sale of its own wares upon its neighbours, while, at the same time, it cripples their means of purchase, by refusing to receive their produce in part payment. If the supporters of such a system are really sincere, they must regard commerce as a sort of modified warfare, or over-reaching, and not as a bond of peace and mutual advantage. Yet we hear these same persons blame the Americans and other nations, for impatiently diverting to the production of a coarse and ill-woven cotton or silk, that labour which might have been more usefully employed in the cultivation of their soil, and which might have purchased with its profits a much better and cheaper article from England. They can reason thus well for their neighbours, but they will not admit the converse of the proposition, which quite as truly says, we are equally, or more in error while we fetter commerce under the fair sounding names of bounties and protections, and so confine to the forcing of an ungrateful soil too much precious labour. This, if not so bribed and perverted, would employ itself in the management of some curiously contrived machinery, from which it would produce a harvest far more valuable than from the fields, and ultimately bring home, having first clothed the naked in other regions, many times the value in raw produce. This return being subjected to our manufacturing industry, would be again sent forth to purchase yet larger cargoes, and a mutually beneficial circle of increasing demand and supply would thus be formed. Let us hear Mr Urquhart on this subject.

‘Take,’ he says, ‘some remote village of Turkey, and trace there the effects of England’s machinery. This village grows corn, tobacco, and cotton : it has vines and flocks : it has enough of the necessaries of life

for subsistence, and of cotton, and wool, and hides, for clothing: and it grows no more, except the portion required by Government, which, if the population is Turkish, is very small. This village employs, then, say one-half of its population in agriculture, and one-half in manufacturing its cotton into cloth, its wool into carpets, its hides into zarouchia, while fields lie uncultivated around it. It is removed from the road, not to be subject to the passage of troops, and so placed as to be hidden from the observation of travellers. Its inhabitants have no inducement to accumulate wealth, or to gain information; they are led to form no new desires, to feel no wants, by intercourse or traffic with the surrounding country, because they find weaving their own cotton cheaper and less laborious than raising an additional supply of corn to exchange for the cotton cloth of their neighbours, who have no better machinery or greater expertness than themselves. But let prices be so reduced as to make it their interest to purchase; let better and cheaper goods be presented, together with the means of exchange, and the whole scene instantly changes; communications are opened, connexions established, desires created, energies raised, and progress commences. . . . The village, which was insulated before, now seeks to connect itself, by lines of communication, with the principal marts; cultivation extends, wealth accumulates, instruction follows, desire for new objects increases, produce is raised, and England's looms have called into existence this prosperity. Why, therefore, should she impose restrictions on the only return the Turkish peasant can make, and so cripple his ability to purchase?'

The raw silks of Roumelia, the wool of Dalmatia, the cotton of Thessaly, the corn, flax, tallow, and hides of Bulgaria, the fruit and drugs of the coast, and the copper of Trebezonde,—the annual produce of whose mines has been estimated at more than three thousand tons,—would best buy and circulate our manufactured silk, and cotton, and hardware goods, with which we can everywhere undersell the rest of the world. The demand for our goods would rapidly improve the quality, and increase the quantity, of the raw material furnished by the natives of Turkey; indeed, already the increased call for silk at Salonica has introduced the Piedmontese method of reeling and preparing it, which has not only essentially improved the quality of the article, but reduced its remunerating price from three shillings and sixpence to two shillings per pound. A like stimulus would produce a like effect on cotton, wool, and other articles.

That some notion may be formed of the vast field which a liberal policy might open to our manufactures, we will merely state, that the average consumption of coarse cotton stuffs in Turkey may be taken at 2 lb. per head; which, at the usual price paid there of 5s. per lb., will give, on a population of 12,000,000, the large sum of L.6,000,000. This is entirely independent of the annual outlay for the more fine and costly articles, to which our exports were at first chiefly confined. Since they have been

directed to handkerchiefs, shirting, long cloths, and more common stuffs, they have risen to above L.1,000,000 for cotton goods alone; exclusive of the twist, the demand for which is also increasing. As we can supply these articles cheaper and better than the natives can manufacture them, or than they can buy them from other markets, there appears one reason only why these exports should not gradually approximate to the total consumption of Turkey; namely, her present inability to purchase, and this inability is created by our refusing to receive and import her produce in exchange for our goods. We thus lose a vent of perhaps several millions for our cottons alone. From Turkey, too, the demand and supply would spread far and wide into the southern and Asiatic provinces of Russia.

In common equity we are called upon to adopt this liberal policy towards Turkey; for, since she imposes slight or no duties upon our goods, the sticklers for reciprocity can have no plea for continuing our heavy restrictions upon the importation of her raw material.* But, if more liberal and intimate relations with Turkey be important in a Commercial, they are at least equally so in a Political point of view. Prosperity is the best queller of sedition. Insurrection abhors a full belly. We can, therefore, by no means so honourably and so effectually strengthen and establish the reforming disposition of the Sultan, as by promoting the industry of his subjects. The ramifications of our commerce may be brought to spread through and invigorate the sinews of his empire; while the presence of our merchants and our consuls might assist and encourage the less unenlightened. Sound and practical opinions, good advice and good example, cannot fail to benefit a people amongst whom it now is a common request, 'Tell us something useful, by which we may remember an European has been amongst us.' Our countrymen might thus become missionaries, in a very useful sense of the word; they would increase the leaning towards this country

* Yet, with a strange perversity, we appear to be least liberal towards those countries which are the most so towards us in their commercial relations. It is not a year since an extensive order from Manilla, for gingham, was transferred from Manchester to Rouen, because our Customhouse could not promise diminished duties for the return cargo. And, among many like instances in Turkish trade, we may cite this, that we permit the entry of French burrs for millstones at L.3, 16s. the hundred, whereas we charge for the infinitely better millstones of Milo a duty of no less than L.11, 8s. a pair; and yet Milo and the Philippine Isles open their ports to our goods, which most assuredly is not yet the case with France.

of an ancient ally; and, without mixing themselves up in politics, they would be at hand to discover and report to our Ambassador at Constantinople any intrigues which the discontent of the Turks, or the crooked policy of their neighbours, might foment.

This is the favourable side of the picture: it shows the Turkish dynasty exchanging the haughty and barren titles of conqueror and oppressor of its Christian subjects, for the more acceptable offices of ruler and administrator; it anticipates the progress of industry and civilisation under the fostering wings of peace and amended government. But will peace and tranquillity be ensured? Will the sullen Turk submit to the innovations of Frank habits and the co-equality of Christian subjects? And will the ambitious and insidious neighbours of Turkey allow her time and repose to consolidate her strength? Will they not be tempted to take advantage of her present state of transition, and seek, under the cloak of fair pretences and amicable intervention, to sow the seeds of discord, in order that the crumbling and disjointed body which now composes the empire, may, by the wear and tear of a bit-by-bit encroachment, fall gradually under their influence, till it silently, and without provoking the intervention of Europe, shall merge in their dominions?

This is much to be feared; and of all enemies, Turkey has most reason to dread her new ally, Russia. The inscription of Potemkin upon the southern gate of Cherson yet remains the index of her views—‘This is the road to Constantinople.’ From and before the day that inscription was blazoned before the eyes of insulted Europe, the constant object and practice of Russia has been encroachment on the territories of Turkey. The peace of Carlowitz gave her the first footing on the sea of Azoff; and though the disasters of Peter the Great on the Pruth, and the Imperial dissensions which attended the factious reigns of his early female successors retarded, yet they did not quench the thirst for spoliation. This passion broke forth in full vigour under Catherine the Second; and from the repossession of Azoff, and the acquisition of a footing on the Crimea in 1774, the course has been rapid and unblushing. At each successive peace Russia has advanced from the Dnieper to the Bug, from the Bug to the Dniester, from the Dniester to the Pruth, and latterly, from the Pruth to the Danube. This last stride was made at the treaty of Adrianople, when, as usual, she declared that she required no extension of territory whatever; but not the less secured the east coast of the Euxine, with half of Georgia, and stipulated for privileges in the principalities, and for the demolition of the Turkish frontier fortresses as far as Belgrade, whereby her frontier was virtually planted on the Danube. And lastly,

by her late amicable intervention, she has secured a commanding influence at Constantinople itself.

The Grand Signior and his Divan would do well to study the history of the fall of that kingdom which alone repelled the current of the Crescent when at its highest flood. He would see how, as the institutions of that noble country lagged behind on the march of civilisation, or turned to decay, that Russia pressed vigorously on her ancient conqueror: But looking closer, he would perceive, when the more enlightened sons of Poland, profiting by bitter experience, sought to remove the weakness of their country by the renovation of its time-worn institutions, that Russia then warily changed her policy from *aggressive* to *protective*. And why? Was it that she wished to see beneficial reforms permanently effected? far from it—She could have no desire to revive and invigorate the devoted land she resolved to make her own; but she well knew that no radical reformation of a country can be effected without producing much temporary discord and weakness. On this experience she therefore proceeded; and fearing lest armed opposition employed on her part too soon, might, in the common defence of their country, rally all parties around the standard of reform, she judiciously enacted the part of friend, ally, mediator, protector. The reformers were supported as long as they served her views, and were then naturally discarded for her more congenial allies, their opponents. Her marshals no longer threatened the strongholds of Poland, but her ambassadors, her officers, and her gold flowed into Warsaw, and worked out unseen channels in her Court and her Diet. A King of Catherine's nomination—a mere minion of her own—ascended the throne of the Sobieski, and of the Jagellons. Interference and protection redoubled—useful reforms were obstructed or annulled—the discontented found favour at St Petersburg, or, still more insultingly, were upheld by the Russian minister at Warsaw. Meanwhile, the pious heart of Catherine yearned for the alleged sufferings of her Greek Church co-religionists in Poland, until the sabre and the spear were instructed to exhibit charity and toleration. Discord, in short, was fostered by every art; and when at length insurrection burst forth, the armies of Russia invaded the ruined kingdom with proclamations of magnanimity, and purposes of spoliation, partition, and aggrandizement,—all too fatally realized, and by the rest of Europe far too tamely submitted to. The detestable tale of Poland's wrongs is too well known to need repetition here. It is graven in characters of blood and treachery, and of blasphemy peculiarly Russian. But if Turkey be not wise, it will have been written for her without profit. The first acts of this revolting tragedy have already been

rehearsed in the heart of her empire. In Turkey, as in Poland, Russian intrigue has long exercised its baleful influence. Witness the revolts in Servia, Walachia, Moldavia, Albania, Greece, and, lastly, Egypt, which have been excited by Russia. In Turkey, as in Poland, Russian spoliation of territory has been incessant and increasing. Here, too, the piety of Russia has used its devotion to the Greek Church, as a pretext and dangerous handle for intervention. And here, as in Poland, have the Russian armies appeared alternately as friends and as foes. No later than the autumn of 1829, the Russ, the Tartar, the Cossac, and the Calmue, were in full march upon Constantinople, heated with anticipations of blood and plunder; and yet ere the spring of 1833 was passed, the same forces were amicably encamped around Pera and Buyukderi, calling themselves, and being actually called by the Turks, friends, allies, mediators, protectors!

Meanwhile, the engineer and naval officers of these protectors, were making themselves acquainted with the means of attack and defence of Constantinople, and with every creek and current of the Bosphorus. Under the friendly plea of repairing the castles of the two straits, and other fortresses, they have acquired plans, and raised defences, which may serve more purposes than their friends the Turks now contemplate. Finally, having been on the scene of Constantinople sufficiently long for a first appearance, and having no excuse for further delay, the new protectors of Turkey reluctantly departed; but not without having laid the foundations for useful future services and relations amongst the discontented or corrupt. They have burdened the country they *delivered* with a heavy debt of money and presumptive gratitude, which their self-denying liberality and forbearance will well know how to turn to the best account. Let Mahmoud beware of refractoriness, and more especially of indulging in too many acts of good government; for if there be signs of his consolidating the strength of his empire, he may find that the next step in the scale of protection, may be his own deposition, and the nomination of a second Poniatowski in the form of an infant Sultan, under the fostering wings of the Russian eagle.

These prospects are little flattering to the Ottoman pride; and we have no doubt they have been faithfully and fully exposed to the observation of the Sultan and his advisers. He has now to choose between thralldom and independence,—between circling his throne with Russian agents, and ultimately with Russian bayonets; or the nobler and safer task of rooting it in the affections of the mass of his subjects, by the exercise of a temperate administration, and by a steady perseverance in those reforms which have already gained him a wider support than he perhaps dreams of.

But under either event, whether Mahmoud chance to act up to his reforming professions, or to relapse into delegated despotism, it becomes the duty of every state which consults its own and the general weal, strictly to watch the conduct of Russia, and to lend every assistance in its power to the preservation of a due balance of power in the East. We have already pointed out the course which equity, reason, and policy require this country to pursue in its commercial relations with Turkey. We have shown how we may conduce to her internal prosperity, while she in return may employ our abundant population. Links may be thus formed between the two countries infinitely stronger and more durable than those of mere diplomacy, and the growing influence of Russia so be best counteracted. Indeed, in as far as the people are concerned, we believe the influence of Russia is on the wane in Turkey. Repeated and bitter experience has at length awakened the Christian subjects of the Porte from the blind confidence with which they so often allowed themselves to be seduced into revolt, by the secret promises of support ever faithlessly held forth by the Russian Government. The perfidious desertion of Czerni George and the Servians, of Vladimiresco and the Walachians, of Ipsilanti and the Greeks, and the various other subjects of Turkey whom Russia has so frequently excited to their ruin for her own selfish ends, have weaned their affection. The atrocities, too, committed by the Russian army in the campaigns of 1828 and 1829, when they plundered and burnt the villages of the Bulgarians, and carried off their inhabitants to use them as beasts of burden for the services of their commissariat, were not the best, though Russian means of conciliation. Still less so was the general order of their commander-in-chief, Diebitch, which was executed to the letter, for seizing as many peasants as could be caught, and harnessing, not only the sons and husbands, but their wives and daughters, to the traces of his artillery.* The filth and squalor of a Russian camp, offended the proverbially clean habits of the subjects of Turkey; who having been eye-witnesses to the misery, slavery, and destitution which Russian officers and soldiers endure from their own Government, will hereafter, on a comparison of evils, be inclined more patiently to submit to the accustomed rigour of

* Mr Slade received these statements in the Russian camp, from the brother of the Russian officer who carried the orders into execution; and he adds, that his informant told him, as a mere matter of course, one half of these persons died on the road. (Vol. I. page 401.) And yet the protection of these victims was one of the Russian pretexts for the war.

their own. While closer acquaintance and experience were thus creating an anti-Russian feeling, the large and tolerant reforms of the Sultan and his Grand Vizier, also awakened a strong reaction in favour of the Turkish Government.

Unhappily, however, just when these beneficial results were in the bud, the war with Mehemet Ali changed the whole aspect of affairs, and nipped their growth. There is much reason to believe that this revolt, like many others of the same kind, was secretly instigated by Russia, with the intention of interfering on the one side or the other, as chance and the fortune of war should decide. The Sultan applied to this country for aid. But this application came in a form and at a time when it was hardly possible for our Government to comply with it. For it was in October, when the late Parliament, though not yet defunct, had closed its labours, and could not with any decency have been re-assembled, and when there was no possibility for the new Parliament to meet till January. That Government, therefore, would have been rash and inconsiderate, which, without the power of soon acquiring the sanction of Parliament, should have complied with a request that would instantly have involved the country in a very large expense, and incurred the hazard of a general war. We had also other important affairs upon our hands. Portugal and Belgium demanded the strictest attention, while our fleets occupied the mouths of the Scheldt and the Tagus. Russia no doubt foresaw the impossibility of our complying with the Turkish application when she so magnanimously pressed its acceptance upon our Government. It smoothed the way for the substitution of her forces for ours, and obtained for her, with all the semblance of disinterestedness, the opening for an armed intervention; the original cause for which, it is probable, her own intrigues had prepared, and which, at all events, she most ardently desired. At the same time, we must have appeared to the Turks, who cannot possibly comprehend the working of a free government, to have coldly neglected their interests. By these lucky circumstances, or well conducted intrigues, Russia has for the present acquired a paramount sway at Constantinople. We hear of a special treaty between the Sultan and the Czar having been signed, without even the knowledge, much less the acquiescence, of the ministers of the other powers accredited to the Porte. We have read letters and addresses between the ministers and officers of these two powers, filled with all the flowers of Oriental rhetoric, but which cannot hide the tone of gratitude employed by the one party, and the strain of protection assumed by the other.

The gratitude of Mahmoud for the preservation of his throne

and of his life, both of which were fearfully endangered by the victories of Ibrahim Pasha, is natural and praiseworthy; but the rest of Europe must not the less take care that this gratitude do not mislead him so far, as to make him act on a belief that Russia is omnipotent; and that obedience to her behests is therefore the most secure method of retaining power and dominion. Such a misconception may lead to serious errors and miseries. It may incite Mahmoud to the revocation of his more useful reforms, to the oppression of his subjects, to their revolt, to a renewed interference of Russia, to be followed by that of other powers, and then by a war,—or such an armed and mutual occupation of Turkey, as would annihilate her independence, and conclude probably with the separation of her remaining provinces,—in a word, with a partition.

We say this with some hope that a little foresight may deter the Sultan and his counsellors from a too grateful and implicit acquiescence in Russian advice. We repeat, Turkey has every thing to fear from Russia, and every thing to gain from this country and the more liberal portion of Europe. Our object, as well as our interest, is to confer on her the mutual benefits of commercial intercourse, and to aid her in the recovery of her strength, and the reformation of her corrupt and oppressive Government; in short, to prevent her absorption by Russia. If she will accept these benefits and this aid—well; but if not, then it becomes our duty to search for other allies, and to construct other barriers to the fifth-monarchy dreams of the Emperor Nicholas and his semi-barbarian nobles.

These are apparent: they are to be found in a confederation of the Danube; the re-establishment of the ancient kingdom of the Armenians; and the extension of Greece;—Egypt and Persia, in the meanwhile, being conciliated by an accession of territory, and by the rounding of their frontiers.

Few will deny that the Slavonian and other tribes, occupying the rich valleys of the Danube and the Pruth, and amounting to a population of eight or ten millions of hardy inhabitants, contain within themselves the elements of a powerful state. We have seen the progress towards riches and independence which a small portion—and that not the most rich or populous—Servia, has made under Prince Milosch, since the first insurrection of Czerni George. Walachia, Moldavia, and Bulgaria, are rich in resources. Excellent channels of communication with Hungary, Galicia, and other States, are practicable by the numerous rivers which flow into the Danube. And a short, and by no means difficult, cut of some thirty miles from Risovata to Kustendje, would remove the mouth of the Danube far from

Russian obstruction. It would, at the same time, shorten the navigation of that future outlet for the industry of central Europe, by more than 250 miles; and bring its mouth, and consequently all its tributary streams, 150 miles nearer to Constantinople. Beds of coal are to be found in abundance along its banks; and ere many years elapse, the steam-boat will be seen ruffling its now silent waters. Prosperity and common interests would fast cement the union between these tribes; and by the formation of a new state from the chaos of barbarism, an additional weight would be thrown into the scale of civilisation. A check would be opposed to the encroachments of Russia, not only by the guaranteed limits of this new state, but by the example which a successful federation would hold forth to the distant and unconnected hordes dwelling upon the shores of the Euxine, and along the banks of the Bug and the Dniester. Even Poland might extort freedom by such an arrangement; while Austria would ever find a useful ally in the confederation, as well as a ready customer in her markets.

On the other side of the Euxine, the re-establishment of an Armenian State, resting on the Caucasus, the Taurus, and the Caspian, would neutralize Russian intrigues in Persia, Syria, and Egypt. It would connect the East and the West, and replant civilisation in its infant seats.

Egypt, meanwhile, would be compelled to follow whichever power held the command of the sea; and we imagine it would demand the exercise of a very gentle violence to urge Mehemet Ali to the consummation of the cherished object of his ambition. The Caliphate and an Arabian Empire have long floated before his wishful eye; and, in the event of a rupture, Bagdad and the Holy Cities would rapidly and irrevocably be rent from the Turks, and restored to the successors of the Saracens. Indeed, the answer of Ibrahim Pasha to those who, after the victory of Koniah, asked him how far he should advance, was abundantly significant, when he said—‘As far as I can make myself understood in Arabic.’

Nearer home, Greece would spread her wings and rise. The erection of that country into an independent state, was a measure of justice; and, like all just deeds, was an act of wisdom. An unequal struggle of eight years vindicated the patriotism of her sons; and that ‘untoward’ event—the glorious battle of Navarino—crowned their unflinching labours with independence. Untoward, indeed, it was, but not to this country, or to civilisation, but to the ambition of Russia, and to the despotism of Turkey. It confirmed the existence of a power which can counteract the practices of each. For, so long as good government shall subsist

in Greece, it will compel the Sultan of Constantinople to respect the feelings and privileges of his Christian subjects, under the penalty of their revolting; and the Czar of Muscovy may discover that, by fomenting dissensions in Turkey, he is adding, not to his own dominions, but to those of his antagonist power in the South. Even now, should he bend Mahmoud to evil courses, he may press the Ionians, the Dorians, the Eolians, and the tribes of Macedonia, into a bond of strong and permanent union. And a still higher pressure might perchance arouse the powers of Europe. We will not now stay to marshal the combatants; but a moment's reflection will suffice to show, that no sooner should Russia and Turkey make common cause, than their adversaries would place Greece, and the subjects of the old Greek empire, in opposing array. The rallying cry would become Freedom and Christianity, against despotism and the code of Mohammed. On whichever side success should rest, the Turk would suffer. For if victory were to crown the liberal party, then probably the Greek would be enthroned at Constantinople; but if the Russian Eagle bore away the laurel leaf, then its talons would be as piercing and as strong on the shores of the Bosphorus as on the Baltic.

The Hellenic federation is well fitted for extension; for it secures a firm basis on which to build, by the respect it shows for the self-government of the various little municipalities of which it may be composed. Adhesion is its constituent quality, and not fusion. We need not add, that it therefore presents fewer obstacles to increase of territory. We rejoice at this, for we own to strong predilections and an abiding faith in the fortunes of Greece. Our part, and that of the more civilised portions of Europe, is clear: we have to guard the intercourse, and to manufacture and supply the goods which the Greeks will distribute. The geographical position of the country, the facilities of her seas, and the love of gain and of enterprise inherent in her children, point out Greece as the free port, and the Greeks as the free mariners of the Levant. They will carry with them the blessings of commerce, which, while they satisfy present wants, ever create others, tending secretly, but constantly to the union, to the industry, and the social improvement of man.

But these speculations are seducing us from the recollection that they can be realized only by the ruin of the Turkish power, and through the costly and chanceful operation of war. We have therefore no wish to press their consummation; for we deprecate, and entirely disavow, the false and pernicious doctrine that war may be undertaken merely for the assumed benefit of humanity. We would not therefore bid for the purchase of a fanciful reor-

ganization of the Levant at the sad price of human blood. We prefer leaving things to their natural course; satisfied that freedom and justice have within themselves that intrinsic value, which, with fair play, will best work out their own progress. But, lest other powers should presume too much upon our pacific views, we have thought it right to show what possibly might ensue, should the ambition of one state, and the perverse councils of another, drive matters to extremity. A contemplation of the forces that might be unchained, not only in the South but in the North, may abate the aspirations of Russia, and so best preserve peace.

Many fortuitous circumstances have concurred to give to Russia a casual supremacy in the North, which has led to an exaggerated notion of her strength. At the close of the war in 1814, Russia, under the Emperor Alexander, having long played with the national enthusiasm of the Poles, successfully repulsed the French invasion, and led on the popular feelings of the Continent against the tyrannous usurpations of Buonaparte. She was then as popular as she was strong. But affairs have since changed greatly; England and France, in despite of her Bourbons, soon assumed the lead on the liberal side; and Russia, too proud to follow in their steps, gladly threw her whole weight into the opposite scale, and concocted an alliance, which, in derision, yet bears the name of Holy. This eminently served the real purposes of her ambition. It placed her at the head of a party to which her Government naturally belonged, and the late popular triumphs in France and other parts, have greatly contributed to the advancement of her pretensions. She herself, sheltered in snow and ignorance, laughs at the bugbear fear of a native House of Commons; but she knows full well how to play off that fear upon the Courts of Vienna and Berlin. By raising a hue and cry against the progress of liberal opinions, she plunges them into all the depths of Frankfort decrees, and the honours of a war against printers' devils, professors, and universities. This conduct places them more or less at variance with their own subjects, and with the powerful Governments of England and France. It also propels or drifts them to the side of Russia, who thus dexterously maintains a constant and confidential influence in their councils, and increases that leaning towards her, for alliance and support, which dates from the first partition of Poland. She diverts their attention from the stealthy steps with which she is foreclosing their dominions: or what is perhaps more effectual, she puts to silence their remonstrances. Were not the interests of humanity at stake, we might smile at the ingenuity with which she manœuvres this stalking-horse

of liberalism before the beguiled eyes of her credulous neighbours. Would they listen to us, we might be tempted to whisper in their ears that there is less danger in this dreaded liberality, than in the encroaching intimacy of their despotic neighbour, who, by the extension of her territories, gradually tightens the coil she has formed around not the least vulnerable part of their dominions. They would probably scorn our suggestions, and retort upon ourselves and upon France, the patience with which we have borne the tone of authority which this remote and least interested power has assumed in the negotiations of the South; while she has haughtily precluded us from any interference with her infractions of the treaty of Vienna in the North: they might point to Constantinople, and ask us, where was the influence which England once possessed with her, so styled, ancient ally? In reply, we would tell them, that this country fully appreciates the blessings of peace, and of her own high station in Europe, and that therefore she entertains a wise repugnance to committing the happiness of millions to the tender mercies of the sword. For the integrity of her own dominions she does not entertain the shadow of a shade of fear; neither has she any base and foolish thought of purchasing peace at the price of submission, which never yet insured it. Therefore, whenever Russia shall make it appear, that the faith of treaties, or the honour and independence of this country, are compromised by an acquiescence in her arrogant pretensions, from that hour she will be made to feel the power of Britain, even to the very core of her huge empire.

These are lofty words; but none are more capable of estimating their truth and value than the present rulers of Russia. They are well aware of the weakness of their own state, and of the dignified forbearance which has been maintained by this country. They know that their empire is an unwieldy mass, utterly unfit for long-continued and distant wars. They know the extreme difficulty with which they scarcely overcame the feeble resistance of the Turks in 1828 and 1829: they have not forgotten their defeats in Poland. Even their armies, which are countless upon paper, are not so difficult to be numbered on the field: they are spread over an immense surface; and, except the guards, are ill paid and ill disposed. Her commissariat and medical departments are scarcely better appointed than those of the Turks. Even so late as her last campaign, when Mr Slade visited the Russian quarters after the peace of Adrianople, he met droves of conscripts with marks printed on their bodies, and so dragged up in chains to reinforce this victorious army. Such gentle precautions prove at once the strong disposition to desertion prevalent in her

troops, and the reluctance to the military service reigning even amongst her serfs. And no wonder; for the privations and miseries which this writer describes the men and officers as enduring, are such as would make the hardest heart recoil. Of the 40,000 Russians who reached Adrianople in August, 12,000 lay dead in November; and of the 8000 who were left in the hospitals there, not more than 1500 quitted them alive. Mr Slade adds, ‘Horrible to relate, they died of absolute want. In that severe winter, when the streets of Adrianople were deep in snow, those poor fellows lay on the floors of the vast wooden barracks without beds or bedding, though the bazaars would have furnished enough for 20,000 men. On some days they had not fires to cook their soup, while the icy gales from the Euxine sung through the crevices of their hospital. It is said that the Emperor shed tears on hearing of the distresses of his brave and victorious army. He had better have sent them roubles. Their diseases partly arose from the water they drank; spirits and wine were dirt cheap at Adrianople, and yet not even a drop was served out to them.’—(Vol. ii. p. 13.) On visiting the Russian quarters beyond the Balkan, he found one division of 15,000 men actually without a single medical attendant;* while hundreds were daily disappearing under the combined influence of cold, famine, over-fatigue, and exposure to an unwholesome climate. An average of not less than 50,000 men die annually in the Russian army, without counting those who fall by the casualties of war. The term of servitude is for twenty-five years, and no soldier can rise from the ranks, while all are subject to corporal punishment at the unquestioned order of every officer. Rigorous discipline, and an entire concealment of whatever occurs in other stations, indeed in other divisions of the same army, prevent the frequent mutinies from gaining too high a head; but such circumstances render the keeping together of a large force for any length of time extremely perilous.

Surely these are not the elements with which Europe is to be awed in the present day? Far from it. Russia is now, and has been, ever since the accession of the Emperor Nicholas, in a critical and precarious state. She is surrounded by the smouldering vengeance of her mangled Polish provinces, in the treatment of

* The brother of General Montresor, the commanding officer with whom Mr Slade resided, was wasting from the effects of an Adrianople fever, and the only relief which could be obtained for him, consisted in his visitor taking notes of the symptoms of the disease, in order to submit them to the surgeon of the Blonde at Pera.—Vol. ii. page 83.

which she calls forth the execration of mankind by her barbarities.* She thus adds to the deep hatred with which the liberal nations of Europe regard her exercise of tyranny at home, and support of absolutism abroad. Indeed, her late conduct must render the more mild and enlightened of the despotic governments half ashamed of her alliance; and it is far from improbable that their whispered remonstrances may have called forth the late lame apology for her policy towards Poland. Were she now therefore to precipitate matters in Turkey, she would lose much that she has already gained, and consign to other hands the prey which on some future occasion she hopes to make her own. We do not therefore expect that her usual wariness will so far desert her as to tempt her into a war; but we fear that, by resorting to her wonted expedient of assuming a warlike attitude, she may be suffered to consolidate her authority in Turkey, and to obtain the recognition and the privileges of a treaty she has surreptitiously wrung from the fears and the gratitude of the Porte.

At all events, let her no longer be permitted to play off the Belgian question upon the patience of Europe. It has served her purposes long enough, and well enough. Under its shelter she subdued Poland. But the hour of transitory weakness is past, and our ministers may reap the recompense of the wise patience with which they have conducted our foreign relations. France and England have both happily gone through their reforms; they are united in power, policy, and mutual esteem; they carry with them a very large portion of the moral power of Europe, and no small share of its physical force. The keys of mighty events are in their hands. Possessing this commanding strength, it behoves them to use it with temperance, certainly, but with firmness also. Authority, as well as other things, can make herself wings and flee away. She remains longest with those who best know how to use her. At present she is with the liberal side of the world; and it would seem that by the use of a firm tone, the aggressions and intrigues of the oppo-

* We do not make these assertions unadvisedly, when we know that within these last twelve months, in this eighteen hundred and thirty-third year of Christianity, some 5000 children have been torn from their parents at Warsaw and its vicinity by Russian soldiers, and carried off in kebitkas (by cart loads) to where—their weeping parents know not. The informant who stated this, saw three women in Warsaw who were pointed out to him as having made away with their children rather than part with them thus. As an *exchange*, 300, so called, schoolmasters, have been sent to teach the Poles to pray for the Emperor in Russian, and to learn the blasphemies of a catechism which makes a deity of the Czar.

site party may be checked, and war most effectually averted by looking it steadily in the face.

The late rapid successes in Portugal have uncovered the skirts of certain intrigues of the Holy Alliance, which would fain have upheld Dom Miguel, the child of its dotage, but which, happily thwarted there, now seek, while they prolong the agony of that distracted country, to prepare a bitter cup for her neighbour Spain. Respect silences the indignation we might express at finding British names of honour mixed up with the dirty correspondence which has been exposed to the derision of the public. We will, therefore, pass it over, and leave to those concerned the humiliating task of reconciling their votes and speeches in Parliament with their practices in secret.

The prompt re-recognition of Donna Maria has been a wise and just measure, which may save Spain from the gulf that yawns beneath her. But more yet remains to be done: it is essential that the tone and interference of Russia should be abated; she is the head and front of the absolute party, and with her it becomes us therefore to deal. Now is the time, when Italy, Germany, and Poland are in a state which counsels prudence to those who would wish to continue to rule them. Let then the signal of the ascendancy of a liberal policy be hoisted in Turkey, where it has been most endangered. Let the protecting intervention of Russia be withdrawn from the shores of the Bosphorus as verily in deed as in word. Let her not be permitted to forestall the rest of Europe, and to make a province of Turkey by the specious wording of a treaty; but let the advantages of commerce and of navigation, which she would appropriate to herself, be thrown open to the world at large; and let the liberal reforms which the Sultan Mahmoud has commenced, find agents more fit to carry them into effect than the Emperor Nicholas.

But if Russia be obstinately proud, and resolve to make a stand at Constantinople, then a vigorous application of force may prevent a prolonged and general war. We have already pointed out the methods by which she and her Turkish ally may be coerced. And we have small doubt that the damming up the Baltic and the Black Sea with our fleets, the destruction of her navy, and the annihilation of her commerce, which would be the easy and not expensive result of one campaign, would bring her to reason; and the more so, as the first shot fired in the contest, would signalize the restoration of the kingdom of Poland.

These are harsh courses, to which, as we have before said, we have no wish that Russia should compel us to resort. We prefer seeing Turkey, and Egypt, and Greece, march peaceably, and side by side on the road to social amendment.

ART. VII.—*Speech of the Right Honourable Thomas Spring Rice, M.P., in the House of Commons, on Tuesday, July 16, 1833.*
8vo. London: 1833.

IT is undoubtedly true, that after a half century of profuse expenditure, and whilst the pressure of heavy taxation is well remembered, even when it has been removed or greatly diminished, all questions which relate to the income and expenditure of the country are still considered with the most intense anxiety. The fetters which bound us to the earth may be withdrawn, or their weight considerably lessened, but the iron has entered into our souls, our bodies are still black and blue with bruises, and our limbs have not as yet recovered their natural elasticity. Under such circumstances, he who advocates the repeal of a tax must always possess a certain degree of popularity. The very announcement of his proposition is a promised bounty to a great mass of the community, from whose ranks he can command innumerable recruits. The question, however, is, whether these recruits are enlisted fairly, and for an honourable service, or whether they are crimped under false pretences, and for purposes of hostility which cannot be avowed. That some taxes must be raised for the public service, and for the payment of the national engagements, cannot be denied. It follows, that a line must be drawn somewhere, beyond or within which, the cry for a reduction of taxation becomes either the signal for an honourable and just conflict, or the basest of all endeavours to rouse private interest into an abandonment of all patriotic principle and all public duty.

These preliminary observations are indispensably requisite, in order fairly to consider, and justly to estimate, the conduct of the present Government on subjects of taxation. They have resisted a proposition for the repeal of the Malt Duty; they have resisted a motion for the reduction of the House and Window Tax; they have been unable to abolish the Stamp upon Newspapers. Therefore, it is said, they are the enemies of the farmers, they disregard the sufferings of the middle classes, and they oppose the progress and circulation of knowledge. Those who originate these separate propositions begin their statements by undervaluing what has been done, and by exaggerating the importance of what is refused; they close by a vehement personal attack upon the Government, for what they are pleased to designate a forgetfulness of their promises to the people, and a neglect of their public duties. In these accusations they are cheered and encouraged by the men who imposed, or who continued these very taxes; and, wherever

a demagogue comes forward to frame the indictment, there is no lack of a Tory jury to find a true bill.

Such are the party considerations—such are the miserable expedients by which shallow adventurers seek to gain a low and bastard popularity, or by which selfish politicians seek to regain the power which they have lost. The calm and reasoning people of England will not mistake sound for sense—they will discriminate between invective and argument—they will appeal from declamation to facts.

With these facts it is therefore most important that they should be supplied. If it be true that the Whig ministry have made no retrenchment—if it be true that they have not lessened taxation—or if in repealing taxes they have been swayed by narrow and miserable views, then indeed we must admit that their characters are gone; and that their claims upon the confidence and esteem of the people exist no longer.

And, first, with regard to Expenditure. In the year 1817, the Finance Committee recommended that the annual estimates should be reduced to L.17,350,000; a sum which was exceeded by L.1,620,959 in the following year. Let us enquire whether the recommendation of that Committee has been attended to or has been disregarded. The estimates of 1833 are below the sum suggested in 1817, by no less an amount than L.2,727,981. But it will be said that the estimates of 1817, which are here referred to as a standard, were framed by a Tory Committee, and cannot therefore be relied on as a fair test. Another authority must therefore be sought for. That authority may be found in the member for Middlesex himself. In 1821, he proposed his memorable reductions, and assigned the sum of L.18,849,130, as the proper limits of the supplies of the year. The expenditure of the last year, so far from reaching this amount, does not approach it by a sum of L.798,890; and the difference as compared with the estimates of 1833, will amount to a much greater sum. But a new class of objectors may rise up,—men who chiefly attribute these reductions to the acts of the late Government,—and the Whigs are put a third time upon their trial. No plea of *autrefois acquit* is received; and the parties are again required to throw themselves upon their country. It, however, appears that the estimates for 1833 are L.2,728,000 less than the average estimates for 1828, 1829, and 1830; and are below the averages of 1825, 1826, and 1827, by no less an amount than L.3,471,000. It is thus clearly proved that whether the appeal is made to the authority of the Finance Committee of 1817, to the authority of Mr Hume, or to the acts of preceding Governments, the triumph of the present Ministers is undeniable and complete.

The detail of these reductions would carry us to a greater length than suits the purposes of the present article, in which it is more important to deal with results than with the mode by which those results have been attained. Some explanation is, however, necessary, in justice to the subject and in justice to the Government. From the annual accounts of the increase and diminution of officers and salaries, it appears that the number of persons in the civil service reduced, in 1831 to 1832, has been no less than 1265, and the amount of their salaries L.219,968. But it is alleged that this has been effected by the cruel sacrifice of the lower and more unprotected classes of public servants. A whole hecatomb of clerks has, it is said, been cruelly immolated, in order to propitiate that popular divinity which our present rulers are supposed to worship. The wrongs of these injured men are feelingly described by certain Tory writers, who sympathetically sigh for salaries reduced, fees abolished, and officers placed on the retired list.

*‘ Quid meruere boves, animal sine fraude dolisque,
Innocuum simplex natum tolerare labores ?
Quid meruistis oves, placidum pecus ?’—*

On whom, let us ask, does this ‘iron sleet of arrowy shower’ first fall?—Why, on the very members of the Government themselves. Their first and most severe reductions were of their own salaries; and those who, in more lavish times, were the ministers of the altar, feel a natural, if not a justifiable indignation at their successors, for despoiling of needless wealth and superfluous ornament those shrines to the service of which they desire most devoutly to return.

Again, if we consider an account presented to Parliament in the late Session, showing the amount of reduction effected on salaries exceeding, to the parties by whom they are enjoyed, the annual sum of L.1000, it will be seen, that on a charge of L.494,899, the reduction amounts to L.199,430; being a saving of about two-fifths, or 40 per cent. Entire Boards of Commissioners have been swept away, or reduced. The Boards of Customs and Excise have been reduced in number from twenty to twelve members. The Boards of Stamps and Taxes have been consolidated. The Commissioners of Accounts, in Ireland, have been abolished. The public services of the Commissioners of Hackney Coaches have been dispensed with. The Colonial Auditors exist no longer. The Diplomatic Service is performed on salaries reduced by no less a sum than L.50,525. The classical titles of our Consuls-General at Paris, Madrid, Washington, and Lima, have not protected them from total abolition. Even the Judicial Officers have not been spared. Chancellors and

Chief Justices have shared the fate of their fellow-men. Attorneys and Solicitors-General have lost their fixed salaries: the 'slashing hook' of the Whig destroyers has been vigorously and unsparingly wielded on all sides.

Nor is this all; for, in addition to these reductions, another source of economy has been opened. In place of making new appointments, the list of retired and redundant officers has been resorted to, as furnishing the proper means of diminishing the 'dead weight,' and of filling up vacancies in the public service. In 1831, 220 such officers were brought forward, and that number was increased in 1832 to 248. The merit of this course of proceeding cannot be over estimated. All the selfish principles of ordinary politicians would have suggested a different course. Had private feelings influenced, or personal interests swayed, how easy would it have been to have filled up these vacancies in another and perhaps a more popular manner. But strict in adherence to a severe principle of duty, the Government have persevered in recalling to the service those who had been placed on the retired list, and they have thus greatly reduced this branch of expenditure, though at the cost of some popularity. This is the real and conclusive refutation of the charge so often repeated against the Whigs, of promoting their enemies, and disregarding the claims of friends. They were forced to make their election; they have pursued the course of reducing expenditure, and the temporary discontent which their conduct has excited will be forgotten in the tribute of gratitude which honourable disinterestedness deserves, and which it cannot fail ultimately to receive.

Still, there are persons who, whilst they admit all these facts, have threatened to withdraw their confidence from the Government, because they resisted the propositions for reducing the Malt Tax, and for repealing the duty on Inhabited Houses. It has been already stated, that the wildest advocate for a repeal of taxes secures the huzzas, and frequently also the votes of the multitude whom he addresses. No topic so popular as his; and many persons join in the cry from sympathy or other motives, who can have no possible interest in the result. It might not be wholly impossible to procure a petition from the inmates of the Blind Asylum for a reduction of the duty on glass spectacles, and if an excise were still levied upon the leathern garments which were wont to clothe the nether parts of our hunting ancestors, a petition, complaining of this oppression, might peradventure be addressed to Parliament by our unbreeched countrymen in the Highlands. A tax is a common grievance—A tax-gatherer a common foe. Woe be to the wight, who, in or out of Parliament, ventures to defend the Customs or the Excise. As well might he hazard a

panegyric upon the cholera, or an apology for the plague. A Chancellor of the Exchequer seemed to bear the mark of Cain on his forehead until the present times had proved that hatred for the office might be subdued by affectionate respect for the man. But let us examine whether the Government are as culpable as has been imagined in resisting the motions of those three paladins—the Knight of the shire for Lincoln, and his two brethren from the metropolitan districts. As long as the present Corn Laws subsist, is it not evident that the reduction of the Malt-duty must rather produce an increase of rent to the barley grower than any relief to the consumer? In this case, would not the relief have been most partial and unequal? Besides which, when it is remembered that the duty on malt was formerly as high as 34s. 8d., and that even in 1820, it amounted to 28s., whilst at present it does not exceed 20s. 8d.,—and when it is further recollected that the beer-tax, amounting to an additional duty of 31s. 11d., has also been repealed,—is it not plain that the reduction of the Malt-tax is not the financial proposition which ought to claim precedency in a question of relief?

The objections to the House-tax are, it is true, somewhat more numerous and more cogent. Its inequality, the severity with which it presses on certain districts, the vexatious surcharges and litigation which it produces,—these are evils of no common magnitude. But the question to be decided by the Government was not whether they should or should not propose the repeal of taxes; the real question was, what repeal of taxes would be the most efficacious in giving relief to the people. Let us ask what are the classes which, under such circumstances, were entitled to the earliest and most favourable consideration? Undoubtedly the classes which are the poorest and the most necessitous. Now, the number of inhabited houses in Great Britain amounts to 2,846,179; the number of houses assessed is no more than 430,000. Can it be denied that the inhabitants of the 2,415,000 houses not subject to assessment, are poorer than the occupants of the 430,000 houses in charge of the tax-officers? Then, if poorer, they are more entitled to relief; and yet it is made a subject of complaint, that their interests were wholly sacrificed to the interests of their more wealthy and powerful competitors. It must not be assumed from hence, that at a fitting opportunity, it ought not to be the object of the Government to remove the cause of discontent and complaint to which a tax depending upon the doubtful principles of an arbitrary and unequal valuation must necessarily be exposed. All that is here contended for is, that to maintain that the Government has forfeited the confidence of the country by resisting the combined

attack of Sir John Key and Sir Samuel Whalley, during the last Session, is to reason unfairly, and to decide unjustly.

We have defended the Government from the charges brought against them for what they have left undone; but that which they have done has in these discussions too often been forgotten, and still remains to be considered. The inconsistency and unreasonableness of human expectations, is never exhibited more strongly than on this very subject of the repeal of taxes. Whilst the tax exists, how loud is the complaint, how numerous the petitions! Chairmen are invited to preside, resolutions are framed with skill, and supported with an eloquence which, like the laughter of the gods, is unextinguishable. But no sooner is success secured, and the object of desire obtained, than a new chase is begun, and the same proceedings are renewed. The principle of 'how much the wife is dearer than the bride' is reversed. What was all attraction whilst we wooed, is utterly neglected when won. Thus, though various duties have been successively repealed, it would appear from the debates in Parliament, and the arguments used out of it, as if all had been forgotten; and as if each tax that was abandoned only furnished an additional argument for new claims, giving vigour for a renewed attack. To those of the public who are disposed to act on sounder and juster principles, the following list of taxes, either reduced or totally repealed, becomes most important. It has appeared elsewhere; but it cannot but be usefully reprinted, because in a very few lines it furnishes a triumphant reply to those unjust charges which attribute to the Whig Government a forgetfulness of their past professions, and an indifference to the wants, the feelings, or the interests of the people.

Duty on printed cottons,	.	.	Repealed.
Duty on coals and slates,	.	.	Repealed.
Duty on candles,	.	.	Repealed.
Duty on hemp,	.	.	Reduced.
Duty on drugs,	.	.	Reduced.
Duty on tiles,	.	.	Repealed.
Stamp on marine insurance,	.	.	Reduced.
Advertisement-duty,	.	.	Reduced one half.
Stamp on fire-insurances on farming stock,	.	.	Repealed.
Small receipt stamps,	.	.	Repealed.
Land-tax on personal estates,	.	.	Repealed.
Soap-duty,	.	.	Reduced one half.
Duty on cotton wool,	.	.	Reduced. (This had been imposed in 1832.)
Duty on pamphlets,	.	.	Repealed.
House-tax on shops,	.	.	Reduced one half.
Duty on commercial travellers,	.	.	Repealed.

Tax on clerks and book-keepers,	.	Repealed.
Tax on overseers, warehousemen, and shopmen,	Repealed.
Duty on tax-carts,	Repealed.
Horse-tax on market gardeners,	Repealed.
House-tax on L.10 houses,	Reduced one-third.
House-tax from L.10 to L.20,		a graduated reduction.

Now let us consider somewhat more in detail the principle on which these taxes have been selected. The evil effect of the duty on printed cottons is by no means represented by the amount of L.555,000 which was received into the Exchequer. A gross sum of nearly L.2,000,000 was collected, and though the balance was paid back in the shape of allowances and drawbacks, those who are practically acquainted with the trade are well aware how unjustly this sum was distributed; and how frequently fraud, perjury, and corruption reaped a rich harvest by means of this complicated system, and maintained a most unjust competition against more honourable and more scrupulous rivals. By this repeal a great trade has been set wholly free. The millions of persons who are engaged in the cotton manufacture have felt a spring given to their industry; and in the reduced price of produce every consumer throughout the empire has been directly benefited. In like manner, the total repeal of the candle-duty, and the reduction of half the duty on soap, has increased the comforts of every cottager—and has enabled a given amount of wages to go further in his domestic expenditure. The metropolis has obtained in the repeal of the coal-tax a relief approaching to half a million annually; and those districts where trade and manufactures were depressed by the want of fuel, are now relieved from that unjust and artificial inequality, which added to the inconvenience of their natural position. The interests of British shipping have been considered in the reduction of the stamps on marine insurance, and of the Customs duty on hemp; the interests of literature and of the press are promoted by the reduction of the duty on pamphlets and on advertisements. The large population engaged in the manufacture of tiles are no longer left exposed to the risk of being driven to seek parochial help by the increased competition of untaxed slate. The wishes generally expressed by the public are gratified by the repeal of the small receipt stamp. The farmer is allowed the use of his market carts without a vexatious contest with the surveyor and the district commissioners; and he is permitted to insure his stock from fire without being called upon to pay an enormous tax upon his forethought and prudence. Nor were the complaints made against the assessed taxes wholly disregarded or left without remedy. On the contrary, relief to the probable extent

of nearly half a million has been conceded; and a choice has been made of those particular assessments which weighed upon men engaged in business and upon the poorer classes. With this view, the house-tax on all shops has been diminished 50 per cent; the tax paid by the L.10 householders has been reduced $33\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. All houses below L.18 in value have also received a progressive reduction—and the tax upon all servants connected with commerce, trade, and manufactures has been totally abolished.

All these reductions have been the work of less than three years; and it should be recollected that they have been effected without giving the slightest shock to public credit. It is by a reference to these facts that the Whig Ministry are enabled to repel the attacks of their Tory opponents—it is by these facts that they can refute the calumnies of the Radical faction—it is by these facts that they can justify the support given to them by their honourable and consistent friends. By an appeal to these facts, the government can also prove, that whilst in office as well as in opposition, they have been the steady and determined advocates of the real interests of the people—the supporters of free institutions—the faithful guardians of the public purse, and the assertors of the just principles of economy. To these principles they stand pledged—for the sake of these principles they were alone justified in accepting or in retaining office. To these principles they are bound devotedly to adhere. But we trust they will never consent to sacrifice the real interests of the people, and their duties towards the Crown, for the transitory possession of an unmerited popularity. Let them rather feel confidence that their cotemporaries, as well as posterity, will do justice to their motives and principles if they study to maintain undiminished the rights and liberties of the people, and the honour of the Crown—to preserve the national faith inviolate, and the efficiency of the public service unimpaired.

Art. VIII.—*Great Britain in 1833*. By BARON D'HAUSSEZ, Ex-Minister of Marine under King Charles X. 2 vols. 12mo. London: 1833.

IN the golden days of the 'Minerva Press,' milliners' apprentices were brought up to believe that it was impossible for a novel to be so bad as not to be worth ten pounds. Since the above work has been lucky enough to find a publisher and translator, purchasers and reviewers, a similar degree of vulgar inte-

rest would appear to be springing up in favour of national romances of a more questionable description. The principle upon which the new demand is expected to proceed is made evident enough. In the newspaper advertisements, with which the publisher has lately baited his trap for the ingenuous public, we perceive that the book is called 'highly satirical,' and that its writer is said to have been christened 'Baron de Trollope.' A reputable bookseller, by ushering his wares into the world with these specific recommendations, puts himself in the position of a literary pimp, who knowingly undertakes to trade on the bad passions of mankind. The supposition it implies is as little flattering to our understanding as to our taste. In the case of individual libels and caricatures, there is one customer, whom their author imagines that he is generally pretty sure of; namely, the object of his scandal. If the same sort of curiosity is ascertained to be equally powerful with reading nations, the necessity of importing this class of scribblers will not continue long. Our native Grub Street will soon supply us, from its first floors, as well as its garrets, with Pillets and d'Haussez's of our own.

We have had among us formerly in the imaginary visits of 'Espriella' and 'Haji Baba,' very clever dominos from Spain and Persia. Few persons are sufficiently masters of the moral and intellectual costume of another nation to maintain such a part with the grace and the correctness necessary for its effect. The complete absence in the present work of all the liveliness and urbanity usually attributed to a Frenchman, especially to a Frenchman of the old court, inclined us at one time to half suspect that some bungling imitator, ambitious of representing a Frenchman in England, was seeking on this occasion, by the impudent assumption of a real character, to make up for the insipidity of his masquerade. It is too late, however, now to doubt that the volumes are entitled to the filiation which they announce. Their pretensions would otherwise have been long ago contradicted. It ought to be (and we are still confident that it is) exceedingly improbable that a gentleman of some sixty years of age, a late First Lord of the Admiralty and Cabinet Minister of France, should be guilty of so much impertinence and folly; but an accidental exception of this kind is a less incredible phenomenon than that any third person should have been at the trouble of forging so stupid an imposture in the name of Prince Polignac's Ex-Minister of Marine.

We can assure Baron d'Haussez, that by this publication he has taken ample security against all such suspicions for the future. As long as there is any other name, wherewith a man may be accommodated, no unknown writer will be found tres-

passing upon his. By his own showing, he appears to be one of the incapable royalists of France, who, since the Restoration, have been quartered upon the provinces in successive subordinate employments. He was singled out at last for one of the highest offices in the state, either from the notoriety of his subservient ambition, or (as he says himself) from 'considerations of duty 'to a king whom one durst no longer serve.' This is his own justification of his appointment. Yet what a confession of the utter destitution of his party, and of the madness of the conspiracy on which he was thus bribed to enter against the infant liberties of his country! It is impossible that an ignominious attempt, ending in discomfiture and exile, can have left him an impartial witness concerning the political views and temper of his countrymen, or on the character of a neighbouring people originally answerable to Europe for the bad example of a constitutional monarchy. Otherwise, it would be an unpromising prospect indeed for Europe, if, on lifting up the veil from the internal life and future destinies of its two leading nations, the extreme contrasts, which alone the Baron finds there, should turn out to be the truth. In France, there are capital dinners, first-rate dancing, a genius for the fine arts; all the charms of brilliant spirit and mobile imagination; but the scene is unluckily laid in the crater of a volcano. The converse exhibited by England represents the triumphs of industry and of common sense, every thing substantial and comparatively secure, with only one small deficiency. Owing to our wretched cookery, and still more wretched taste,—to the dulness of our homes, to the noisy vulgarity of our amusements, to an essential incapability of the beautiful, grand, and true,—there is nothing, or next to nothing, in England to enjoy. One country is worn out by friction, the other is overgrown by rust.

The 'Three Days' are too constantly present to our author's mind, not to disturb whatever little judgment he ever may have possessed. He reproaches our English system of education, perhaps with some justice, for its bigoted routine. The topic suggests to him immediately a comparison with France. There, on the other hand, education deals only with general ideas and dangerous theories,—with an extensive knowledge difficult of application,—and with rounded periods transferred from the schools to active life. His contempt for one system is less, however, than his spleen at the outrage which he has suffered from the other. 'It must be admitted, all considerations taken into account, that a student of Oxford is to be preferred to a student of the Polytechnic school.' Nations might have conceived themselves to be tolerably secure against the analogies of a cockpit. Far from it. Cock-fighting is said to be one of the amusements to which the

English people are most fondly attached; and he is at the pains of showing how 'the details of a frivolous amusement contain 'a sort of summary of their conduct throughout life.' The step is shorter which carries the alarmed and figurative statesman back to the French Chamber. 'The aspect of a cockpit differs 'from all assemblages that have pleasure for their object. He 'who has not been present at the sittings of a certain assembly, 'where graver interests are discussed, would find it impossible to 'form an idea of the cries, the gestures, the applause, the blows, 'the stamping and clattering which the spectators resort to by 'way of expressing their impatience. There are only wanting 'to complete the resemblance between a cockpit and the name- 'less chamber, those gross insults and menaces which are not 'allowed in the English assembly. In order to check the excess 'of turbulence, there is suspended from the ceiling, by means of 'a cord passed through a pulley, a large basket, intended for the 'reception of disturbers who transgress the limits—for the rest 'extensive enough—assigned to ill breeding. France, which is 'so eager to model her institutions on those of Great Britain, 'should resort to this means, which, perhaps, would have more 'efficacy than a President's bell.' Speaking of our careless and ignoble manners in company, and of the good effect to which a sort of female censorship might be turned in keeping up the tone of cultivated society, the example of France, and its council of venerable ladies, occurs to him: but it is France—'as it was, 'when a society really existed there.' One of his greatest horrors is the daily press. Periodicals, with a longer period of gestation, it may be observed, are harmless. Here, again, he sees only with the eyes of an ex-minister of France:—'The English 'press, following the example of that of France, has bounded 'from the extremity to the head of popular opinion. That which 'the press has already done in France, with a little more time it 'will do in England. Public opinion does justice to the claims 'of both; yet public opinion is no less the slave of journalism 'in London than in Paris.' What may be the case of a nation not yet accustomed to free discussion, and with which witty words have always had so much power, that the old regime even, was long ago called an absolute government tempered by epigrams, we do not presume to say. On the folly of prejudging the case of England by the supposed precedent of France, it is enough that we refer him to the directly opposite conviction and authority of a more competent observer, namely, the American minister, Mr Rush. In fear of the military mania of France, Europe has been more than once obliged to bind her over to keep the peace against other countries. The necessity intimated at present

is that of a strait-waistcoat, in order to protect her against herself. In England, individuals may be left alone by Government, in the full confidence that reason, custom, imitation, instinct, patriotism, self-love, property, will be applied to the public interests. In France, 'these indefinable somethings,' M. Thiers, it seems, will find wanting, in any attempt to assimilate the municipal administration of the two countries. 'Since the people wish 'neither aristocracies nor social distinctions—since they do not 'even admit of intellectual superiority, they stand in need of 'energetic laws, magistrates invested with extraordinary powers, 'gen d'armes, and spies, to control them. This is a sad but indispensable condition of existence;—it is the consequence of the 'systems adopted; it is the counterpoise, however inadequate, of 'an independence which has exceeded all bounds.'

Baron d'Haussez honestly acquaints us, that had a choice been left him, he should not have chosen England for his asylum. As it was, he was too happy to get even here. He arrived in this country, apparently for the first time, not only 'with great uneasiness, painful recollections, and an uncertain future, but with 'prejudices which ill prepared him to be pleased with it.' His subsequent experience has softened down these prejudices into what he ventures to call prepossessions. Occasionally called upon to use the language of censure, he declares, 'I shall never 'give utterance to expressions which may call in question the 'attachment I so unfeignedly entertain for the English nation, in 'return for the noble and generous hospitality of which I have 'been the object during my residence.' Supposing this declaration to be sincere, the Baron has certainly a way of his own in paying compliments; and he is equally original in his view of the little arts by which the communication of disagreeable truths may be made a proof of genuine and manly kindness. The complacent assurance of having written up to the full extent of these amiable professions, will support him under his trials. When he learns that England is as ungrateful for his sayings, as France has been for his doings, he will be more convinced that nations are, at the present era, become impossible to please.

The French Baron takes up the sneer of the German Prince (Pückler Muskau), on our love of titles. Prefix this qualification to your name, 'you are then sought for, preached up, lionized. 'You become an object of curiosity that is looked at, studied, and 'sometimes questioned to importunity. Upon a foreigner's complaisance in lending himself to this national habit, depends the 'sort of reception he meets with.' Visitors of this kind will do something (or we are indeed incurable) towards undeceiving us in respect of the presumption which we imagined their rank to

establish in their behalf. We shall know them better another time. It is impossible, without wading through these volumes, to understand how completely their writer has put an end to the credit on account, upon which his reception in society proceeded. Surely, however, this reception cannot have been (except on the part of a few conservative dowagers) as extravagant as he is pleased to represent it. Enough, however, apparently has passed to make the poor old gentleman the dupe of some extraordinary delusion. 'A continual alternation of visits, among a numerous society, which appeared desirous to lay itself open to my observation, and of complete seclusion, placed at my disposal valuable materials, time, and solitude, to study and arrange them. I was in a new situation, stimulated by a something to which I was unaccustomed, and which extended itself to my moral and physical economy.' The above paragraph is well worth the notice of any conjurer or quack-doctor arriving at a country village. The precise nature of the contemporary change in the Baron's physical economy will be an interesting fact to phrenologists. That his head was turned by these supposed attentions, is very evident. It is probable, also, that there may have been something of our friend Bottom's transformation—an elongation about the ears.

Alas for the poor people who have recourse to 'fashionable novels' in order to see how lords and ladies live. Baron d'Haussez's view of English society, although verified by three years' observation, is about equally correct. He is astonished at the mixture of ignorance and confidence manifested in our judgments concerning foreign countries—especially France. Yet, he has enabled us to return the compliment with interest. How much of this is to be attributed to the company he kept, and how much to his palpable unconsciousness of the positive outline by which matters of fact ought to be distinguished—what amount of error belongs to a noble disdain for the drudgery of accumulating facts as the basis of general deductions—and what are the blunders for which his translator* may be answerable, owing to an almost pardonable indifference to the author's meaning—are questions as to which nobody will take the trouble to enquire.

* The translator is, we presume, answerable for the assertion, that *abductions* (meaning cases of seduction and *crim. con.*) are become less frequent—that it is usual among farmers to make *division* of the fields every four years (meaning a rotation of crops); as also for the Americanism of agricultural theories 'eventuating' in the ruin of the parties.

Ireland gets off more easily than the two other members of the British empire. It is left under a mist of vague words. In the case of any other traveller, we should be satisfied that the few commonplace generalities which the Baron devotes to that distant country were hearsay learning of the lowest kind. But his observation, that in the great object of the Irish landlord—the diminution of the cost of labour—small farms have wholly disappeared, is so characteristic of his best manner, that we receive it as internal evidence of having been made upon the spot.

The Baron goes more into detail in the case of Scotland, which he is predisposed to treat with tenderness, in consideration of its connexion with the House of Stuart. He has a chapter upon Edinburgh, very complimentary to the grandeur, variety, and beauty of its aspects; but in which he is as unfortunate in his descriptions, as he is unfounded in some of his recitals. The veneration evinced towards the Bourbon exiles, during their residence in the palace of the Stuarts—the sense of a public calamity, felt alike by men of all parties, and all religious beliefs, at the news of their intended departure—the desolation manifested through Edinburgh on the day of separation,—are statements of the same degree of correctness with that in which we are told, that ‘you reach the old in passing from the new town, either by crossing a bridge *thrown over a river, or by a steep descent!*’ The small scene got up for the occasion by a few compassionate burghers, and enacted by themselves for their own special delectation, but of which the great bulk of the inhabitants knew nothing, and cared less, afforded certainly but a scanty basis for this piece of romance. The people of Paris are too well informed, to view it otherwise than with derision. His historical approximation will be equally thrown away upon both countries. The comparison of the reception given to James II. at St Germain, with that of Charles X. at Holyrood, is meant to be a cutting contrast between Louis XIV. and William IV.,—an absolute monarch and a constitutional king—the sumptuous courtesy of the seventeenth century, and the brutal indifference of our own. Does he not know the nature of the claims which James had upon Louis? Also the political use which Louis made of James in furtherance of their common cause? Besides, did he never hear of the contemporary jests which the courtiers of Versailles even then could pass on a bigot who had lost three kingdoms for a mass?

Want of sense, especially when accompanied with gossling airs of superiority, is a great offence in a traveller. Want of accuracy greater still. But there is an absence of gentlemanly feeling which is perhaps the worst of all. Of this no man, with or without a title, ex-minister or ex-gentleman, ever gave more decisive

proof than what disgraces Baron d'Haussez's chapter on Abbotsford;—a house into which, by his own account, he begged his way by messages of importunate curiosity. The general system of society, in any country, is open to all mankind, and a cynic may ride roughshod over it at his pleasure. A stranger also is perfectly at liberty to reproach a nation with its absurdities—with that, for instance, (if he so considers it,) of the fanatical enthusiasm into which, the Baron says, we broke out on the death of Sir Walter Scott. The guest of a man of genius, however eminent for his colloquial powers, is perhaps also farther privileged to expose himself, by telling the world that he has discovered his host to be deficient in 'extensive views, and in the faculty and the habit of conversation.' But this is the extremity to which the license of gossiping garrulity can be carried. The shadows of sickness, soon destined to be mortal, had already descended on that illustrious home. A consideration of the filial anxiety, by which a daughter, who has since followed her father to an early grave, must under the circumstances have been absorbed, would not be wanted, one should have thought, by even an ex-minister of Otaheite, to shield a lady from the following impertinence: 'At this interview, Miss Scott, who, though her mother was a Frenchwoman, does not speak our language, evinced no inclination to contribute, even in her own, to a conversation which her father strove to keep up by commonplace remarks.' Afterwards, 'on entering the drawing-room, I found Miss Scott in a most elegant dress, which appeared to have exercised a very favourable influence on her manners towards the company.' Every one is interested in protecting the inside of a private house against such insolence. After this, that Baron d'Haussez should talk of Vandals! That he should set apart a separate section for anatomizing the *canaille!* In case his master ever sends him back to England, we trust our ladies will at least cease to trouble him with those questions, of which foreigners have, it seems, to run the gauntlet. Let them take care also, to turn their backs upon him, before he comes near enough to risk the repetition of an observation which we shall not here recite.

England is the Baron's *cheral de bataille*. There is nothing connected with it, on which he has not a word to say. It is unfortunate that the measure of his words is invariably out of all proportion to the importance of the subject; nor is there one occasion on which his opinion can be seriously and safely recommended to a reader. We may be too ignorant of irrigation, and may neglect to breed different sorts of horses for different sorts of labour;—the administration of our hospitals, our prisons, and our poor, may be more expensive, less acceptable to the individual, and less useful to society than the corresponding systems adopted in France;—but

we must have better authority than the Baron's for the respective facts. The apparent permanence of our institutions has gone a good way towards softening his heart towards them. But many sins indeed would that one virtue be called upon to cover, in case his chapters upon the administration of justice, and on the English clergy, were not a mass of as monstrous and turbid misrepresentation, as ever issued from the lowest gutters of the radical press of London or of Paris. There seems to be but little on which he can flatter us in our institutions, except their permanence. They are inconsistent in themselves, and obviously defective in their organization; so that our conceit in our freedom is reduced to this,—that while we are subject to a shapeless mass of tyrannical and absurd laws, we can see the King pass by us and are not obliged to make him a reverence. The character of permanence in our Government he attributes principally to the grave character of the nation.—‘Happy effect of the empire of custom, amongst a grave and reflecting nation, which has had the wisdom, up to the present time, neither to examine nor discuss its manners and constitution, which has consequently preserved both from change.’ If this were the office of that good sense to which he bears testimony in the most sensible passage in his book, it would ill deserve his praise of being a precious gift,—the first condition of happiness to nations as well as individuals. The good sense displayed by the body of the people on the Reform bill, was something better than a sluggishness which would not enquire into, and a stupidity which could not discover the defects, either of ourselves or of our institutions. The encouragement to be derived from this great example is not the less real and reasonable, because the passage which notices it is in contradiction to the gloomy prognostications elsewhere scattered over the work. ‘Accordingly, we are witnesses to the maturity of reflection displayed by the national character, at a moment when it is beset on all sides by the fury of passions on the watch to invade it. How soon it recovers from emotions, the effects of which it could not altogether resist; how soon it returns to what it was before; and how, when obliged to move onwards, it cautiously treads the unknown soil before it!’ He need not cry, ‘woe to England,’ the day when her electors become too honest to sell themselves, and her senators too wise to buy her voters; for a revolution will be then at hand—popular returns and pure democracy. Does he find no antidote in ‘a powerful and truly patriotic aristocracy, rooted in popular affection, and in the institutions of the country, as in the feudal times, and imparting to the people, that habit of confidence in the superior classes, which disposes their minds to a complete sub-

'mission.' There are incidental admissions enow on other points to satisfy any reasonable person, that the anticipated death-struggle between indigence and property, is not yet at hand in England. 'In no kingdom,' says he, 'does such a wide-spread competency prevail. . . . Every artisan reads the newspaper at breakfast, but works not the less on that account, owing to a subordination to authority, converted not only into custom, but into law. . . . I agree that England is the country where every man knows his own business best.*'

Baron d'Haussez, we are satisfied, has nobody but himself to thank for most of the wonderful things he saw in England, and the more wonderful conclusions at which he sometimes arrives concerning them. But still he must have been a little unlucky on the whole, in the company into which he fell. Where can he have been dining, when creams disappeared before the roast was thought of? when the host was constantly struggling to load his plate with insipid vegetables? and every guest attacked, without offering to his neighbour, the dish before him? What were the families, where a sister hurried into the dance, with her sexagenary partner, within a fortnight of her brother's death? or, where he saw a family meeting of a sister, brother-in-law, nieces, and nephews, so perfectly unacquainted, as to wait for formal introductions to each other? This, observe, is said of those very English, whose

* The apprehension of a death-struggle betwixt wealth and indigence, or an alarm, even in America, of the views of civil polity adopted by the *Workies*, is, we are persuaded, as great a delusion as the views which the parties are said to entertain. The rich may be easily enough ruined, but it is not so easy to turn their ruin to the benefit of the poor. How are the poor of France the better off for the confiscations of the property of the nobility and the clergy, and for laws aiming at compulsory equality? England is distinguished for the amount of its wealth and 'its wide-spread competency.' Yet at what an early point that competency stops, on any scheme of a division of property—how short a way that wealth would go, appears by an interesting statistical return lately made to Parliament. The number of persons keeping one male servant during the ten years ending in 1830, was constantly progressive. In 1830, it was 41,699; those keeping two, were 13,900; those keeping eleven and upwards, 4285. The total number of persons keeping male servants are only 86,152. Persons keeping one four-wheel carriage, in 1830, are 19,417, (being a decrease of near 4000 below the year 1829, and only a little in advance of 1826); those keeping two, are 5173; nine and upwards, 14;—the total, 25,992. Persons keeping one horse, are—127,050; two, 30,909; twenty and upwards, 1214;—total, 186,676. Persons keeping dogs, 350,512.

minds, he elsewhere tells us, are formed 'in the bosom of their families, to which they are never strangers.'

We will string together a few of the Baron's remarkable observations. The effect of primogeniture has been, in a few generations, to throw the whole fee of the soil into a very small number of hands. Gretna Green marriages are the singular privilege of a family of blacksmiths. The nature of the English law prevents the possibility of an heiress. Marriages, therefore, proceed upon other considerations, (such as beauty and connexion,) and are in general productive of happiness; though, from the nature of the people or of the relation, 'in none is there found any lively pleasure.' This happiness, to be sure, is not romantic and overwrought; for 'the happiness of Englishwomen is complete, when they see a long article in the newspapers, composed by themselves, or by an officious friend, and paid for as an advertisement, informing all London and all England of the most minute details of the *fêtes* they have given.' The churches and the religious observances of England are increasing in direct proportion to the religious indifference of other countries; and yet the religion of our ladies mainly consists in a neglected Bible, on a bedroom table. The difficulty in adopting our author's views is occasionally aggravated by the choice he gives us of opposite assertions. An Englishman (for instance) travels with opinions already formed, and a firm resolution to imbibe no others inconsistent with them; he advertises his wish to bend the customs of every country he visits to those of England; yet, strange to say, the first endeavour of these same Englishmen, on landing upon a foreign end, is to efface all impression of their distinctive nationality! Again, our women are said both to lose the tastes of their youth and also to retain many of them to old age. Their lives are passed in the society of their husbands, and yet their husbands are almost constantly absent at the clubs! The variety and entertainment which other people seek in the exercise of their imagination, the English look for in change of place. Comfort is a word never uttered by the lower classes. It means luxury among the wealthy; and in the middle classes, it is a heavy well-stuffed arm-chair in which the master of the house goes to sleep after dinner. Our household arrangements have no other merit, but being clean. Thus we are driven out of doors for our pleasures, in spite, too, of our climate. Among these the first place is given to horse-racing, field-sports, and cock-fighting. The accuracy with which the sketch of these national pursuits is taken, and their degrees preserved, is in keeping with his statistical and political observations. Melton is described as situated in a mountainous and woody coun-

try. Steeple-chases are, above all, the mania of manias—one of the great efforts after originality with which we labour to diversify our routine. A foreigner would suppose that the whole nation was employed in hunting, as in the time of the ancient Britons. ‘The passion of sporting is universal in England. From the man of rank and fortune, who devotes to it considerable sums, and almost all his time and thoughts, even to the farmer,—who, not content with unyoking one of the horses which draws his plough, and thereby augmenting the number of sportsmen, is also satisfied that his well-tilled fields will be thoroughly overrun by one hundred horses,—all are enthusiastic in this kind of pleasure. Ladies take great interest in listening to the recitals of the chase, nor is the time given by infants to this amusement considered as thrown away.’

The malicious prayer that one's enemy would but write a book, was never more thoroughly answered. The Baron's enemies must have been praying, and the Lord has delivered him into their hands. We wish his friends, especially the English cicerones, who have had the honour of bear-leading him about, joy of their sapient guest. Even the royalist old ladies of the Faubourg St Germain, must be wishing by this time that he had been shut up with his colleagues at Ham, instead of making himself, and their ancient cause, ridiculous in England. Is it possible that he can be at all a fair specimen of the administration of which he was a member? In that case, the greatest believers in the verity of the maxim, ‘how little wisdom governs the world!’ will admit the Polignac experiment to have been somewhat in the extreme. It is very evident that the government of Louis Philippe may allow him to return with perfect safety. If France, however, is resolved to have done with him, it seems that he is not yet done with France. There is more mischief brewing by him against that unhappy country. Not content with enlightening the world on the real nature of English understanding, character, and institutions, he has been busy composing *Memoirs* of the late events in France. What an enviable addition they must prove to that department of literature in which the French already are so rich! Unluckily it is thought necessary to keep them in his portfolio for the present. This communication can be only made for the express purpose of mortifying a rebellious generation. On further consideration it is probable that he will relent, and moderate the punishment within some reasonable limits.

The penalty of exile, which the Baron appears to have felt the most, is the loss of Paris dinners. ‘To enjoy one's self at table is in France an axiom of good sense and good company. In England, on the contrary, to eat to live, seems to be the sole

‘ object. There the refinements of cookery are unknown. It ‘ is not in a word a science.’ One should have expected that a man, who had just run away from the terrors of the guillotine, might have contrived to rough it upon a beefsteak, and a bottle of Port. This is, however, one of the trials, to which a philosopher ought not to be required to submit. For every thing else the Baron is prepared to retreat upon himself. Witness the complacent spirit in which he winds up his satire on the country, that was affording him an asylum, by a chapter of solemn panegyric on his own merits. A topic which Bolingbroke, under similar circumstances, had adorned with all his eloquence — ‘ the philosophy of exile ’ — is made by him an occasion for taking his own worshipful magnanimity out an airing, accompanied by a long retinue of perfections. The wounds of disappointed honour are fortunately much more within the reach of his philosophy, than those which a French *gastronome* is doomed to undergo from our barbarous hospitality. The blame in this case is readily thrown upon the public. ‘ After sacrificing your health ‘ in its service, you may see the most insignificant of your labours ‘ preferred to your noblest conceptions, and frequently a cox- ‘ comb or an idiot to yourself, who are neither ! ’ The philosophical resources of which our author is in possession, must be invaluable under his present circumstances. The sooner he enters upon the absolute repose to which he regards himself entitled, the better. The age which he admits that he has reached, when, ‘ weary of every thing, what one deems the best part of a pleasure ‘ sure is the end of it, and when the summary of an amusing ‘ day is sleep, ’ is evidently not the age at which a national censor should first set out upon his labours.

ART. IX.—*A Treatise on Astronomy*. By SIR JOHN F. W. HERSCHEL, Knt. Guelp., F.R.S.L. and E., Correspondent of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Paris, &c. (Lardner's *Cabinet Cyclopædia*.) 12mo. London: 1833.

NO one who is in the slightest degree acquainted with the science of the age, or its history, can require to be told that a *Treatise on Astronomy*, by the very eminent author of this volume, must necessarily possess very unusual claims to attention. Such claims the present work does possess, in a very remarkable degree; and yet, excellent and able as it is, we confess that the pleasure we have experienced in perusing it, has not been unmingled with some feelings of disappointment and regret. It is unnecessary for us to say how much importance we attach to the general diffusion of sound scientific knowledge among all classes of the community; nor are we insensible to the fact, that those who have made the greatest advances in science, are the best able to explain and elucidate its principles (for it is only by a very varied and extensive application of the principles of a science that the most advantageous method of presenting them can be discovered); yet we cannot help feeling that a work, if not quite as good as the present one, at least as good as the occasion demanded, and equal to all the purposes which this proposes to accomplish, might have been produced by a far inferior man;—and that the proper position of Sir John Herschel is at the head of those who are nobly, though it may be silently, and without notice, endeavouring to extend the present limits of human knowledge, instead of falling back into the ranks of those whose office it is to herald the triumphs of science, and point out its treasures and results to the admiration of the vulgar.

At the present day, we admit, when, in consequence of the great advances already made, discoveries of any value are not to be hoped for, without the sacrifice of much time, and the toil of prolonged and arduous labour, the inducements to descend from the airy summits of abstract science and original speculation, to the level at which the great body of the reading public can appreciate and applaud, are peculiarly great. Philosophers, like other writers, naturally wish to be read, and to have reputation; and reputation, as was remarked by D'Alembert, depends more on the number than the merit of those who praise. Nevertheless,—and it may be some consolation to such as neglect immediate fame in pursuing the more arduous path to glory—the annals of science testify in every page, that no reputation, however brilliant,

can be permanent or durable, unless founded on useful discoveries, and a real extension of the circle of knowledge. Amidst the numbers panting for literary distinction, there is no want of those who are capable of developing discoveries already made, and of bringing them down to the level of the multitude; but it is not by such labours that even minds of the highest order may hope to raise to themselves a durable monument. The reputation of Euler would have been equally great though he had never written his once celebrated *Letters*; nor would that of Laplace have now been less though he had not been the author of the *Système du Monde*, transcendent as its merits are.

It may be urged, however, that since the diffusion of just and sound views of the natural world has a direct tendency to exalt both the moral and physical condition of mankind, those, therefore, who promote that diffusion, and especially those who, already crowned with the honours and renown of scientific discovery, descend from a lofty and hardly-won eminence to assist, by the influence of their name and authority, as well as by their actual labours, in instructing their fellow-creatures, may justly claim, like the inventors of the useful arts in ancient times, to be ranked among the benefactors of the human race. There is truth in this; and we are far from wishing to detract from the extent of the obligation the world owes them: yet, if it were proposed to employ the whole disposable talent of the country in the way that would be most advantageous for the general advancement and diffusion of science, it would be material to assign to each individual labourer the part most nearly proportioned to his powers; and he would, we think, have singular notions of economy, who, in making such allotment, would assign to Sir John Herschel the part of writing an elementary treatise on Descriptive Astronomy. In short, we should have been more pleased to contemplate him pursuing the track of original discovery and speculation, engaged in adding new truths to the existing stock, or linking them with theory, and leaving them to find their way to the drawingroom as they best might.

Astronomy has been regarded in all ages as the first in importance of the physical sciences. For this distinction it has been partly indebted to a dim perception of its connexion with some of the most important interests of mankind, but still more to the peculiar and imposing nature of the objects and relations it brings under our view, and the hold which it takes of the imagination in the sublime ideas of order, space, and time, with which it presents us. Even the more obvious phenomena of the heavens,—the diurnal revolution, and the eclipses of the sun and moon, while they fill the ignorant with wonder and admiration, are sub-

jects of contemplation to which the most enlightened can always turn with new pleasure. But the pleasure is vastly increased when science, having dispelled the illusions of the senses, has made us acquainted with our true place in the system; and, having taught us to take our stand on the sun, exhibits to us the different planets and satellites performing their various convolutions in perfect harmony and order, under laws which enable us to compute the position of any member of the system at any period of time, past or future, with unerring certainty. Nor does the wonder cease here; the imagination, soaring beyond the solar system, views, in the countless myriads of stars that bespangle the sky, so many suns similar to our own, and perhaps surpassing it in splendour and glory; each probably attended with its train of planets and their accompanying satellites, and placed at distances from each other, which it is impossible for the imagination to conceive, or language to express. The study of the heavens has, therefore, at all times kept pace with, and marked the progress of civilisation; and since the practical advantages of astronomy have been fully recognised, every effort of genius, and every resource of art has been exhausted in attempts to bring it to perfection.

In our own country, Practical Astronomy has always been cultivated with a zeal and success commensurate with the importance of the science as a branch of human knowledge, and the great maritime interests depending on it. But at no period of its annals has there been a greater zeal manifested, not only to extend observations of all kinds, but to give them a degree of accuracy and precision formerly unattempted, than during the last twenty years. Much of this increased ardour may be ascribed to the great perfection at which theory has arrived, and which requires the most exact and delicate observations; but it is doubtless owing still more to the freedom of continental intercourse, which has brought the instruments and methods of observing practised in different countries into direct comparison, and established a rivalry among artists and astronomers. But whatever the propelling cause may be, Practical Astronomy has undoubtedly, to the full, participated in that general and rapid movement in advance, by which all the branches of Natural Philosophy have been so signally benefited within the present century; and, at this moment, astronomers all over the world seem to partake of the influence of that excitement which is felt, when a great and important object, long and anxiously sought after, is at last perceived within our power, and requires only an additional effort to be secured for ever.

It is always interesting to watch the current of human thought,

and to observe the direction that scientific pursuits are taking ; yet, if we look only to practical utility, we shall hardly persuade ourselves that the multiplication of observatories and astronomical observations, so loudly proclaimed as objects of national importance, and deserving of national support, are likely, in the present state of Astronomy, to be productive of any great advantage. In a practical point of view, the ultimate object of Astronomy is to make a Nautical Almanac—such a one as has at length appeared under the learned and skilful superintendence of Lieutenant Stratford ; at least, its highest aim is to produce perfectly accurate tables ; and for this purpose very numerous observations are by no means requisite. The elements of Astronomy are not now to be formed. The lunar and planetary theories may be considered as perfect ; and the tables give the places of the sun, moon, and principal planets, for years in advance, with a precision at least much superior to what can be obtained from any instrument capable of being used at sea. The right-ascensions of a sufficient number of stars, indeed of all the conspicuous ones, have been well determined, and their places require only to be verified from time to time, to guard against the effects of proper motion ; and the *constants*, as they are called, of refraction, aberration, and parallax, which are employed in the reduction of the observations, are perhaps not susceptible of more minute determination. Under these circumstances, all that remains to be done is to keep up the accuracy already attained, and to observe the effects of the perturbations as they are slowly developed, in order to obtain such corrections as time will indicate for the masses and other data on which the analytical theory of the world is necessarily built. For these purposes, one well-furnished observatory in a country, with the requisite establishment of computers, is perfectly adequate. All the corrections which the elements of the solar system are capable of receiving, must be obtained from a systematic course of observations, such as can only be made at a fixed or national observatory ; and which, if well made at one place, it would be needless to repeat at another.

As to the other purposes to which observers now aspire,—such as the discovery of shifting and revolving stars, and those changes of position or appearance which the excellence of modern telescopes have revealed in the heavens,—it is evident that the chances of success must be in proportion to the extent of means employed. What future discoveries or accessions to science may ultimately arise from the active prosecution of many of these researches, it is in vain to attempt to conjecture. At present, however, they are only speculative and philosophical,—objects of curiosity

rather than objects of science, and may fairly be abandoned to the care of the amateur.

The long series of connected truths which compose the science of Astronomy, have been evolved from the appearances and observations by calculation, and a process of reasoning entirely geometrical. It was not without reason that Plato called geometry and arithmetic the two wings of Astronomy; for it is only by means of these two sciences that we can give a rational account of any of the appearances, or connect any one fact with theory, or even render a single observation available to the most common astronomical purpose. It is by geometry that we are enabled to reason our way up through the apparent motions to the real orbits of the planets, and to assign their positions, magnitudes, and eccentricities. And it is by the application of geometry—a sublime geometry, indeed, invented for the purpose—to the general laws of mechanics, that we demonstrate the law of gravitation, trace it through its remotest effects on the different planets, and, comparing these effects with what we observe, determine the densities and weights of the minutest bodies belonging to the system. The whole science of astronomy is in fact a tissue of geometrical reasoning, applied to the data of observation; and it is from this circumstance that it derives its peculiar character of precision and certainty. To disconnect it from geometry, therefore, and to substitute familiar illustrations and vague description for close and logical reasoning, is to deprive it of its principal advantages, and reduce it to the condition of an ordinary province of natural history. Sir John Herschel is of course by far too well acquainted with the nature of astronomical evidence to give any countenance to the notion that Astronomy can be either adequately taught or understood by mere description and illustration. On the contrary, while he states candidly, and without pretension, the nature of his own work, he calls our attention, in the most pointed terms, to the only channel through which admittance can be gained to that higher and more satisfactory science which traces the phenomena to their causes, and deduces from them the general laws of matter and motion:—

‘After all, we must distinctly caution such of our readers as may commence and terminate their astronomical studies with the present work, (though of such, at least in the latter predicament, we trust the number will be few,) that its utmost pretension is to place them on the threshold of this particular wing of the temple of science, or rather on an eminence exterior to it, whence they may obtain something like a general notion of its structure; or at most, to give those who may wish to enter, a ground-plan of its accesses, and put them in possession of the pass-word. Admission to its sanctuary, and to the privileges and feel-

ings of a votary, is only to be gained by one means,—*a sound and sufficient knowledge of mathematics, the great instrument of all exact enquiry, without which no man can ever make such advances in this or any other of the higher departments of science, as can entitle him to form an independent opinion on any subject of discussion within their range.*—P. 5.

These are just and important observations, and deserving of serious attention; but we fear the reader, in admiration of the splendid and gorgeous, though *exterior*, view of the temple here set before him, will only be too apt to rest satisfied with the position he has already attained; and that he will not be the more inclined to encounter the difficulties of a farther progress on account of having proceeded so far by so smooth and easy a path.

But geometry is not only the instrument of astronomical investigation, and the bond by which the truths are enchained together,—it is also the instrument of explanation, affording, by the peculiar brevity and perspicuity of its technical processes, not only aid to the learner, but also such facilities to the teacher as he will find it very difficult to supply, if he voluntarily undertakes to forego its assistance. Few undertakings, indeed, are attended with greater difficulty than that of attempting to exhibit the connecting links of a chain of mathematical reasoning, when we lay aside the technical symbols and notation which relieve the memory, and speak at once to the eyes and the understanding:—

‘It is not without an effort that those who possess this knowledge (mathematics) can communicate on such subjects with those who do not, and adapt their language and illustrations to the necessities of such an intercourse. Propositions, which to the one are almost identical, are theorems of import and difficulty to the other; nor is their evidence presented in the same way to the mind of each. In teaching such propositions, under such circumstances, the appeal has to be made, not to the pure and abstract reason, but to the sense of analogy—to practice and experience: principles and modes of action have to be established, not by direct argument from acknowledged axioms, but by bringing forward and dwelling on simple and familiar instances in which the same principles and the same or similar modes of action take place; thus erecting, as it were, in each particular case, a separate induction, and constructing at each step a little body of science to meet its exigencies. The difference is that of pioneering a road through an untraversed country, and advancing at ease along a broad and beaten highway; that is to say, if we are determined to make ourselves distinctly understood, and will appeal to reason at all.’—Pp. 5-6.

To our apprehension, the labour here described might be more profitably applied, in all such cases, in another direction. It would be better bestowed, we imagine, in attempting to raise the learner to the level of the science, than in divesting the science of its most valuable evidence, in order to adapt it to his wants;—to

accustom him to the use of an instrument which will enable him to proceed safely, and with constantly increasing facility, instead of amusing him with a succession of unconnected and independent 'little bodies of science,' which can each, at best, only serve its own individual purpose, and which, after all, will be considered satisfactory only by those who are willing to take their astronomy on trust. Nor is the amount of mathematical learning required for demonstrating the principal propositions of astronomy (excepting, of course, the perturbations) so very formidable, as to present a very serious obstacle to any one who is willing to devote such attention to the subject, as is necessary to master any other considerable branch of human knowledge. With an ordinary acquaintance with trigonometry, and the simplest elements of algebra, one may take up any well-written treatise on plane astronomy, (Woodhouse's, for example,) and work his way through it, from beginning to end, with perfect ease; and he will acquire, in the course of his progress, from the mere examples put before him, an infinitely more correct and precise idea of astronomical methods and theories, than he could obtain in a lifetime from the most eloquent general descriptions that ever were written. At the same time he will be strengthening himself for farther advances, and accustoming his mind to habits of close comparison and rigid demonstration, which are of infinitely more importance than the acquisition of stores of undigested facts.

Though disposed, for the reasons above stated, to set little value on popular treatises of science, we must, we find, make an exception in favour of the present one; indeed, we are not quite sure that it ought to be placed in the class of works that properly fall under that description. The technical processes of the mathematics are abandoned, it is true; but the clear, precise, exact, and systematic mode of reasoning which so peculiarly belongs to that science, has been, whenever it was practicable, rigidly preserved; so that the spirit of the work, if not the form, is strictly geometrical. The perfect acquaintance which the author possesses with every part of the subject, theoretical and practical, has enabled him to present the detail of subjects in the most favourable light, and in the order in which they contribute most effectually to illustrate each other. In the general reasoning, the main argument, the essential fact, is put prominently forward, so that the details seldom present any obstacle or embarrassment. There is also a freshness and originality in the descriptions and illustrations, which, considering the hackneyed nature of the subject, is altogether admirable. We have no dry, abstract detail of processes or rules; we feel as if we accompanied the author into his Observatory, and heard him explaining the construction and uses of his

instruments,—detailing what he does, describing the objects he sees in his telescope, and pointing out the long chain of inferences which may be deduced from the observations. And all this is accomplished with a clearness and felicity of explanation which never leaves us at a loss; and with powers of fancy and imagination which give the descriptions a degree of interest seldom experienced in such compositions.

It would be preposterous to imagine that a work so executed is not a valuable accession to our literature. In the first place, it will afford to general scholars,—to such as do not require a technical knowledge of astronomy, and yet do not wish to be entirely ignorant of the objects and principles of a science which has so many important practical applications, and affords so many objects of contemplative admiration,—a distinct, perspicuous, and withal comprehensive view of the celestial phenomena; and of the evidences and principles on which astronomical theories are built. It will not, indeed, instruct any one how to compute the place of the moon, or determine the masses of the planets, or calculate an eclipse, or even to adjust an instrument, or reduce an observation; but it is something to be made acquainted with the general considerations by which all such things are accomplished. In the second place, it is the only single work in our language in which the general student will find a faithful and correct representation of the state of astronomical science as it exists at the present moment; and in which all that he will probably desire to know is brought together and exhibited before him, not only in an intelligible, but in a remarkably attractive and interesting form, perfectly free of all extravagance and pedantic parade of obsolete learning. In no department of science was a work of the sort more wanted. The popular treatises of Long and Ferguson are far below the level the science has now reached. Even among our French neighbours, where elementary scientific treatises are more common than in this country, and in general of a far higher order of excellence, we recollect none, on a similar plan with the present, which could compare with it, excepting indeed the admirable *Astronomie Physique* of Biot, which, when denuded of its *Notes* and *Addenda*, it considerably resembles, both in the manner and ability of execution.

Considering the comprehensive nature of the work, which forms a complete epitome of the whole science of astronomy, practical, theoretical, and physical, and the small size of the volume, it is evident that many of the topics brought under discussion must be handled with great brevity; nevertheless, by an extremely judicious selection and arrangement of the materials, room has been made in all important cases for full, and occasionally even

diffuse, illustration ; nor will the astronomer, we think, find that any thing very material has been omitted. No attempt has been made to follow exclusively any particular method or system. In fact, the demonstrations of astronomy, depending on observations which it is not possible either to make or compute without having previously a complete knowledge of the very truths resulting from these observations, are not, like those of geometry, susceptible of being derived from each other by a rigorous adherence to any systematic method whatever. Accordingly, the author neither transports us to the surface of the sun, like Lacleche, nor supposes his readers to be ignorant of truths familiar to every schoolboy ; but, assuming the Copernican theory from the outset, he adopts the more judicious course of allowing the proofs of the hypothesis to rest on the easy and complete explanation it affords of all the different phenomena as they are successively developed. ' Writing,' says he, ' only to be understood, and to communicate ' as much information in as little space as possible, consistently ' with its distinct and effectual communication, we can afford to ' make no sacrifice to system, to form, or to affectation.'—P. 4.

The first chapter is devoted to the exposition of general notions,—to a sort of *reconnoissance* of the outworks of the science—the general form of the earth and its relation to the celestial bodies, refraction, apparent diurnal motion, the measurement of time, &c. After having acquired some requisite preliminary ideas on these subjects, the consideration of the astronomer is naturally turned to the means he possesses of correctly estimating the apparent magnitudes and motions which form the objects of his science. Hence the theory of instruments ; and the description of some of the more important ones follow in the second chapter. The great object to be kept in view in practice, is to employ observations of the simplest kind that can be available to the purpose sought after, and to render them as independent as possible of great instrumental accuracy ; and, therefore, though the purposes of astronomy require that an observer shall have the means of observing a star on any part of its diurnal circle, and even of following it for some time in its path, the fundamental elements are founded on the passages of the celestial objects over the meridian, observed with the transit instrument or mural circle. Whatever difficulties there may be in the construction or adjustment of these instruments, or of others employed in observatories, their theory and uses are extremely simple ; and the study of a few hours, with the instruments before him, will enable any one to acquire a perfect idea of the means employed to fix the position of a star. Expertness is quite a different affair, and can only be acquired by experience. In practice, however,

especially where great precision is requisite, serious, and even insurmountable difficulties present themselves. It has been well observed, that absolute knowledge is denied to man : he can only attain a limited degree of accuracy relative to the developement of his understanding, and the means at his disposal. This is strikingly illustrated by the consideration of astronomical instruments, where the utmost efforts of art follow at a distance the demands of science. Happily for astronomy, the errors of instruments, (at least if originally well constructed,) like the deviations of the planets from their elliptic orbits, follow laws which are reducible to fixed forms ; and it is in ascertaining these forms, and in freeing his observations from the unavoidable imperfections of art or structure, and the uncontrollable causes of derangement, that the skill of the observer is chiefly brought into requisition. In the hands of one who is perfectly acquainted with the theory of instrumental errors, instruments of a very moderate degree of excellence will give results that may be more securely relied on than the most costly when managed with inferior skill.

After this preliminary view of the objects of enquiry, and the means by which it is conducted, our attention is next turned to the point of view from which the phenomena are seen,—to the form, magnitude, and dimensions of the earth. In a chapter full of interest, we have a rapid exposition of the different means by which the figure of the earth can be determined, and of the results of the most important and recent operations undertaken for that purpose. Connected with this subject are the effects of the earth's rotation on the atmosphere, or the phenomena of the trade winds, and the various problems of astronomical geography,—such as the determination of positions on the earth's surface, the methods of conducting trigonometrical surveys, the projections of the sphere, the construction of maps, and the measurement of heights—the principles of all which are detailed at considerable length. These subjects have not only that interest which arises from curiosity, and a desire to be acquainted with the surface of the globe we inhabit, but are of the very greatest importance in astronomy. The radius of the earth is the unit or scale by which we measure the distances of the sun and moon, and consequently the dimensions of the solar system, and the magnitudes of the different orbits ; and some of the most intricate of the lunar motions are dependent on the deviation of the earth's form from that of a perfect sphere. Hence no problem connected with astronomy has been prosecuted with greater ardour, or done more to call forth the utmost resources of science and art, than that of the determination of the magnitude and figure of the earth.

Of the various methods which have been imagined for deter-

mining this important element, the most direct and satisfactory is that of comparing the length of arcs of the terrestrial meridian, ascertained by trigonometrical measurement, with the degrees in the corresponding celestial arcs. The measurement of terrestrial degrees is a nice and laborious operation, exacting great practical skill and endless precautions; it is, however, considering the nature of the difficulties to be encountered, now accomplished with an accuracy that may be regarded as truly astonishing. Even the measurement of a base, not the least difficult part of the operation, is effected with a precision formerly unattainable and unhopd for. It is stated, for example, that the 'greatest possible error in the Irish base of between seven and eight miles, near Londonderry, is supposed not to exceed *two inches*.' (P. 14, *note*.) The errors most difficult to guard against, in the determination of terrestrial degrees, are those which arise in determining the latitudes at the terminal points of the arc measured; and hence the necessity of measuring by trigonometry a very long line, in order that the errors of latitude may have less influence on the ultimate result.

We have now eleven meridional arcs measured with appropriate instruments, and all the precautions requisite to give a satisfactory solution of the problem of the figure of the earth. Of these, the French arc, from Formentera to Dunkirk, including upwards of twelve degrees, and the arc measured in India by Colonel Lambton, and extended by Captain Everest, over a latitude of nearly sixteen degrees, are doubtless those of which the results are most worthy of confidence; the first, by reason of the great care with which every part of the detail was executed, and the ability and skill of the observers; the second, by reason of its great length, and the superiority of the instrumental means employed in the survey. The dimensions of the regular elliptic spheroid, corresponding most nearly with the entire series of observations, are as follow:—

	Feet.	Miles.
' Greater or equatorial diameter,	= 41,847,426	= 7925.64
' Lesser or polar diameter,	= 41,707,620	= 7899.17
' Difference of diameters, or polar ' compression,	} = 139,806	= 26.47
' The proportion of the diameters is very nearly that of 298 to		
' 299; and the difference $\frac{1}{299}$ of the greater, or a very little		
' greater than $\frac{1}{300}$.' (P. 117.)		

It is considered as extremely improbable that the above diameters can differ from the actual diameters of the globe to the extent of five miles; or that there can be an uncertainty with respect to the compression of the earth, amounting to a tenth

part of the whole quantity. It deserves to be noticed as a circumstance not only corroborative of the above results, but calculated to give an exalted idea of the accuracy of our instruments and the truth of our astronomical theories, that, by a rigorous computation of certain inequalities of the moon's motion depending on the compression of the earth, Laplace found the ratio of the two diameters to be that of 304 to 305; differing from the former by an extremely minute quantity.

The method of determining the figure of the earth by means of the pendulum, is founded on the property, that the intensity of gravity is directly proportional* to the square of the number of oscillations made by a pendulum of a given invariable length, in a certain time. It is of far easier application, though on the whole less satisfactory. In one respect, indeed, it has the advantage over the other method, inasmuch, namely, as the results are independent of the *direction* of gravity, and are affected only by its *intensity*; but, on the other hand, it assumes not only that the general form of the earth is that of the elliptic spheroid, but also that the spheroid is regularly constructed, from its surface to its centre, of concentric layers of homogeneous matter;—a supposition extremely improbable, at least with regard to the superficial strata or exterior crust of the earth. It is also, in general, extremely difficult, or rather impossible, to determine, within the necessary limits, the correction that ought to be made for the height of the station above the level of the sea; and it may even be presumed, that the ocean itself, in the immediate neighbourhood of continents or islands of considerable elevation, deviates from the regular curvature. For these reasons, and others of less importance, the results of pendulum experiments have hitherto always been found to present very considerable anomalies. It is satisfactory,

* Through a misprint, this force is stated (p. 126, line 21) to be *inversely* as the squares of the number of oscillations. We regret having observed several other typographical errors. In the description of Hadley's Sextant, (p. 104, line 2,) the angle described as $E C B$, should be $E C A$; by which simple mistake the scale is made to read from the wrong end, and the whole demonstration rendered (to a learner) unintelligible. At page 351, § 555, a figure is reasoned from, to which there is no one in the work exactly corresponding. These faults are too trivial to stand in the way of a resolute reader; but it must be recollected that the work is addressed to those chiefly who have their astronomy and geometry to learn; and of these, nine-tenths, it may be taken for granted, when they meet with a passage in which there is any typographical error, will either carry away from the perusal of it no idea at all, or an erroneous one.

however, to observe that, as the experiments are more carefully reduced to the same physical circumstances, the results not only approach in their mean values to those obtained by other methods, but indicate, in detail, smaller deviations from the regular elliptic form which the earth would take if it were entirely fluid, and its component molecules free to obey the forces impressed on them by their mutual attraction, and the rotation of the whole mass. The numerous pendulum experiments which have been made of late years, in almost all accessible latitudes, give, 'as a final and general result, $\frac{1}{194}$ for the fraction expressing the difference of gravity at the equator and poles.' Deducting from this, $\frac{1}{289}$ for the effect due to the centrifugal force, there remains $\frac{1}{590}$; almost exactly the quantity which calculation gives for the excess of the polar above the equatorial gravity of a regular elliptic spheroid; the ratio of whose diameters is 299 to 300, or that of the diameters of the earth found from the measurement of degrees.

Sir John Herschel proposes a very direct method of obtaining a statical measure of the force of gravity, which, if practicable, would supersede the use of the pendulum. It consists in simply observing the weight required to stretch a long spiral spring to a certain length at any particular station, and the *additional* weight that would be required to stretch it to the same length when carried to another station nearer the equator. The hint may be a good one; but it would be unsafe, in affairs of this kind, to augur any advantage from the adoption of a method which has not been put to the test of actual experiment.

The near coincidence of the figure of our globe with that which satisfies the conditions of hydrostatical equilibrium, strongly suggests the hypothesis, that the earth must have taken its form while in a state of fluidity. Natural causes are indeed in active operation, which would render a great deviation from the figure of equilibrium impossible; for, even if we should suppose the earth to have been (in the graphic language of our author) 'perversely constituted otherwise,' the constant degradation of the high land by the action of the elements, and the transportation of the materials to the bottom of the sea, would produce, in the lapse of ages, a surface everywhere perpendicular to the direction of gravity. But this consideration rather favours the hypothesis of primitive fluidity, or at least of internal heat; for the causes in question must have brought about a nearer approximation to the regular figure than actually has taken place, unless they had been counteracted by some active principle within;—the heat which once held the whole materials of the earth, and still maintains the interior parts in fusion, and of which the expansive force, by occasionally breaking forth at those points where the resistance is feeblest, causes the local phenomena of volcanoes and earthquakes,

and those more general convulsions which from time to time have broken up the materials of the crust of the earth, and mark the succession of geological epochs.

From the consideration of geographical problems, we are next led to Uranography, and the methods of determining the relative positions of the fixed stars in the celestial sphere. This is one of the most important objects of practical astronomy—the foundation indeed of all our theories. According to the modern methods of observing, it is also much more easily accomplished than the fixation of terrestrial latitudes and longitudes. There is here no question of carrying on a tedious process of triangulation from object to object; each individual is seized in its passage over the meridian of the observer, and its position determined by its distance from the equinoctial, and the arc of its diurnal circle intercepted between its own place and a conventional meridian; the means of ascertaining which are given by the uniform rotation of the earth. These determinations can be effected with the utmost precision; and hence astronomers have been able to detect the most minute motions in the heavens, whether of individual stars in reference to each other, or of the whole firmament in reference to the great circles from which all the distances are measured. Of these apparent general motions, the most remarkable, namely, that which gives rise to the anticipation of the equinoxes, was indeed discovered by Hipparchus,—its constantly progressive, though slow rate, having rendered it in the course of years sensible even to the rude observations of that early period; but the apparent reciprocating motion of the stars northward and southward,—the effect of the nutation of the earth's axis, being periodical, and likewise superinduced on the former motion,—could only have been discovered by the most refined observations. The same is true of the aberration of light, which causes each individual star to describe annually a small ellipse round the place in which it would be seen if the earth was at rest, ‘distorting the aspect of the heavens;’ and which yet affords the only *direct* proof we have of the orbital motion of the earth.

A perfect knowledge of the manner in which these uranographical effects are produced, is indispensable in order to understand the nature and purpose of the corrections which must be applied to astronomical observations. They are effects, moreover, of which those who are not familiar with the objects of astronomical study frequently find it difficult to acquire exact ideas. To such we would strongly recommend a careful perusal of this chapter. Nothing, we think, can exceed, in point of perspicuity and exactness, the illustration here given by Sir J. Herschel.

Having been made acquainted with the general motions influ-

encing the apparent positions of the fixed stars, the student is prepared to trace the paths of the erratic bodies,—to determine the orbits described by the sun, moon, and planets. On the two following chapters, which are devoted to the orbits of the sun and moon, and which detail processes that are necessarily described in every treatise of astronomy, we shall not dwell farther than to notice some interesting remarks relative to the physical nature and constitution of those luminaries. Considered with reference to astronomy, such speculations are of course entirely useless; but in the present instance, few, we think, will be inclined to regard them as misplaced; and as it is interesting to be acquainted with what has been recently discovered, or is actually known on such mysterious subjects, we shall indulge in a few extracts.

Since the time of Sir William Herschel, very little has been added to those parts of our astronomical knowledge which depend on mere vision; at least within the boundaries of the solar system. Repeated observations of the same objects have indeed corrected, or rather have not confirmed, some of the impressions the phenomena first suggested; but, generally speaking, the physical appearances of the different bodies of our system were so carefully examined, and so accurately described, by that excellent and indefatigable observer, that we can scarcely hope to extend our discoveries in this quarter, till the science of optics shall have undergone another revolution, and astronomy be armed with telescopes of greater power than his.

The most striking phenomena connected with the appearance of the sun, are the large black spots which occasionally and irregularly overspread his disk. Numerous theories, more or less probable, have been framed to explain the peculiarities and phases of these singular appearances. If any tolerably certain inference can be drawn from the appearances of the spots, respecting the constitution of the sun, it is, that the visible part of his surface is not solid. The great and sudden changes which they undergo, their irregularity, and the immense scale on which their movements take place, ‘offer every evidence of that extreme mobility which belongs to the fluid state, and of that excessively violent agitation which seems only compatible with the atmospheric or gaseous state of matter.’ (P. 207.) The general appearance of the sun also confirms this opinion.

‘The part of the sun’s disc not occupied by spots is far from uniformly bright. Its *ground* is finely mottled with an appearance of minute dark dots, or pores, which, when attentively watched, are found to be in a constant state of change. There is nothing which represents so faithfully this appearance as the slow subsidence of some flocculent chemical precipitates in a transparent fluid, when viewed perpendicularly

from above; so faithfully, indeed, that it is hardly possible not to be impressed with the idea of a luminous medium intermixed, but not confounded, with a transparent and non-luminous atmosphere, either floating as clouds in our air, or pervading it in vast sheets and columns like flame, or the streamers of our northern lights.'—P. 208.

With regard to the temperature of the sun, and the mode in which the abundant supply of light and heat derived from him is generated and maintained, every thing is still a mystery. The following remarks are interesting :—

‘ That the temperature at the visible surface of the sun cannot be otherwise than very elevated, much more so than any artificial heat produced in our furnaces, or by chemical or galvanic processes, we have indications of several distinct kinds: 1st, From the law of decrease of radiant heat and light, which being inversely as the squares of the distances, it follows, that the heat received on a given area exposed at the distance of the earth, and on an equal area at the visible surface of the sun, must be in the proportion of the area of the sky occupied by the sun's apparent disk to the whole hemisphere, or as 1 to about 30,000. A far less intensity of solar radiation, collected in the focus of a burning glass, suffices to dissipate gold and platina in vapour. 2dly, From the facility with which the calorific rays of the sun traverse glass, a property which is found to belong to the heat of artificial fires in the direct proportion of their intensity. 3dly, From the fact, that the most vivid flames disappear, and the most intensely ignited solids appear only as black spots on the disk of the sun when held between it and the eye. From this last remark it follows, that the body of the sun, however dark it may appear when seen through its spots, *may*, nevertheless, be in a state of most intense ignition. It does not, however, follow of necessity that it *must* be so. The contrary is at least physically possible. A *perfectly reflective* canopy would effectually defend it from the radiation of the luminous regions above its atmosphere, and no heat would be conducted downwards through a gaseous medium increasing rapidly in density. That the penumbral clouds *are* highly reflective, the fact of their visibility in such a situation can leave no doubt.'—P. 210.

‘ The great mystery, however, is to conceive how so enormous a conflagration, if such it be, can be kept up. Every discovery in chemical science here leaves us completely at a loss, or, rather, seems to remove farther, the prospect of probable explanation. If conjecture might be hazarded, we should look rather to the known possibility of an indefinite generation of heat by friction, or to its excitement by the electric discharge, than to any actual combustion of ponderable fuel, whether solid or gaseous, for the origin of the solar radiation.'—P. 212.

The proximity of the moon has rendered her in all ages an inviting subject to the astronomical gazer. She has accordingly been assiduously examined, so that not only is her physical constitution better known than that of any other of the heavenly bodies, but the positions of her mountains have been determined and

mapped down with greater care and accuracy than those of many countries of the earth. Her appearance has undergone no perceptible change since the epoch of the first astronomical observations, or at least since the discovery of the telescope;—a circumstance which we might indeed anticipate from the absence of an atmosphere, and consequent exemption from the effects of those agents of destruction so actively at work on the surface of the earth. ‘No appearance indicating vegetation, or the slightest variation of surface which can fairly be ascribed to change of season, can anywhere be discerned.’—(P. 230.) From the uniformity and sameness of appearance of the lunar mountains, Kepler was led to suppose them to be the work of inhabitants. The powers of the telescope must be yet greatly increased before we can discern traces of inhabitants in the moon, in their edifices,—at least if they are on the same scale with ours; but the phenomenon which arrested the attention of Kepler is still an object of wonder:

‘The generality of the lunar mountains present a striking uniformity and singularity of aspect. They are wonderfully numerous, occupying by far the larger portion of the surface, and almost universally of an exactly circular or cup-shaped form, foreshortened, however, into ellipses towards the limb; but the larger have for the most part flat bottoms, within, from which rises centrally a small, steep, conical hill. They offer, in short, in its highest perfection, the true *volcanic* character as it may be seen in the crater of Vesuvius, and in a map of the volcanic districts of the Campi Phlegræi or the Puy de Dôme. And in some of the principal ones, decisive marks of volcanic stratification, arising from successive deposits of ejected matter, may be clearly traced with powerful telescopes.* What is, moreover, extremely singular in the geology of the moon, is, that although nothing having the character of seas can be traced, (for the dusky spots which are commonly called seas, when closely examined, present appearances incompatible with the supposition of deep water,) yet there are large regions perfectly level, and apparently of a *decided alluvial* character.’—P. 229.

From these last remarks, we are led almost irresistibly to the conclusion, that the moon is not only formed of similar materials to those of the earth, but that her formation is to be ascribed to the same mechanical causes, acting under similar or rather identical circumstances. The same inference may probably be made with regard to all the bodies of the solar system.

After having described the chief phenomena of the earth's motion round the sun, and of the moon's round the earth, Sir J. Herschel proceeds to speak of the physical cause in virtue of which these bodies describe their respective orbits, instead of pursuing the rectilinear paths they would naturally follow, in consequence of

* From the Author's own observations.

their *inertia*. In entering on this subject, he has chosen, contrary to his usual practice, to step considerably out of his way, and to make an incursion into a different province of philosophy, for the purpose, it would seem, of passing a somewhat sweeping censure on the celebrated essay, on 'Cause and Effect,' of the late Dr Thomas Brown.

'Whatever attempts may have been made by metaphysical writers to reason away the connexion of cause and effect, and fritter it down into the unsatisfactory relation of habitual sequence,* it is certain that the conception of some more real and intimate connexion is quite as strongly impressed upon the human mind, as that of the existence of an external world, the vindication of whose reality has (strange to say) been regarded as an achievement of no common merit in the annals of this branch of philosophy. It is our own immediate consciousness of *effort*, when we exert force to put matter in motion, or to oppose and neutralize force, which gives us this internal conviction of power and causation so far as it refers to the material world, and compels us to believe that whenever we see material objects put in motion from a state of rest, or deflected from their rectilinear paths, and changed in their velocities if already in motion, it is in consequence of such an EFFORT *somehow* exerted, though not accompanied with *our* consciousness. That such an effort should be exerted with success through an interposed space, is no more difficult to conceive, than that our hand should communicate motion to a stone with which it is *demonstrably not in contact*.

'All bodies with which we are acquainted, when raised into the air and quietly abandoned, descend to the earth's surface in lines perpendicular to it. They are therefore urged thereto by a force or effort, the direct or indirect result of a *consciousness* and a *will existing somewhere*, though beyond our power to trace,' &c.—Pp. 232, 233.

Passing over the remarks on Dr Brown's work, let us attend for a moment to the argument by which our author here proves *effort* to be the result of *consciousness*. It is perfectly true, that our consciousness of effort gives us an internal conviction of power and causation so far as relates to the material world, and compels us to believe that the origin of motion, or change of its direction, is the consequence of an effort somehow exerted. No one who

* 'See Brown "On Cause and Effect," a work of great acuteness and subtlety of reasoning on some points, but in which the whole train of argument is vitiated by one enormous oversight—the omission, namely, of a *distinct and immediate personal consciousness of causation* in his enumeration of that *sequence of events*, by which the volition of the mind is made to terminate in the motion of material objects. I mean the consciousness of *effort*, as a thing entirely distinct from mere *desire or volition* on the one hand, and from mere spasmodic contraction of muscles on the other.'

sees a stone fall to the earth can doubt that the stone is urged thereto by a force or effort residing in the earth. All this is intelligible enough; but when it is affirmed that the effort through which the stone descends to the earth is the result of a *consciousness* and a *will*, it is impossible to trace any connexion between the effect and the cause. What the argument proves is, that *conviction* of effort, not effort itself, is the result of consciousness. Consciousness, which is but another name for internal experience, impresses us with the conviction that all change of place or condition is the result of effort; but that the effort proceeds from, or is caused by, the consciousness, is a proposition equivalent to that which affirms that since experience teaches us, that if we thrust our hand into the fire, it will give us pain, the pain is the result or consequence of our experience. In one sense, indeed, it may be said that effort is the *indirect result* of a *will*, inasmuch as matter itself and all its properties are the result of the Almighty will which called them into existence; but as this is a proposition about which there is no dispute, and which Dr Brown assuredly never attempted to controvert, we cannot suppose it to be what our author had in view.

The remainder of this chapter contains an exceedingly perspicuous statement of the reasoning by which it is inferred that the moon is retained in her orbit by the force of terrestrial gravity; and that both earth and moon are carried round the sun, in virtue of a similar attracting force residing in that body, and varying according to the same law. But, in order to extend this principle to the other planets, it is necessary to be acquainted with the exact orbits which they describe in reference to the sun, and to compare them with the curves which geometry teaches us must be described by bodies moving under the influence of a central force, which follows the law of terrestrial attraction. In the following chapter, therefore, the method is explained of determining, from geocentric observations, the actual paths of the planets, with the magnitudes, eccentricities, and positions of their orbits. All this is an affair of pure geometry, and accomplished with the utmost facility. Now, on comparing the results with the theorems of Newton respecting the motion of bodies urged by central forces, they are found to agree in every particular with the phenomena that must result from the hypothesis of solar attraction. The *radii vectores* of all the planets sweep over areas proportional to the times; the force which they obey must, therefore, tend to a centre. The orbits are ellipses; consequently the force must vary in the inverse proportion of the square of the distance. And, lastly, the squares of the times of revolution are proportional to the cubes of their major axes; whence it follows

that the intensity of the attracting force is the same at equal distances from the centre. Some of the ancient astronomers believed Mercury and Venus to be satellites of the sun ; we now know the bond of close relationship by which they are held together. ‘The resemblance is now perceived to be a true *family* likeness ; they are bound up in one chain, interwoven in one web of mutual relation and harmonious agreement, subjected to one pervading influence, which extends from the centre to the farthest limits of that great system, of which all of them, the earth included, must henceforth be regarded as members.’—P. 264.

Other relations, not less remarkable, subsist in the planetary system, of which gravitation affords no explanation. All the planets move in the same direction, from west to east, and in planes very little inclined to each other. We may therefore infer that they were all projected by the same common impulse, or had their origin in the same mechanical cause. They all describe ellipses of small eccentricity ; hence the primitive impulse must have been regulated for each, according to its distance. The remarkable progression, also, discovered by Bode among the numbers expressing their mean distances, cannot be considered as accidental, but as belonging ‘to the essential structure of the system.’ The same peculiarities, as well as the laws of Kepler, belong to the secondary bodies, or satellites. They describe about their primaries, ellipses of small eccentricity, and follow the same general direction, excepting, indeed, those of Uranus, the orbits of which are nearly perpendicular to the ecliptic, and which *retrograde*, or move in an opposite direction, in their orbits.*

On the physical peculiarities of the planets we have the following remarks :—‘Of Mercury, we can see little more than that it is round, and exhibits phases. It is too small, and too much lost in the constant neighbourhood of the sun, to allow us to make out more of its nature.’—P. 278. Venus ‘is yet the most difficult of them all to define with telescopes. The intense lustre of its illuminated part dazzles the sight, and exaggerates every

* The following note deserves to be transcribed :—‘These anomalous peculiarities, which seem to occur at the extreme limits of our system, as if to prepare us for farther departure from all its analogies, in other systems which may yet be disclosed to us, have hitherto rested on the sole testimony of their discoverer, who alone had ever obtained a view of them. I am happy to be able, from my own observations from 1828 to the present time, to confirm in the amplest manner my father’s results.’—P. 299.

‘imperfection of the telescope; yet we see clearly that its surface is not mottled over with permanent spots like the moon; we perceive in it neither mountains nor shadows, but a uniform brightness, in which sometimes we may, indeed, fancy obscurer portions, but can seldom or never rest fully satisfied of the fact.’—P. 279. In Mars ‘we discern, with perfect distinctness, the outlines of what may be continents and seas. Of these the former are distinguished by that ruddy colour which characterises the light of this planet, (which always appears red and fiery,) and indicates, no doubt, an ochrey tinge in the general soil, like what the red sandstone districts on the earth may possibly offer to the inhabitants of Mars, only more decided. Contrasted with this (by a general law in optics) the seas appear greenish.’—P. 279. Jupiter’s belts probably ‘subsist in the atmosphere of the planet, forming tracts of comparatively clear sky, determined by currents analogous to our trade winds, but of a much more steady and decided character, as might indeed be expected, from the immense velocity of its rotation.’—P. 279. Saturn’s rings are only two, and maintained in their position by their rapid rotation, and the eccentric position of the planet within them. This mechanism is altogether singular, and extremely remarkable. If the centre of gravity of the rings coincided exactly with that of the planet, it may be demonstrated that they would have an unstable equilibrium, so that the slightest external force—the attraction, for example, of a satellite—would subvert the equilibrium, and ‘precipitate them unbroken on the surface of the planet.’ But if we suppose them to be, in any parts of their circumferences, unequally dense, or unequally thick, at the same time that the planet is eccentrically situated within them, the centrifugal force of rotation will be sufficient to destroy any tendency to subversion of their equilibrium. The velocity of the rings is exactly the same as that of the planet; a condition which is also essentially necessary to preserve them in their present position.

‘Of Uranus we see nothing but a small round uniformly illuminated disc, without rings, belts, or discernible spots.’—‘If the immense distance of Uranus precludes all hope of coming at much knowledge of its physical state, the minuteness of the four ultra-zodiacal planets is no less a bar to any enquiry into theirs. One of them, Pallas, is said to have somewhat of a nebulous, or hazy appearance, indicative of an extensive and vaporous atmosphere, little repressed and condensed by the inadequate gravity of so small a mass. No doubt, the most remarkable of their peculiarities must lie in this *condition* of their *state*. A man placed on one of them would spring with ease 60 feet high, and sustain no greater shock in his descent than he does on the earth from leaping a

yard. On such planets giants might exist; and those enormous animals, which on earth require the buoyant power of water to counteract their weight, might there be denizens of the land.'—Pp. 286, 287.

If very little is known with respect to the physical condition of the planets and satellites, that of the comets is a subject of still greater mystery. These strange bodies, in the singularities of their appearance, and their wide departure from all those analogies which bind together the planets and satellites in a system of harmonious and connected motion, present enigmas which philosophy has as yet gone but a very little way, and will probably never go far, to solve. Here the bond of connexion is entirely broken, and all that can be positively affirmed of the comets is, that their motions are governed by the same laws as those which the planets obey, and that their densities are exceedingly small. When examined through powerful telescopes, the comets become entirely divested of that character of *solidity* which belongs to the planets. Even the part denominated the nucleus, appears to be of the most flimsy texture. 'Stars of the smallest magnitudes remain distinctly visible, though covered by what appears to be the densest portion of their substance; although the same stars would be completely obliterated by a moderate fog, extending only a few yards from the surface of the earth. And since it is an observed fact, that even those larger comets which have presented the appearance of a nucleus have yet exhibited no phases, though we cannot doubt that they shine by the reflected solar light, it follows that even these can only be regarded as great masses of thin vapour, susceptible of being penetrated through their whole substance by the sun-beams, and reflecting them alike from their interior parts and from their surfaces.'—P. 303.

The mutual attraction of the particles of such attenuated bodies must be extremely feeble. Sir J. Herschel seems to think they have scarcely any mutual coherence, but that each particle describes its independent parabola about the sun, as if it had no connexion with the general mass. It seems even probable that their exterior or superficial particles are gradually detached, and lost in the regions of space. The descriptions of Halley's comet at least, if they can be relied on, lead us to infer that its brilliancy and apparent size have undergone, in its successive revolutions, a very considerable degradation. Encke's comet also, which, from its short period of $3\frac{1}{3}$ years, affords frequent opportunities of observation, has certainly become less conspicuous; so that there is every appearance that it will ultimately be entirely dissipated. But if any portion of the matter of a comet is thus abandoned, a

curious question immediately arises—What becomes of it? If the planetary spaces are absolutely void, it would undoubtedly continue to follow for ever in the same path, and with the velocity it had when separated from the comet, unless indeed it should again be overtaken and caught up by the same, or another comet, or a planet within the sphere of whose attraction it might chance to pass.

One recently discovered fact, connected with the motion of the last-mentioned comet, is extremely remarkable. When all the effects of the disturbance it receives from the attraction of the planets have been computed and allowed for with the utmost exactness, it is found that the intervals between its consecutive returns to its perihelion are regularly but slowly diminishing. Its period has been shortened by about two days since it was first observed in 1805 ; and as the greater axis of its orbit must have undergone a corresponding diminution, it seems destined, if it escape the fate of being dissipated, to fall ultimately into the sun. The only plausible explanation which has yet been suggested of this singular phenomenon, consists in the supposition of an extremely rare ethereal medium in the regions through which the comet moves, and which, by retarding its actual velocity, allows the solar attraction to acquire an ascendancy over the centrifugal force, whereby its distance is diminished and its angular velocity increased. The existence of such a medium is at the present day one of the most interesting points of mathematical and physical investigation ; and many considerations, drawn from the most remote departments of science, conspire to increase its probability. The undulatory theory of light, which is every day receiving new confirmation, and the temperature which has been all but demonstrated to belong to the planetary regions, seem inconsistent with the idea of an absolute void.

Some speculators fancy they see in the existence of a resisting medium the ultimate annihilation of all motion in the planetary system. The medium which resists the comets must, in like manner, oppose the planets, though in a far feebler degree, in consequence of their incomparably greater densities ; but however feeble the resistance, and however insensible its effects during the few thousand years that embrace our astronomical observations, it must, from the mere circumstance of its existence, accelerate to some degree, in the course of ages, the mean sidereal periods of the planets ; and this acceleration, increasing indefinitely with the time, the ultimate but inevitable effect must be, that all the planets will be dragged to the surface of the sun. On abstract possibilities which lie so far beyond the pro-

vince of philosophy, it would be needless to argue. Science can give no information on the subject. It has been demonstrated that the mean periodic times of the planets can sustain no alteration from the effects of their mutual attractions; and observation has not as yet detected the slightest indication of such alteration with regard to any one of them. Astronomy, therefore, furnishes no reason to suppose that such a catastrophe awaits the system, even at the distance of millions of ages. But granting the existence of the medium, it may be sufficient to suppose that it revolves round the sun in the same direction as the planets, and with a velocity equal to theirs at the same distance, to exempt them entirely from its retarding influence.

One of the most interesting chapters in this treatise is that which treats of the lunar and planetary perturbations. This subject, whether we consider its importance in regard to theory, its difficulty, or the singular beauty of the theorems which have been evolved by the application of a refined analysis, justly claims to be ranked as the noblest of scientific triumphs. It is a subject, however, which only submits to be treated by transcendental geometry. It is very possible indeed, without the aid of any calculus, and by mere force of reasoning, to get a general idea of the changes that must take place in the motion of a planet, when a new force is superinduced on the solar attraction—to perceive, for example, that the motion of the *disturbed* body must in certain situations of its orbit be accelerated, and in others retarded, by the disturbing force—that at one time it may be drawn above, and at another depressed below, the plane of the orbit it would describe in virtue of the sun's attraction alone. All this is easily understood, but the most interesting part of the enquiry still remains. We cannot discover by any effort of general reasoning, nor until *all* the efforts that can possibly result from the reciprocal attractions of the disturbed and disturbing bodies have been submitted to a rigorous and minute computation, whether the sum of the accelerating and retarding impulses exactly neutralize each other after one or more revolutions,—whether the deviations from the plane of the orbit are equal on either side of it,—or whether, after a balance has been struck between the opposite effects, some part of the disturbing action still remains uncompensated, and causes a progressive and constantly increasing alteration in the existing relations of the system. It is of course not the object of this work to explain the technical processes by which these intricate and profound calculations are made; but to point out, in a general way, the nature of the acting forces, and the manner in which they operate—to make us acquainted with the principles on which the calculations are founded, and the results to which

they have led. And if, after the distinct, lucid, and picturesque description here given, any obscurity still remains, we may fairly ascribe it to the inherent difficulties of the subject, and despair of seeing it dispelled by any explanation that can be supplied by ordinary language.

The most remarkable conclusions that have been obtained from the application of analysis to the problem of determining the motions of the different bodies of the solar system, are those which relate to the periodicity and small amount of all the planetary derangements. These conclusions, which assure the permanent stability of the solar system, and preclude all access to derangement and disorder among the complicated movements which take place in it, apply only to the system as it actually exists, and are deduced from no inherent property of the law of gravitation. It is only, indeed, by taking advantage of the facilities afforded by the peculiar disposition and arrangement of the system, that geometers have obtained those results which are justly regarded as the great triumph of modern science. To determine the circumstances of the motions of a system of about 30 bodies launched forth in space, under any condition as to the velocity and direction of their primitive impulse, and abandoned to their mutual attraction, is a problem far transcending the power of any known calculus; but the case presented by nature is more easily approached. In the first place, by reason of the immensely preponderating attraction of the sun, the force by which any one planet is attracted by another, is extremely feeble in comparison of that by which it is retained in the orbit it would describe, if there was no other body than itself and the sun. Hence the deviations from that orbit are very small, and the disturbing action of each individual planet admits of being computed independently of the others, or as if they did not exist. In the second place, all the great planets are confined to a zone of a few degrees in breadth, and, therefore, can only exert a comparatively feeble influence in drawing one another from the planes of their orbits. Again, the planetary system is broken up into subordinate and partial systems, which are almost independent of one another. Thus, for example, the Sun, Jupiter, and Saturn, form a system in which the two planets exert a very sensible action on each other, but are nearly exempted from the *influence* of any other body, their next neighbours being too minute, or at too great a distance, to affect their motions. The same is the case, in a less remarkable degree, with Venus and the Earth. For these reasons, and several others which we need not stop to enumerate, geometers have been enabled to obtain results with regard to the solar system, which they find it utterly impossible to deduce from

the general dynamical problem; and to demonstrate, that all the planetary derangements are compensated in a longer or shorter period of time—that none of them can accumulate to such an extent as to cause a permanent alteration of any of the existing relations,—and that the system can never be subverted by any force residing within itself.

In order to ensure the stability of the planetary orbits, three things must remain constant, or be subject only to small and periodical fluctuations. These are, 1st, The major axis of the orbit, or the planet's mean distance from the sun; 2d, The inclination of its orbit to a fixed plane; and, 3d, The eccentricity of the orbit. Now, in regard to the major axis, which is the most important element of the whole, both by reason of its intimate connexion with the magnitude of the orbit, and of its determining the mean motion of the planet, it was demonstrated by Lagrange, that the major axes of the planetary ellipses are subject only to periodical inequalities, depending on the configurations of the different planets, and are consequently restored to their former values every time the planets resume the same relative positions. Their mean values, therefore, are unalterable by lapse of time; and they are even exempted from those *secular* inequalities, which, though ultimately compensated, continue to vary in the same direction for immense periods of time. With regard to the inclinations and eccentricities, their variations depend not only on the configurations of the planets, but also on the distribution of matter throughout the system; they are, consequently, affected both by periodic and secular inequalities; but their secular changes are confined within very narrow limits, and ultimately work out a compensation. Besides, the inclinations and eccentricities of the different orbits are intimately connected with each other by a very remarkable relation, so that what any one gains in either of these respects must be lost among the others. The two theorems by which these relations are established are also due to Lagrange; and the application of geometry to the physical constitution of the world has not produced more remarkable or beautiful results.

‘ If the mass of every planet be multiplied by the square root of the major axis of its orbit, and the product by the square of the tangent of its inclination to a fixed plane, the sum of all these products will be constantly the same under the influence of their mutual attraction. —P. 328.

‘ If the mass of each planet be multiplied by the square root of the axis of its orbit, and the product by the square of its eccentricity, the sum of all such products throughout the system is invariable.’ ‘ This, says our author, ‘ is equivalent to saying that no one orbit shall increase

its eccentricity, unless at the expense of a common fund, the whole amount of which is, and must for ever remain, extremely minute.'

It is added in a note,

'There is nothing in this relation, however, taken *per se*, to secure the smaller planets—Mercury, Mars, Juno, Ceres, &c.—from a catastrophe, could they accumulate on themselves, or any one of them, the whole amount of this *eccentricity fund*. But that can never be; Jupiter and Saturn will always retain the lion's share of it. A similar remark applies to the *inclination fund*. These funds, be it observed, can never get into debt. Every term of them is essentially positive.'—P. 369.

One thing deserving of remark is, that the circumstances which guarantee the stability of the solar system depend on no nice adaptations or adjustments, from which the slightest deviations would be followed by total subversion. It is in a state of *stable equilibrium*, and possesses the power of recovering itself from the effects of incipient derangement. No uncertainty, for example, with regard to the masses (the elements of most difficult determination) would in any way affect the general conclusions above pointed out. Such uncertainties would affect only the limits of the periods in which the compensations are brought about. The departures from the mean state might be greater or less,—the periods may be lengthened or shortened; but they could never become infinite, unless their analytical expressions contained circular or exponential functions, which it is demonstrated they do not.

The mathematical proofs of the periodicity of the planetary derangements are founded, as has already been remarked, on certain conditions which belong to the individual system,—on the smallness of the eccentricities and mutual inclinations of the orbits, and on the motion of all the planets in the same direction. Now, as it is very easy to conceive that these conditions might have been different, the question naturally occurs, Would the system, in that case, also have been stable? To this question the calculations give no answer. For any thing that has yet been proved, a system of bodies might exist, under the Newtonian law of attraction, in which not one of the conditions whereon we found our proofs of the stability of the actual system would be satisfied. These conditions, however, remain to be accounted for. To suppose them accidental, would be absurd. But, though it may be impossible ever to make out their cause with certainty, they evidently carry us back to the origin of the solar system; and prove clearly enough that the primitive impulse must have been communicated to all the planets and satellites by the same mechanical cause.

We have alluded to these speculative conclusions respecting the stability of the solar system, as the most interesting results of astronomy ; but the discoveries of geometers, in those sublime enquiries, have reflected a light, even on the simplest practical parts of the science, from which they derive important and direct benefits. The solar and lunar tables, those of the planets and the satellites of Jupiter, have acquired, chiefly from the discoveries of Laplace, a precision and accuracy which observation might, it is true, have ultimately attained, but only after many centuries. The same discoveries have infinitely abridged the labours of practical astronomers, and entirely removed numerous causes of anxiety and uncertainty, which would have inevitably tormented them, while the long inequalities were in progress of being developed. Instead of timidly groping his way to empirical laws through masses of observations, and in danger at every moment of mistaking his path, the astronomer now advances with that facility and confidence which is inspired by a perfect knowledge of the nature of the inequalities to be determined, of the limits of their fluctuations, and the circumstances under which they are most perceptible, or produce their greatest effects on the general condition of the system.

The improved state of the mathematical calculus having enabled geometers to refer every observed effect of the mutual action of the planets and satellites to its proximate cause, and to assign a limit to every derangement from its mean place, of every body in the system, the question occurs, What *now* remains to be done in this department of astronomy? To answer this question, we must consider the *approximative* nature of the solutions, and the imperfect data, obtained from observation, from which they are obtained. In the analytical theory of the system of the world, the labours of the mathematician are now confined to revision and correction,—to the comparison of results with observation, in order to obtain more precise numerical values of his data,—to the improvement of the methods of calculation, in order that he may be enabled to include more minute terms of the approximative series,—and to the means that may be employed to diminish instrumental errors.

An example will give the best idea of the nature of the researches that still remain to complete the theory of Newton. A periodical inequality of the mean motions of Jupiter and Saturn, which, from its magnitude, had long been known to observers, though the detection of its physical cause had baffled the analytical skill even of Euler, was found by Laplace to depend on the approximate commensurability of the mean motions of the two planets ; five sidereal revolutions of Jupiter being very nearly

equal to two of Saturn; so that every third conjunction takes place when they are nearly at the same points in their orbits. From the discovery of this hitherto unsuspected cause of perturbation, it obviously followed, that if there were any other two planets in the system, whose mutual action is not wholly inappreciable, in the same predicament as Jupiter and Saturn, with respect to commensurability of mean motion, there would be a similar inequality produced. Now the Earth and Venus are to a certain extent in this predicament; thirteen periodic revolutions of Venus being accomplished in nearly the same time as eight of the Earth; so that at every fifth conjunction the planets occupy nearly the same relative positions. Hence the phenomenon of Jupiter and Saturn must be repeated with respect to the Earth and Venus, though on a greatly reduced scale, both by reason of the smaller mutual attraction of the two last bodies, and because the tendency to perturbation is compensated in a much greater degree by the four intermediate conjunctions. For this reason the inequality was not calculated in the *Mécanique Céleste*; probably its amount was considered to be altogether imperceptible. The laborious computation was however undertaken by Professor Airy of Cambridge; and it resulted that an *appreciable* inequality did actually exist, though extremely small, 'amounting to no more than a few seconds at its maximum, while its period is no less than 240 years.'—(P. 350.) Now, though this inequality is entitled to be regarded as a real discovery, and as an accession to our knowledge of the mechanism of the heavens, being established on sure principles, and not from uncertain conclusions deduced from the particular forms of unintegrated differential equations, it is hardly necessary to remark that the question was merely one of labour and calculation. About the existence of the equation sought after there could not be a doubt; and the method of computation had already been exhibited.

We have an instance of another sort of correction which may still be made in the planetary theory, (and at the same time of the skill and success with which our mathematicians are now devoting their labours to a subject which they so long and so unaccountably neglected,) in some remarks on the mass of Jupiter. Laplace, to whom physical astronomy is indebted for a complete theory of the satellites of Jupiter, had determined the mass of the planet with extraordinary care, using as data micrometrical measures of the elongations of the satellites made long ago by our countryman, Pound. Subsequently, it was found by Gauss, that the effect of Jupiter's attraction on the four new planets, did not correspond with the mass determined by Laplace. The same

discrepancies between theory and observation, were found with respect to Encke's comet; and the correction which these indicated agreed with that given by the perturbations of the four small planets. It came, therefore, to be suspected that the mass of Jupiter had been erroneously determined. 'The error was one of great importance; the mass of Jupiter being by far the most influential element in the planetary system after that of the Sun. It is satisfactory then, to have ascertained—as by his observations Professor Airy is understood to have recently done—the cause of the error; to have traced it up to its source, in insufficient micrometric measurements of the greatest elongations of the satellites; and to have found it disappear when measures taken with more care, and with infinitely superior instruments, are substituted for those before employed.'—(Pp. 371, 372.) It is rather in corrections of this nature, than in extensions of the calculus, that Physical Astronomy may now hope to receive any signal benefit.

Our remarks on the miscellaneous contents of this volume have now extended to so great a length, that we cannot afford space for more than a brief allusion to one or two of the topics discussed in an exceedingly interesting chapter on Sidereal Astronomy;—a department in which the accuracy of modern instruments, and the zeal of modern observers, have detected phenomena which open up new and rich fields of speculation, boundless as creation itself. Instead of the solitude feigned to reign in the celestial spaces, all, when closely examined, appears to be instinct with motion and life. Some stars are observed to change their places in reference to those around them; others form binary and multiple combinations, performing to each other the office of sun and planet: dispositions to assume determinate forms and arrangements are perceptible among the different clusters, manifesting the operation of dynamical laws; and some give evidence of being subject to alternate decay and renovation.

The most important consideration with regard to the stars, is that of their proper motions. The stars being the points of departure from which all celestial measures are taken, if their positions vary arbitrarily, or according to laws not ascertained, all the astronomical elements must partake of a corresponding uncertainty. That several of the stars undergo a gradual change of place, is a fact about which the comparison of catalogues leaves no room to doubt; but their motion is so slow that it can hardly become visible to the naked eye in a great number of years. Of all the stars in which astronomers have recognised proper motions, there is none whose annual displacement exceeds five or six seconds; and in general the annual motion is even much less

than this. Yet even these small motions in course of time accumulate to considerable quantities, and render frequent revision and comparison of catalogues a matter of absolute necessity. Thus, the labours of the astronomer, like those of Sisyphus, are interminable. Nothing is yet known of the nature of these motions,—whether they are performed about a distant centre, or are directed to a fixed point in space; for centuries they may be regarded as rectilinear and uniform.

In determining the proper motions of the stars, the ultimate appeal must of course be made to observation; but the fact is rendered exceedingly probable by *a priori* considerations. It cannot be doubted that the stars are bodies of the same nature with the sun; and it is demonstrated that some of the revolving ones are under the influence of dynamical laws, which appear to be the same as those of solar attraction. They are consequently attracting bodies; and however much the impressions which any individual star receives may be enfeebled by the enormous distances which separate them, and however these impressions may be neutralized by being made in opposite directions, it is altogether inconceivable that the forces acting on any star can be so exactly balanced as to leave no tendency to motion. This consideration renders it probable that no star in the heavens is in a state of perfect repose. Even the sun himself must yield to the all-pervading influence, and be carried away from his present situation; so that in some very distant age, the heavens will no longer present the same appearance as at present; unless, indeed, as our author suggests, ‘the whole firmament, or at least that part which we see in our immediate neighbourhood, were not drifting along together, by a general *set*, as it were, in one direction—the result of unknown processes, and slow internal changes going on in the sidereal stratum to which our system belongs, as we see notes sailing in a current of air, and keeping nearly the same relative situation with respect to one another. But it seems to be the general opinion of astronomers, at present, that their science is not yet matured enough to afford data for any secure conclusions of this kind one way or other.’—P. 397.

The distances of the fixed stars from the earth, and their mutual distances, are totally unknown; the more observations are multiplied, and the greater the instrumental accuracy employed for the purpose of detecting the annual parallax, the more hopeless does the research become.

‘After exhausting,’ says Sir J. Herschel, ‘every refinement of observation, astronomers have been unable to come to any positive and coincident conclusion upon this head; and it seems, therefore, demonstrated, that the amount of such parallax, even for the nearest fixed star

which has hitherto been examined with the requisite attention, remains still mixed up with, and concealed among, the errors incidental to all astronomical determinations. Now, such is the nicety to which these have been carried, that did the quantity in question amount to a single second, (*i. e.* did the radius of the earth's orbit subtend at the nearest fixed star that minute angle,) it could not possibly have escaped detection and universal recognition.'—P. 378.

We can therefore form no estimate of the real distance of any star, but the limit can easily be assigned within which it cannot possibly fall. Assuming that Sirius, the brightest of the stars, has a parallax of 1", (and it certainly falls within this quantity,) his distance must be 200,000 times greater than that of the sun from the earth. This prodigious distance is as nothing compared with that of some stars; but it may help to give us an idea of the magnificent nature and intrinsic splendour of those bodies whose light can penetrate so far through space. Comparing the light of Sirius with that of the sun, and supposing the distance to be what is stated above, it follows that the light thrown out by the star 'cannot be so little as double that emitted by the sun; or that Sirius must, in point of intrinsic splendour, be at least equal to two suns, and is, in all probability, vastly greater.'—P. 380. Dr Wollaston, by assuming a lower parallax, concluded the light of Sirius to be nearly equal to that of fourteen suns.

'Now for what purpose are we to suppose such magnificent bodies scattered through the abyss of space? Surely not to illuminate *our* nights, which an additional moon of the thousandth part of the size of our own would do much better, nor to sparkle as a pageant void of meaning and reality, and bewilder us among vain conjectures. Useful, it is true, they are to man as points of exact and permanent reference; but he must have studied astronomy to little purpose who can suppose man to be the only object of his Creator's care, or who does not see in the vast and wonderful apparatus around us provision for other races of animated beings. The planets, as we have seen, derive their light from the sun; but that cannot be the case with the stars. These, doubtless, then, are themselves suns, and may, perhaps, each in its sphere, be the presiding centre round which other planets, or bodies of which we can form no conception from any analogy offered by our own system, may be circulating.'—P. 380.

After the proper motions, the most interesting enquiries connected with sidereal astronomy are those which relate to the double stars, by reason of the evidence they afford of connected motion, and the prevalence of the Newtonian law of gravity beyond the confines of the solar system. Sir William Herschel was the first who called the attention of astronomers to these remarkable objects. He began to measure the distances of the individual stars of several

compound systems, with the view of detecting in this way indications of annual parallax; but his attention was soon arrested by the extraordinary and unlooked-for phenomenon of a revolution of one of the stars about the other. His observations have since been fully confirmed. In a few instances, the periods of revolution have been ascertained, and astronomers have even begun to determine the positions, and eccentricities of the *elliptic* orbits thus curiously described. Supposing these revolving stars to be bodies of the same nature as the sun, they suggest combinations to which the solar system offers nothing analogous.

‘ But it is not with the revolutions of bodies of a planetary or cometary nature round a solar centre, that we are now concerned; it is with that of sun around sun—each, perhaps, accompanied with its train of planets and *their* satellites, closely shrouded from our view by the splendour of their respective suns, and crowded into a space bearing hardly a greater proportion to the enormous interval which separates *them*, than the distances of the satellites of our planets from their primaries bear to their distances from the sun itself. A less distinctly characterised subordination would be incompatible with the stability of their systems, and with the planetary nature of their orbits. Unless closely nestled under the protecting wing of their immediate superior, the sweep of their other sun in its perihelion passage round their own might carry them off, or whirl them into orbits utterly incompatible with the conditions necessary for the existence of their inhabitants. It must be confessed that we have here a strangely wide and novel field for speculative excursions, and one which it is not easy to avoid luxuriating in.’—P. 394.

A singular phenomenon connected with the double stars, is that they are generally of different colours. After remarking that these colours are, for the most part, the contrasted or complementary (betraying the influence of optical deception), Sir J. Herschel observes,

‘ It is by no means, however, intended to say, that in all such cases one of the colours is a mere effect of contrast; and it may be easier suggested in words, than conceived in imagination, what variety of illumination *two suns*—a red and a green, or a yellow and a blue one—must afford a planet circulating about either; and what charming contrasts and “grateful vicissitudes,”—a red and a green day, for instance, alternating with a white one and with darkness,—might arise from the presence or absence of one or other, or both, above the horizon.’—P. 395.

Double suns in the same sky, giving red and green light, must, doubtless, be very interesting objects; and the inhabitants of their respective planets, whatever facilities or difficulties their peculiar situation may afford them for establishing their theories of Optics and Astronomy, will see abundant cause to admire the wisdom of that arrangement which attached them to the sun to which they

owe more immediate allegiance—those of the red system will, no doubt, commiserate the sober chilly abodes of their green neighbours, while those of the green will congratulate themselves that they have not been placed under the scorching influence of the red. To such excursions of fancy we may be allowed to apply the remark which our author himself has made on the not more extravagant hypothesis of Olbers respecting the formation of the four ultra-zodiacal planets. ‘*This may serve as a specimen of the dreams in which astronomers, like other speculators, occasionally and harmlessly indulge.*’—P. 277.

The prodigious number of stars which appear in the telescope in some directions, and their comparative paucity, or even total absence in others, prove that they are not indifferently scattered through space; their actual arrangement in groups indicates a cause whose influence is not confined to the neighbourhood of a single star, but embraces the whole heavens in its sphere. Groups or clusters, like the Pleiades for example, are observed in various quarters, apparently isolated from the rest of the heavens, in which the stars ‘appear crowded together so as to occupy almost a definite outline, and to run up to a blaze of light in the centre, where their condensation is usually the greatest.’

‘Many of them, indeed, are of an exactly round figure, and convey the complete idea of a globular space filled full of stars, insulated in the heavens, and constituting in itself a family or society apart from the rest, and subject only to its own internal laws. It would be a vain task to attempt to count the stars in one of these *globular clusters*. They are not to be reckoned by hundreds; and on a rough calculation, grounded on the apparent intervals between them at the borders, (where they are seen not projected on each other,) and the angular diameter of the whole group, it would appear that many clusters of this description must contain, at least, ten or twenty thousand stars, compacted and wedged together in a round space, whose angular diameter does not exceed eight or ten minutes; that is to say, in an area not more than a tenth part of that covered by the moon.’—Pp. 399, 400.

We have room only for one extract more :

‘The nebulae furnish, in every point of view, an inexhaustible field of speculation and conjecture. That by far the larger share of them consists of stars, there can be little doubt; and in the interminable range of system upon system, and firmament upon firmament, which we thus catch a glimpse of, the imagination is bewildered and lost. On the other hand, if it be true, as, to say the least, it seems extremely probable, that a phosphorescent or self-luminous matter also exists, disseminated through extensive regions of space, in the manner of a cloud or fog—now assuming capricious shapes, like actual clouds drifted by the wind, and now concentrating itself like a cometic atmosphere around particular stars;—what, we naturally ask, is the nature and destination of this nebulous

matter? Is it absorbed by the stars in whose neighbourhood it is found, to furnish, by its condensation, their supply of light and heat? or is it progressively concentrating itself by the effect of its own gravity into masses, and so laying the foundation of new sidereal systems, or of insulated stars? It is easier to propound such questions than to offer any probable reply to them. Meanwhile, appeal to fact, by the method of constant and diligent observation, is open to us; and as the double stars have yielded to this style of questioning, and disclosed a series of relations of the most intelligible and interesting description, we may reasonably hope that the assiduous study of the nebulæ will, ere long, lead to some clearer understanding of their intimate nature.'—Pp. 406, 407.

Notwithstanding the activity and diligence with which the heavens have been so long, and particularly of late years, explored, few results have yet been obtained which can be considered as affording any positive and valuable accessions to our knowledge respecting the nature of the celestial bodies, or the physical constitution of the universe. All beyond the boundaries of our own system continues wrapt in mystery. The existence of proper motions, and in some instances an approximation to their amount and direction,—and the revolutions of a few binary stars in elliptic orbits, according to the same laws of motion which are observed in the solar system, are the principal trophies of which our observers can boast. Of the other subjects of enquiry, such as the formation and motion of sidereal systems, the progressive condensation of nebulæ, the disappearance of old stars, and the appearance of new, the parallax and mutual distances of the stars, and the laws of their arrangement—subjects which have engaged the attention of observers ever since the discovery of the telescope—the determination must be reserved for future, and, probably, remote ages. A foundation has now been laid for the solution of such enquiries in the accurate surveys that have been made of every part of the heavens; and unless some general physical revolution shall occur to sweep away the monuments of existing knowledge, there can be no doubt that, with time and continued observation, much will become known which is now veiled in obscurity, unless, indeed, the research is altogether beyond the human powers. 'About such ultimate attainments,' to use the words of Professor Playfair, 'it would be unwise to be sanguine, and unphilosophical to despair.'

ART. X.—*The Reform Ministry, and the Reformed Parliament.*
Fifth edition. 8vo. London : 1833.

ABOUT a year ago, at the close of the Session 1832—the last of the Unreformed Parliament—we entered into an examination of the Legislative labours of that Session, and of the prospects of the next, with the view of preventing the disappointment which always springs from extravagant hopes, and of obviating the injustice which such disappointment is apt to engender. This appeared to be at once rendering a service to the country, and doing an act of fairness by the Reform Bill.

The result of our enquiry was no doubt very favourable to the late Parliament, and proportionally discouraging to its successor. Besides the great measure of Reform, many improvements, of a subordinate importance, indeed, yet of no little value, had been effected in our institutions; the municipal law had received substantial amendments; and the form of our civil polity had been so much changed for the better in a few months, that we concluded with expressing our apprehensions that the Reformed Parliament would not, in all likelihood, come up to its predecessor in the number and importance of its services, within an equal period of time.

It needs hardly be remarked, that although such had proved to be the case, nothing like an argument could have been drawn from this result, against the necessity of Reform, or in disparagement of the new Parliament's services. The House of Commons elected in 1831, was chosen at a moment of great excitement; it was the offspring of the reforming spirit, and it partook largely in the feeling which then pervaded the whole country: it looked forward to a speedy dissolution, and it acted as having soon to render an account. As far, therefore, as it was possible for a body elected under the old constitution to represent the sentiments of the nation, that House may be said to have done so; and the friends of Reform, while they never denied that the House of Commons unreformed, now and then, and for a season, spoke the sense of the people, maintained the necessity of Reform, in order to make that wholesome and natural state of accordance between the representative and the constituent bodies habitual and certain, which, under the old corrupt system, could only be brought about by accidental circumstances, irregularly, capriciously, and occasionally. A system of election, calculated to secure at all times for the people of this country such a Legislature as should signalize every Session

by acts like those which, independent of the Reform Bill, distinguished the year 1832, would, we may very confidently affirm, be one proved by its actions well to answer the only purposes for which any plan of Government can be contrived or esteemed by rational creatures.

It cannot, however, be denied, that the prevailing sentiments of the community, and especially of the large portion of it which is friendly to Reform, were exceedingly different from those we have just been referring to, at the time when the New Parliament entered upon its functions. The general election had proved most auspicious to the cause of liberal principles. The Tory party appeared to be everywhere completely routed. With the exception of a few, whose opinions were pushed to violent extremes, the bulk of the members returned were rational, though firm and determined, friends of political improvement—men resolved temperately, though strenuously, to promote such changes in our system of Government as the spirit of the age, and the state of the country demanded,—while they who resisted all reformation, seemed now to have shrunk into a space not more considerable than was filled by the party bent upon altering by wholesale and at once, every portion of our institutions in Church and in State. From a Parliament thus constituted, every thing was to be hoped: nor were they to blame who hoped all things and believed all things; but their error was in believing that all they had a good right to hope, could be all at once effected.

Nothing, it must be confessed, could be more unpropitious, both to the Government and the House of Commons, than the commencement of their labours under the general expectations, thus raised to an extravagant pitch. Whatever was done must needs fall short of the wished for point; and that, because the point was not defined;—men reckoned upon a great deal, an immense deal, being done, but they could not tell what; and any thing, how great soever that could be done, would have left them at liberty to say it was too little, for they had expected much more. Not to mention, that as the greatest possible number of the largest conceivable measures must of necessity be accomplished, however swiftly, yet in some kind of succession, and not simultaneously, they of whom we are speaking could always stop at any one, and complain that the residue were still wanting; and by a known law of our nature, what we want is ever far more prized than all we have obtained: So that after the affairs of the East should have been settled, those persons of high expectations might say, ‘What signifies the East Indian trade and government? No-thing has been done to settle the West India Question—*that*

‘ is of real importance—the Reformed Parliament does absolutely ‘ nothing ;’ and then, if the affairs of the West were also settled, they would in like manner exclaim, ‘ East Indies and West Indies, and any Indies, we care not for, compared with the abuses ‘ at home that eat into the vitals of the state. What sinecures* ‘ has the Reformed Parliament abolished? It does little or no- ‘ thing for the people.’

If nothing untoward, therefore, had occurred, and the Government had been left free to bring forward, or the Parliament themselves to originate whatever measures might seem best calculated to serve the interests of the community, there would still have been a certainty of disappointment, as long as such unreasonable expectations were entertained, and an impatience so unthinking prevailed. But, unfortunately, the state of Ireland made it a matter of imperative duty to begin the session with a measure of fearful but necessary severity ; for until the dominion of the law was restored in that distracted country, it was impossible to say that any Government existed, or to foresee any point at which lawless outrage would stop, short of the utter dissolution of civil society. The Government most wisely brought forward a measure of extreme rigour, suited to the nature of the emergency—of a kind not to be endured for an instant, after the crisis which alone could justify it, had ceased—and of such efficacy as the country had a right to expect, when called upon to agree that the constitution should be suspended. Every effort of the Irish agitators to prevent this salutary though rigorous law from passing, failed ; and all the appeals made to the people of England were received with utter disregard. It betrayed, indeed, a lamentable ignorance of the character and habits of Englishmen, to imagine that they would be brought, by a few extravagant harangues, or a few violent effusions from the Press, to side with a system of mingled violence and delusion, which had for its almost avowed object, the personal gain of a few individuals ;—for its instruments, an ignorant lawless rabble, bent upon mischief, to gratify a rabid thirst of destruction ;—and for its natural results, bloodshed, rapine, and anarchy. But although the failure of all attempts to gain over the people against the Irish Bill, was signal and general, yet the necessity of thus occupying the first portion of the Session was much to be lamented ; both because it postponed all other things, and because it showed the new Parliament rather in the light of a severe, though just, than of a tender parent. It

* Nor will it abolish above one or two, inasmuch as they have almost all been abolished already.

must also be considered, that the excitement of the Irish debates, and the length of time occupied by them, prevented the country from bestowing sufficient attention upon the other proceedings of the Session; nor was it till near its close, that men began to reflect upon the great number and vast importance of the measures which, in spite of every obstruction, had in a few months been happily completed.

Although the clamour with which both the Government and the Parliament had been assailed by the ultra-Tory and Radical parties, had ceased for some time to produce an effect with the people at large, and the truth was slowly but incessantly working its way from the more reflecting part of the community to the rest of it, yet there was wanted a plain statement of what had actually been effected; and the publication before us has supplied this in a very satisfactory manner. It is plainly written, and without any pretensions; but it gives a clear and comprehensive view of the History of the Session, both as regards the conduct of the Government and of the Parliament. It goes through every branch of our affairs—Foreign, Domestic, and Colonial—and it brings together from those authentic documents, by which all questions, in a case of this kind, must be determined, the whole facts upon which the judgment of the country must be formed; with such explanations as are necessary for rendering intelligible those plans of improvement, the merits of which are not at once intelligible to the bulk of mankind.

When we examine the various parts of the sketch with which we are here presented, we are bound to admit that our predictions of last year have in a great degree been falsified. For we intimated an expectation that the new Parliament would fall short of the old in its services to the state; and it has most manifestly gone beyond even the extraordinary efforts of the Session 1832. Independent of all reductions, and other economical arrangements in the establishments and the revenue, themselves most important reforms, there have been completed no less than six great legislative measures of improvement in the institutions of the country; nine statutes have been made for the amendment of the law; and the foundations have been laid for as many beneficial changes, both in our laws and institutions, which, in all human probability, the next Session will see accomplished. This is undoubtedly a splendid result; and so far from considering that it is exaggerated, we are very firmly persuaded that, probably from oversight, where there was so much to be recorded, the statement before us falls even considerably short of the real truth. We shall advert to the particulars in the above order, as more convenient than the arrangement of the pamphlet; though we

freely admit that there is nothing very strictly logical in the distinction we have taken between the changes in the Institutions and in the Laws.

I. The improvements effected in the great institutions of the country :—

1. A most important change has been made in the establishment of the Irish Church. We purposely use the phrase, Irish Church; for though we are quite aware that by law it is only part of the united Church of England and Ireland, as Ireland is part of the United Kingdom; yet we also know that, let the statute-book speak what language it will, the two islands are separated physically, and the two Churches partake of the severance. It is vain to think of treating the whole members of the Established Church in the two countries as one body, and then arguing that there are so many bishops to so many millions of communicants; or contending that the Irish should live under a Protestant hierarchy, though there are six times as many of the inhabitants Catholics and Protestant-Dissenters as Churchmen, because if the whole be added to the Catholics, Dissenters, and Churchmen of England, there will be found a majority of the latter. All this would be very well if men could be brought to such a refinement as overlooking the channel which separates the two countries, and the habits which keep their people still more widely asunder. Laws and lawgivers may lay it down as they will; the common sense of mankind never can be brought to think or to feel otherwise than as respects a Church in England, with twenty-four bishops and two archbishops to twelve millions of people, of whom not above a third, or a fourth are sectaries; and a church in Ireland with eighteen bishops and four archbishops, to seven millions of people, of whom not above a sixth, or a seventh belong to the establishment; while the revenues of both the prelates and the parish priests are on an average one-fourth larger in the country where the duty is six times less onerous, and the expense of living a third part less heavy. It is long since all men were agreed that this was a monstrous, an intolerable state of things; long since every person of ordinary candour and the most moderate understanding admitted the absolute necessity of terminating what was universally felt to be an insult to the community; long since it was pretty generally considered that there was not much time to lose, and that nothing but a speedy change in this matter could give the Irish Established Church any chance of being continued upon any terms. We think it cannot be denied, that the change introduced by the Government and adopted by Parliament, is of an ample size, although, with our Presbyterian habits, we should of course greatly have preferred one of another description. Holding with Dr

Paley, that the establishment, if any is supported by the state, ought always to be the religion of the great majority of the people, and feeling the absolute impossibility of establishing the Catholic Church, we should have been inclined to say, that it was better there should be no state religion at all, but that the teachers of all three classes,—Catholics, Episcopalians, and Dissenters, should be equally maintained by moderate stipends from the public: or that none being thus maintained, the people should, as in America, be obliged to pay, every man for the support of his own minister. We are, however, quite aware that these are views which will be regarded as altogether visionary, and unsuited to the age we live in, the present year being 1833 not 1933. Be it so: then we conceive that the measure adopted last Session is one of great practical value, and well calculated to lessen, if it does not remove, the just complaints of the nation. Ten prelates, that is, eight bishops and two archbishops, were struck out, leaving twelve instead of twenty-two: the burden of church rates was removed from the people and cast upon the revenues of the clergy; and provision was made for appropriating a considerable part of that revenue to the religious instruction of the people. This is unquestionably the greatest change that has been effected in the ecclesiastical constitution of the country since the Reformation. We admit its extent and its excellence; but we are far indeed from viewing it as a final settlement: nor do we remember to have observed that any one of its more prominent supporters, and certainly none of the Ministers in either House of Parliament, treated it as such. We shall, on a future occasion, revert to this subject.

2. The two acts relating to Grand and Petty Juries in Ireland, have introduced a most important change into that institution. The scandalous abuses of the Grand Jury presentments have been extirpated: for the power of levying money is no longer left uncontrolled in the hands of those alone who have the jobs to do, and the interest, apart from and opposed to that of the persons paying. And the English law respecting the choice of petty juries being, with certain modifications, extended to Ireland, their impartial selection is now for the first time secured.

3. The most important alterations that have been effected in the establishment of the great National Bank and its relations to private banking, are the making its notes a legal tender except at the Bank itself and its branches; thus maintaining inviolate the constant convertibility of that currency into gold—the requiring a monthly publication of its accounts, that is, of its cash and other assets, as well as of its circulating paper—and the requiring other banks to make public the amount of their issues quarterly. Other changes of less importance were also effected—as the obtaining a considerable diminution of the allowance hitherto made to the

Bank, or which is the same thing, making it pay a certain sum yearly for the privileges it possesses. The only one of these alterations which occasioned any material difference of opinion, is that relating to legal tenders, which some considered as likely to increase the issue of paper. As long as the absolute convertibility of the bank-note itself is maintained, we cannot perceive how this consequence is likely to ensue. At the same time, (though the argument may be deemed somewhat empirical,) we are disposed to consider the great division of opinion among the highest authorities upon the subject, as affording a reason against this part of the plan. The rest is all unquestionable and unmingled advantage to the community.

4. The settlement of all the great questions touching the government and commerce of our vast possessions in the East, is of itself an achievement which would have signalized any other Session, and might well have been expected to occupy more than one. Not only are the relations of the Government and the Company placed upon a better footing; not only has the Indian Government at home been strengthened and simplified; but the rights of all our subjects in the East have been placed upon a new and secure foundation, while those of our countrymen at home have been established in all that regards either trade or settlement. In a word, the Government has been new-modelled, and the monopoly destroyed. We shall quote the part of the tract before us, relating to this part of the subject.

‘The settlement of the question as to the Renewal of the Charter of the East India Company, and the China Trade, was one of the most important measures submitted to Parliament; and none, except, perhaps, the Slave Trade Question, was surrounded by greater difficulties.

‘Whether the monopoly enjoyed by the Company, should be abolished?—and how, if that monopoly were abolished, the assets and liabilities of the Company were to be distributed between commerce and territory?—whether a share in the Administration of our Indian Empire should still be confided to the Court of Directors?—and how, if that course were adopted, the interests of the rulers could be made to coincide with the interests of the subjects?—whether Europeans should be allowed to settle in India?—and how, if so admitted, they should be restrained from excesses injurious to the natives, and dishonourable to our Government?—it will be admitted, were questions of great moment, and of no inconsiderable difficulty.

‘The measure introduced by the Ministers for the solution of the questions, with some slight modifications, was adopted by Parliament.—The trade with China has been thrown open.

‘The long and complicated account between commerce and territory, has been settled by a compromise, the advantage of which is shown by its having been approved of by moderate men on both sides.

‘A litigation which must have lasted for years, and which never could

have ended in a satisfactory adjudication, and during the pending of which, it would have been impossible to have intrusted the Company with any political functions, has thus been averted. The proprietors of India Stock have become creditors of the nation which is placed under their care. They will henceforth have a strong interest to improve its revenues: they can improve its revenues only by exerting their power for the maintenance of order, and the encouragement of industry.

‘The anomalous and pernicious union of imperial and economical functions in one body is at an end.

‘India is thrown open to European enterprise, and European capital. The legislative power of the Supreme Government has been strengthened. A Commission has been established for the purpose of ascertaining, digesting, and, as far as may be, assimilating those conflicting and undefined laws; the diversity and vagueness of which are among the heaviest grievances of India. The patronage, which has been bestowed by favour, is henceforward to be placed under restrictions which will ensure to India a constant supply of the most intelligent servants.

‘In the constitution of the Board of Control changes have been made which, whilst they increase the efficiency of that department, diminish the parliamentary influence of the Ministers; and finally, every office under the Company has been thrown open to every British subject, without distinction of colour, descent, caste, or religion.

‘Sir Robert Peel remarked, that it had been discussed in very thin Houses, and attributed this to the general approbation with which its provisions were regarded by public men of all parties. Mr O’Connell designated it as the Great Charter of the Indian people.’

5. But if the destruction of monopoly and the introduction of a just and liberal policy was effected in the East, and if this alone forms a title of honour for the late Session of Parliament, how much higher are its claims exalted when we turn to the West, and enjoy the unspeakable satisfaction of witnessing at length the extinction of Negro Slavery! It should not be said a more difficult subject—but assuredly so difficult a subject never was attempted by human legislation. The difficulties were manfully grappled with; and they were all surmounted. If any man dreads the ultimate effects either upon the interests of master or of slave, we bid him be comforted; for even the short period which has elapsed since the Bill passed, has sufficed to chase away the worst part of those shapes of danger and mischief conjured up to ‘frighten our isle,’—not even the threat of violence has any where been heard. But in looking back upon the progress of this grand measure of our age in its latter stage, (we mean while the Bill was passing,) we recollect much anxiety among the enemies of slavery and a good deal of very excusable apprehension and even impatience. In this, we will own, we never shared. First of all, we knew that the time had come when that must be fulfilled which was spoken—that Negro Slavery and a Reformed Parliament can-

not exist together. Next we knew, that from the instant the Ministers of the Crown had announced in Parliament the end of slavery, the whole question was settled. With the rest of it we gave ourselves no trouble: there remained only the terms to adjust. No resistance of the West Indians, no extravagance of the anti-slavery party, could for one hour delay the consummation. The slave was free!—Such were the thoughts which cheered us as we sang the song of Simeon; and rejoiced with an exceeding great joy that the faithful servant of the Lord in this great work still lived to raise his sweet and holy voice in the like strains. He did live to taste this blessing; and he has now gone to his rest, followed by the tears and the praises of all his fellow-creatures!

But let us not be misunderstood. The work is done—but only because they who began it will continue to watch over it. Who shall say that the Colonial Assemblies no longer require our vigilance? Have we forgotten the reluctance with which every thing that has been done was wrung from the enemies of all improvement? Have we forgotten the declarations made by their leaders upon the eve of this measure being carried—only to be matched for indiscreet hostility, by their praises of the unreformed Parliament, as the perfection of political wisdom, the moment before the voice of the whole Empire doomed it to swift destruction? Assuredly, the friends of the abolition will do well to maintain their present attitude, at least until they have seen their great and good work placed beyond the chance of disturbance.

6. The last reform in our institutions which we shall mention, is by no means the least important; indeed, in its immediate bearings upon the interests of the community, we know not if any of the late changes has been more remarkable. We allude to the Scotch Borough Reform. A new and a sound constitution has at length been given to our Boroughs; they have all been flung open; in all, the principle of self-election has been abolished, after continuing for nearly four centuries to afflict them with every evil which an essentially vicious and corrupt constitution can engender. The management of their own affairs is now restored to the inhabitants of those cities and towns. The local administration of justice; the regulation of the police; the receipt and expenditure of the revenues; the care of the municipal property, all are now vested in councils and magistrates chosen by the inhabitants at large—at least by that numerous and respectable class in whom the Reform Bill had previously vested the franchise of Parliamentary election. The full importance of this change is perhaps as yet hardly felt even in this part of the kingdom, which it more immediately affects. When its principles are extended to

the cities and towns of England and Ireland, as they of necessity must be in no long period of time, it will be universally admitted, that Parliamentary Reform itself was not a larger or a more beneficial improvement in the constitution of the country.

II. It is fit that we now cast a rapid glance over the progress which has been made during the Session in Law Reform.

1. The act for the amendment of the law effected a great number of beneficial changes which had long been desired by every enlightened practitioner, and still more by all whose interests are liable to be dealt with in courts of justice. A period of limitation is introduced in the cases which the former statutes had omitted. The right to tender amends and pay money into court is extended. The chicanery consequent upon pleas in abatement is obviated. The grievance of being nonsuited for variances is removed. The most important facilities are given to obtain, at a trifling expense, the judgment of the court where there are no disputed facts. The obstructions are taken away, which chiefly prevented business from flowing equally into the different courts. Parties are enabled to recover interest on debts not hitherto carrying it, and the temptation to resist just demands is thus greatly diminished. Arbitrations are exceedingly facilitated; and the judges are enabled to amend the whole rules of pleading.

2. Nor has the common law alone received improvement. A great change has been effected in the constitution and the procedure of the Court of Chancery. The offices of the Registers and the Masters are placed upon a new footing; and the abuses of fees, copy-money, and gratuities, are entirely extirpated; so that now no interest whatever exists in any department of the Court hostile to the cheap despatch of its business. The appointment of the Masters, too, is vested in the Crown, thus securing the public against undue selection of those important judicial officers, by throwing the responsibility upon the Government at large. A beginning is also made in new modelling the Six-Clerks' Office. Four of those clerks' places are abolished, and all vacancies in the Sworn-Clerks' Office are forbidden to be filled up until Parliament shall have an opportunity of revising the whole department. The present pamphlet, in enumerating the Chancery offices abolished, and showing the far inferior cost at which their duties are henceforth to be performed, states the saving at L.63,670 a-year. But the reduction of the Six-Clerks is by some oversight left out; indeed, it is erroneously stated, that the act does not extend at all to that department. An addition must therefore be made of L.4800 to the above sum; and the whole saving already effected will amount to L.68,470, exclusive of L.28,000 in the depart-

ment of Bankruptcy, which makes the whole diminution of Chancery expenses above L.96,000 a-year. It is, however, incorrect to reckon, as the pamphlet appears to do, that the saving of L.21,670 from the abolished sinecures, was effected by the Reformed Parliament. The act abolishing the places was passed in 1832. The act providing for the discharge of the duties annexed to those places was passed this year. In one sense, therefore, the late Session may be said to have effected the saving, inasmuch as it could not be ascertained how much must be paid in lieu of the salaries reduced until the substitute had been provided; but the abolition took place before.

3. The establishment of the Court of Privy Council is another change of great importance in the judicial system. It secures a more regular and efficient court of appeal from all the extensive settlements abroad, inhabited by eighty millions of people; and it certainly must be considered as laying the foundation of a better appellate jurisdiction at home. It may safely be affirmed, that no contrivance, for the purpose of exercising that function, was ever devised more inartificial and more contrary to all sound principle than the House of Lords. The utmost that can be said in its defence is that, as in many other instances of political mal-conformation, less mischief ensues than might reasonably be expected, because some effort is made by the healthy parts of the system to counteract the evil tendency of the partial defects. The same thing happens in the natural body; but there we are remediless, and have only to employ palliatives, and arm ourselves with patience. The body politic is happily under our control; and no man is now daring enough to recommend patience to the people, or suggest a palliative, when the knife and the cautery are at hand if wanted to effect a cure.

4. The whole mass of real and mixed actions, above sixty in number, has been swept away, excepting dower, quare impedit, and ejectment; one simple and uniform mode of proceeding alone remains for trying rights of real property; and the period of limitation is reduced to twenty years, with a saving of ten years more in cases of disability.

5. By another remedy of as drastic a nature, there is an entire abolition effected of fines and recoveries, with the whole of the delays, uncertainties, embarrassments, and expenses, which those fictitious proceedings occasioned. With the real actions, and (what, indeed, formed a part of them) fines and recoveries, have disappeared also an enormous mass of legal subtlety and learning, once the pride of the lawyer, of late times become of little use; but not to be neglected by any who would know the depths of his profession,—occasionally required at the hands of all,—and

calculated to occupy and to waste much time and engross great labour.

6. The law of inheritance and of dower has been exceedingly simplified; and the latter change, especially, is calculated to facilitate the conveyance of property, and greatly to lessen the risks of litigation upon such conveyance.

7. A material improvement in the criminal law has been effected, by taking away the capital punishment in cases of house-breaking in the day. The arguments so often urged, and of late years so successfully, against the severity of our criminal code, applied fully to this case, and again prevailed.

8. The last of these amendments to which we shall advert, has been altogether omitted in the tract before us; so little disposition is there to make the most of the case, or to exaggerate what has been done. That revolting anomaly, so strikingly exposed by Sir Samuel Romilly, that a man's real estates shall not go to pay his simple contract debts, has at length ceased to cumber our jurisprudence. The truly great man whose name we have mentioned, again and again attempted to remove this glaring defect in the law. After repeated failures, he at length succeeded in carrying a bill through the Commons, but confined it to the case of freehold estates. It was, however, thrown out in the Lords. The last time, he obtained the concurrence of the Commons without a single division in any of the stages; but a large majority of the Lords rejected it. Mark the change of the times, and bewail his fate, who, desiring above all things to see sound principles of legislation triumphant over ignorance and prejudice and self-interest, did not live to this auspicious day! The same measure is now introduced, but extended so as to embrace all real property, copyhold and customary as well as free. It passes the Commons without a word being heard against it. In the Lords it passes through all its stages with the same facility, and becomes the law of the land, without either one division being taken, or one objection raised, throughout its whole course! If the friends of enlightened policy have cause unceasingly to lament the loss of their most illustrious coadjutor upon such an occasion, they may derive some consolation from reflecting that it was his son who brought in and carried the bill, which has thus at length happily been passed.

III. The survey of those great things which have been done for the amendment of the law during the late Session, and which are universally allowed to have effected a more extensive improvement in our jurisprudence than had for ages before been accomplished, naturally leads us to an enumeration, for it can be

little more, of the still further reforms of which the foundations have, during the same period, been laid by the Government, although the sanction of the Legislature has not as yet been obtained for them.

1. The Corporation Commissions which have been issued, and are now in active operation for all the three parts of the United Kingdom, may justly be deemed a measure of incalculable importance. That abuses had grown up in very many of the municipal corporations, every one was aware. That the root of those abuses in Scotland was planted in the close and self-elective system, nobody for many years past has affected to doubt. But in most of the English and Irish corporations, the elective franchise is so hampered in its exercise, as to approach the system now happily exploded in our northern districts. In many, the self-election prevails in its most rigorous form; and in very few is the franchise vested where it ought to reside, in the people at large—the burghesses and freemen enjoying, in almost all the cases where the election is open, the monopoly of the right of voting. To introduce such a reform into all those municipal constitutions as may best accord with the sound and liberal principles of the age, and, as far as may be, suit the peculiar circumstances of the various corporations, required a minute enquiry into their various peculiarities; and that enquiry is now going on with such vigour, as promises a satisfactory conclusion in sufficient time for enabling the next Session to deal with this vast and complicated, but most important subject.

2. The new boroughs, as they are termed—that is, those towns of more recent growth to which the Reform Bill gave the right of Parliamentary representation, and which have no corporations,—stand in a very different predicament. No previous investigation was necessary for enabling the Legislature to confer upon them the benefits of municipal constitutions, except a careful examination of their various local acts for police purposes. Accordingly, a bill, framed apparently with very great care and upon mature consideration, was introduced towards the close of the late Session, in order that its principles and its provisions might undergo full discussion during the recess. It provides for the government of thirty of the great towns, chiefly manufacturing, comprehending a population of above 1,200,000 inhabitants, by vesting in the L.10 householders the choice of Councils, by and from which the Magistrates are to be selected. It also contains the arrangements necessary for the speedy and regular administration of criminal justice, and for the protection of person and property, by an efficient police, upon principles of strict economy, and of accordance with the spirit of our free constitution.

When the principles of this measure shall be adopted in these towns, and extended, with the requisite modifications, to the older communities, now the subject of enquiry by the commissioners, it may safely be affirmed that a reform will have been effected in the domestic policy of this kingdom, as extensive as the grand measure of 1831, and more nearly and more constantly affecting the interests and the rights of individuals.

3. The important benefits which the law of England had derived from the enquiries of the Common-Law and Real Property Commissioners, naturally suggested the issuing of a commission for Scotland, which should combine the objects of both. Some of our most learned and experienced lawyers are, accordingly, now engaged in performing the important work of examining by what means the expense and delay of law proceedings may be diminished, the constitution of provincial judicatures improved, and the conveyance of real property rendered more easy and more cheap.

4. Out of the same proceedings in the House of Commons, (upon the motion of one of the present Ministers,) which in 1828, gave rise to the Common Law and Real Property Commissions, arose likewise, that for enquiring into the constitution and proceedings of Ecclesiastical courts. From its report, replete with learning and informed with sound principle, has originated a bill presented to the Lords, and ordered to stand over with a view to the fuller discussion of its numerous and varied provisions. The extent and advantages of the changes which it will produce in the administration of the Ecclesiastical law, and in many branches of that law itself, with the abolition of several hundred courts now exercising imperfectly and upon unsound principles, important jurisdiction, can only be well estimated by those who attend to the striking details of the report. But in carrying this reform into effect, as well as the next to which we shall advert, a serious impediment has been interposed by the rejection of the measure for establishing courts of local jurisdiction.

5. The reform to which we allude is, the bill* for altering the law of debtor and creditor, by abolishing imprisonment for debt, whether on mesne process or in execution, confining that corporal coercion to cases where it is most justly due, namely, fraud, gross negligence, and contumacy,—treating it as a punishment and not a satisfaction,—and substituting for it those means of obtaining payment, by the full surrender of the debtor's property, which the law

* Introduced by our truly learned, able, and enlightened countryman, the Solicitor General, and founded upon the elaborate and admirable report of the Common Law Commissioners, Messrs Pollock, Starkie, Evans, and Wightman.

of England is more defective in securing to the creditor, than that of any other, the least commercial country, in the civilized world. It is wholly impossible to estimate too highly the importance of this great measure. It would have been carried through the Commons certainly, and might possibly have already been the law of the land, but for the fate of the next proposal of reform to which we shall advert, and without the adoption of which the former could not proceed.

6. To none of the five measures already described was any opposition given. The Lords were not indeed called upon to deliver any opinion upon them. The Government did not press the bills through this Session; and the commissions being issued by the Crown, whatever repugnance might in any quarter have been felt towards them, a unanimous address of the Commons, praying that the abuses of corporations might be investigated, seemed to prescribe the prudence of not attempting by a counter address to stay the enquiry, and bring the two Houses into collision. But not so discreet was the course pursued with respect to the Local Courts Bill. It was very erroneously imagined to be a measure which neither the Commons nor the country took any great interest in, and accordingly it was thrown out by a majority of twelve absent Peers, those present being equally divided. We are of course bound to believe that this decision proceeded upon a disapproval of the measure, and not upon a disposition to embarrass or to discredit the Government. For how could it either create embarrassment to the Ministers, or bring discredit upon them? The people either cared much for the bill or were indifferent about it. If they were indifferent, much then in the same proportion would be their indisposition to complain of the Government for not carrying it; if they cared for it, they might indeed be indignant at its rejection, but that indignation was not very likely to take the direction of those who exerted every nerve to attain the object. Another direction it might possibly take; it might be pointed towards those who once more set themselves against improvement, and again mustered their forces to resist reform. But be the motives of the proceeding what they may, its tendency is quite undeniable; it has neither contributed to embarrass the Ministers nor to discredit them; and let us hope that it will not prevent a better course from being pursued next Session upon more mature deliberation. The legislature will thus confer an inestimable benefit upon their country.

7. The Poor's Law Commission was begun in 1832, but its most useful labours have been brought to a point during the late Session; and certainly nothing can be more cheering than the account which is given of these in the pamphlet now before us,

borne out as it undeniably is by the important publication which has already issued from the Board, and excited the most lively interest wherever its extraordinary disclosures have reached. It may be truly said that, after men had for years been demanding a plan, and asserting again and again that the whole subject was thoroughly known as far as both the facts and the principles were concerned—we now find it by common consent admitted, that the subject, both in details and in conclusions, comes upon us as in a great measure new.

‘ The difficulty of getting printed this enormous mass of evidence, and the impossibility of making full use of it, while in manuscript, for the purposes of the final report, is understood to be the sole cause which prevented the Central Commissioners from presenting a report before the termination of the Session.

‘ In the meantime some benefit has been derived from the labours of the commission, not only by the publication of the paper on labour rates, but by the appearance of some extracts from their evidence. These extracts were published in compliance with a requisition from the Home office, and are believed to contain, not a selection of striking passages, and extraordinary statements, but a mere fair average of the contents of the reports from the Assistant Commissioners. Such as they are, they fully shew the wisdom of Government in not resting satisfied with the existing information on the subject of Poor’s Law administration. If we compare the number, the variety, and the importance of the facts, and of the inferences contained in that small volume, with all the folios that have proceeded from Parliament on the same subject, how far do the powers of individual research appear to exceed those of a Parliamentary Committee ?

‘ There is every reason to expect, that before the commencement of the next Session, the commissioners, having taken such ample time for deliberation, will be able to propose, not perhaps the best conceivable measure, but the best that in the present state of political knowledge, public opinion will sanction, or a prudent ministry introduce. A measure which, if it do not attempt at once to destroy the abuses which have been the growth of half a century, will immediately check their increase, and ensure their gradual extirpation. And it may be added, that the possibility of such a result, a result on which the future welfare of England depends, appears to be due solely to the present administration. Their predecessors seem never to have contemplated such an undertaking, or to have had the least notion of the means by which it could be effected.’

8. Of the bill for a General Registry, it is unnecessary here to speak, after the full discussion which we gave to that subject on a former occasion.* Its rejection can only be considered as temporary ; for it would be preposterous to imagine that the personal

* No. for April 1830.

interests of some country practitioners could continue to work much longer upon the ignorance of their clients, and set them against what is peculiarly for their own, the clients' advantage.

9. The Speech from the Throne, at the close of the Session, was in many respects a memorable document. It announced that a Commission had been issued for digesting into one Code the whole criminal law, and for enquiry into the expediency of extending the same process to the other branches of the law; and it declared that there was no portion of the labours of Parliament in which his Majesty felt a deeper interest than that which had for its object the making justice accessible to all classes of his people—a truly wise and parental sentiment,—one which the Monarch might appropriately express at the close of a Session illustrated by such improvements in the law as had actually been effected, and at the commencement of a recess about to be employed in laying the groundwork of yet more extensive reforms.

In the measures which we have enumerated under the preceding heads, it must be remarked, that, with one, or at the most two exceptions, we have dwelt upon none of those which commonly attract the greatest degree of popular favour. They are almost all reforms of a kind which recommend themselves to reflecting, sober-minded, and prudent persons, as tending to the real and lasting benefit of the state, by improving its government and mending its laws. Upon this deep and solid foundation rest the claims of the 'Reform Ministry and the Reformed Parliament' to the confidence and the support of the country. Removing a single unpopular tax, gaining one brilliant success either in war or in negotiation, opening to the enterprise of the nation a new channel of trade, or reducing some odious sinecure or ill-earned pension, would, generally speaking, be a more sure passport to the favour of a great portion of the community, than by far the larger number of the services which we have been considering. But the 'Ministry and the Parliament' have an ample number of such things also to show, in further establishing their title to the esteem of the people. We have already, in a preceding article, entered into some details on this subject; and shall here only make a brief recapitulation, for the sake of completing our sketch.

Have, then, the Ministry reduced the expenditure? The details just alluded to show, that the present Ministers have effected a reduction of nearly three millions since they came into office; and that there is a great saving in the year's estimates, as compared with the year before.

Have they abolished places? In two years, they reduced on

the several establishments no less than 1265 offices, of which the salaries amounted to L.219,968.

Have they reduced the salaries of places retained? A document is before Parliament, containing the reductions in the salaries of all places of L.1000 a-year and upwards, since 1830—these amount to L.200,000 within a fraction.

Have they made the like abolitions and reductions in the departments connected with the collection of the revenue? In the customs and excise, 921 places are abolished, and a total reduction of L.145,250 is made.

Have the colonial establishments shared in the same sweep? Upon a charge of L.572,900, an immediate saving is made of L.134,000, and an ultimate saving of L.224,000, or two-fifths of the whole.

But have those reductions pressed upon the inferior or upon the higher offices? The former government made reductions, and to a very considerable extent; and the average salary of the places they reduced was L.117, 16s. 1d. The average salary of those reduced by the present government is L.226, 7s. 8d. But this is not all; the present Ministers, as we have before shown, began with themselves: they made a reduction of fifteen per cent on an average in the higher political offices, thus saving about L.22,000 upon L.144,000; but the rate of reduction rose as the salary increased; and in the Ministerial places it was as high as twenty and twenty-five per cent.

Nor are the reductions to stop here.—A committee sat last Session to investigate the subject of army and navy appointments, and they have recommended the abolition of military and naval sinecures, with hardly any exception. A commission, too, with Sir Henry Parnell at its head, has been investigating the whole subject of the excise revenue, both as regards its collection, and the patronage, of which it is the fruitful source. Already the result has been to recommend the abolition of the tea supervision, and thus to relieve more than a hundred thousand dealers from a most oppressive and a most useless inquisition.

In the reduction of taxes which the saving in the public expenditure enabled the Government to make, those duties have been selected which pressed the most heavily upon industry, both by their amount and by the vexatious operation of the collection. The malt tax was not taken off, because, as we have more than once shown, that would have been only a gain to the landed interest in certain parts of the country, and no benefit to the poor man, or to the people at large. The assessed taxes, too, have been kept for the present, except a portion of the house tax. But the prospect has been held out of further reductions in those duties,

should more deliberate consideration still incline men's minds to this measure. Meanwhile, we may here repeat, what we have more at large shown in our last Number, that a greater delusion never was practised on the country than that of holding up the house and window-tax as falling upon the poor. It falls upon only *one-seventh* of the houses in Great Britain. Can there be any thing more revolting than the falsehood of the statement that the poor pay this tax? However, in the meantime, and before any steps can be taken for altering it, material relief has been afforded, as we have shown in a preceding article, by repealing duties on articles nearly affecting the comforts of the poor,—coals, candles, soap, leather.

That the opening of new channels of foreign commerce has not escaped the attention of the Government, is proved by the opening of the East India and China trade, and by the important regulations introduced respecting the latter particularly. It is enough to mention, that now every seaport in the United Kingdom will share in that lucrative traffic; and that the new arrangement of the duties will both increase the consumption of the article, and remove the vexations which heretofore harassed the dealer.

But nothing connected with commerce, is more gratifying than the progress which has been made towards a more intimate connexion with France, our nearest neighbour, and naturally our best customer. The mission sent thither by our Government has already obtained a removal of the prohibition on the export of raw silk, which the Committee of the House of Commons had pronounced to be a measure of incalculable importance to our silk manufactures. But we do not allude to this only; the great step that has been made, is the change effected in the public opinion of that enlightened people, where calm reflection and candid discussion alone were wanting at once to remove the last remnant of a prejudice founded on exploded political errors, and on national antipathies happily buried in oblivion. Our neighbours, to their unspeakable honour, now take the place that belongs to them in patronising the soundest opinions upon this subject; and the manufacturing and commercial bodies themselves are found the first to recommend a system of liberal policy towards England.* We cannot close these remarks more appropriately

* It is one of many proofs how little disposition there has been in the pamphlet, to exaggerate the labours of the Session, that no notice is taken of the beneficial arrangements introduced in the foreign Post Office.

than in the following words of the pamphlet before us, for they are the words of wisdom no less than of eloquence.*

‘ With France, our relations continue to afford a striking contrast to former periods of our history. Time was, when England and France fancied themselves natural enemies; when the foes of the one became of course the friends of the other. Those days are passed away; may they never return; long may two great and intelligent nations reap from the friendly intercourse of peace, advantages far beyond any which the most successful war could afford to either. The union of England and France has, during a period of unexampled difficulty, preserved the peace of Europe; and we may safely predict that while that union subsists, that peace will not be broken. A general war would now be a contest, in which England, France, and the people of every country in Europe would be ranged on one side; and the despotic Governments with their armies would stand on the other. The immediate issue could not be doubtful, the ulterior results might be tremendous. The English Government, we are convinced, will never court such a conflict; the arbitrary Governments of the Continent will be too wise to provoke it. England, then, never had a clearer course before her, and never held a more dignified, or more honourable station. She stands umpire between hostile and excited parties; she holds the balance between extreme and opposing principles; her task is *Pacis imponere morem*; and this task she may continue to perform no less to her own advantage, than for the benefit of the rest of the civilized world.’

In our preceding abstract, no mention has been made of the vote of money for the furtherance of Education. That subject has been largely treated in another article; but we may here observe, that we consider the grant alluded to, as a measure of great importance. It is a beginning, and a safe beginning, of that patronage and protection which, it is to be hoped, the Government

* The conduct of our foreign affairs since 1830, has been, among difficulties unexampled, distinguished by consummate talent on the part of the noble and accomplished person at the head of that department, and attended with signal success; for peace has been preserved, and the character and influence of the country sustained. Those whom these things have enraged are the English friends of arbitrary principles—they who still hanker after the Holy Alliance, and would fain see all Europe under the sway of absolute princes. France is their aversion, of course, because France is free; and if Englishmen would suffer them, they would plunge this country into a war with that great and enlightened nation, while they courted the friendship of tyrants, whose deeds are the scourge of the earth, and the reproach of human nature.

The plan of this article did not lead us into the subject of our foreign policy; it is explained with great clearness, and defended irrefragably in the pamphlet.

will not only continue but extend to the education of the people. The duty of the Government, in this matter, is not, however, so easy as some persons seem to imagine. In a country where so much is done by voluntary subscription, there is great delicacy required in any public interference, lest the sources of private bounty should thereby be dried up. It is to be remembered too, that in England, many are disposed to view with jealousy the interference of the Government in the direction of education. We say nothing of any obstacles that might be thrown in the way by some of the clergy, or those ill-advised supporters of the Established Church, who are apt to claim for that body an exclusive right to superintend all education which the state may support. So preposterous a pretension could not for an instant be listened to at the present day. But the other difficulties are real ones, and they prescribe great caution in the proceedings which Government may adopt. The grant of last Session for building schools, which was made in conformity to the recommendation of the Education Committee of 1818, is a perfectly safe step; for it cannot by possibility interfere with any of the numerous day-schools now existing, and supported by individuals; and it will furnish the means of establishing above a hundred more, in which the poorer classes of the great towns will obtain the means of education.

We shall close this review of the Session with a few remarks upon the charges so unthinkingly lavished sometimes on the Government, sometimes on the Parliament, by a number of persons, either disappointed because they had formed ridiculous expectations, or discontented because their own advice was not followed, possibly their wishes in other things not consulted, and who are resolved to find fault with every thing in order to prove their independence. They got hold of a few phrases, and repeated them daily, or weekly, till at length they were the dupes of their own clamour, and often carried others away with them. ‘Inefficient,’—‘Nothing, or next to nothing done,’—‘Want of vigour,’—‘Vacillation.’*

The people of this country are far too fair towards others, and too rational in forming their own judgments, to be for any length of time misled by such guides. Can it *really* be said that ‘nothing, or next to nothing was done,’ in a Session which saw the monopolies of the East destroyed, and the slavery of the West extirpated—the death-blow dealt to corporation abuses, a new con-

* This was sometimes pronounced, and indeed written ‘*Vaccillation*,’ being supposed to come from *vacca*, a cow.

stitution given to all the municipalities in one kingdom, and prepared for those in the other two—the more difficult branches of the common law reformed—the worst grievances in Chancery redressed—and a beginning made in measures to render the law universally understood, and justice accessible and cheap? Yet these are but a part of the ‘nothings, or next to nothings’ which an ‘inefficient’ Government and Parliament accomplished in between six or seven months. It is more than probable that there is not at this moment an individual of sound mind, be he of what party he may, in any part of the country, who would *now* suffer the assertion to be repeated in his presence; even if he were the political or the personal enemy of the Ministry, he would feel that it was the ignorant fury of some mean partisan, whom he must be ashamed of, or the clumsy overdone flattery of some parasite with whom he must be disgusted. But the meaning of ‘vacillating’ and ‘wanting vigour,’ is easy to comprehend. It signifies adopting a valuable suggestion, though coming from an adversary; or not standing out upon a trifle; or sacrificing small differences to secure unanimity on greater matters; and it goes among men of sense by the names, sometimes of fairness and candour, sometimes of honesty, sometimes of wisdom. Grant, however, that the Government on some occasions gave way to the sense of the House of Commons, when they remained unconvinced;—is this new? Let any man examine any one of Mr Pitt’s budgets from the year 1784 to 1805, and he will find hardly a single instance in which nearly half his measures were not changed in their progress through Parliament. But as for his general plans, while some were thrown out entirely, others were left so defaced, it was impossible to recognise them. Nor is this peculiar to Mr Pitt; it is, and must of necessity be, the lot of every Minister who has to carry on the business of a free country,—not in a divan, or by the general orders of a military despot, but in concert with his colleagues, and in the face of the people, and under the correction of a popular assembly. If such be the condition on which rulers held power, and such the limits appointed for its exercise, when the people were but half represented, and a force different from that of public opinion was brought to act upon the machine of the State, how much more must the measures of Government be subject to modification, now that they are discussed and adopted by the real representatives of the whole nation? We dismiss this topic with one reflection. Let any person examine the measures actually carried during the Session, and then endeavour to estimate the amount of all the changes made upon them in their

progress through Parliament, he will find that it shrinks into an exceedingly small space, and that not merely in comparison with the measures actually carried, but taken absolutely. We have made the trial, and will venture to affirm, that there are not above two or three alterations of sufficient moment to be recollected, now that the clamour of party and the carpings of discontent and conceit have died away.

But, it may be asked, why do we, who are only solicitous about good measures, and being devoted to a particular system of opinions are only desirous that effect should be given to it,—why do we concern ourselves with the defence of the Government,—that is, of the proceedings of one great party in the State, instead of inculcating upon all parties the measures which our principles dictate? To this question a very sufficient answer would be—though a somewhat trite one, doubtless—that the best security for measures is to be found in men. And we verily do think that the experience of the last ten years has weaned many an honest theorist from the fancy of carrying doctrines into operation, by means of a Government hostile to them, yet compelled by public opinion to give them effect,—for assuredly this notion assumes that the Ministers are always to be in a false position; and in that predicament no honest men will choose to place themselves at all; no wise men will remain; and no men of any kind can continue long. Hence the saying of ‘measures and not men,’ has very much lost its currency. But we will give another answer to the question. The present state of parties, as well in the country as in Parliament, is such as leaves us no choice. Either those principles to which we have been consistently devoted ever since this Journal was established (now one-and-thirty years, of most various and eventful history), must receive their practical effect from those composing the present administration, or they must be abandoned, and with them all our anxious hopes of public improvement be given to the winds. From these men we may not have obtained all the reformation we had expected; and we still may get less than the measure of our just claims; but from any other description of statesmen we should get nothing at all: or only such changes as force might extort, under the rule of the Tories, and a general convulsion purchase, under the domination of the Radicals. To both these parties there belong very estimable persons, who are well fitted to serve the State, and are not in their right places when leagued with the more violent of their present associates: we speak, therefore, generally of the bodies, and not of all the individuals that compose them.

It is supposed by some that the Conservatives, as the Tories now call themselves, are inclined to yield a good deal, on condi-

tion of being suffered to govern the country once more. The notion has been somewhat industriously propagated, that if they are only let into office again, they will accommodate themselves to the spirit of the age, and adjust their measures by the standard of reform. It may indeed be observed, that of late, and almost as soon as the Reform Bill had passed, the more judicious and able of their supporters in the press began to inculcate the necessity of taking popular courses; of courting public opinion; of bidding for the country by promising large bounties in the way of reforming measures. The plan of those advocates was at once very deep-laid and very shortsighted. No doubt they were quite right in supposing that popularity was exceedingly wanted by their party; and that, before they could hope for any success, they must obtain some following in the country. But then, to imagine they could accomplish this object merely by changing their creed, and professing reform, was a most extraordinary delusion. It is true, that after opposing the repeal of the Test Act, and being defeated by the present Ministers (then in opposition), the Tories had suddenly turned round and joined their adversaries in helping forward the measure, although they had resisted it on the ground that it must prove fatal to the established constitution in Church and State. A similar course was taken with the Catholic question, but in far different circumstances, and such as made it not at all liable to the same censure. Nevertheless, both of those proceedings had shaken them in the opinion of almost all their supporters, and only gained a dubious favour with their adversaries. But the attempt to repeat the same policy with the Reform Bill in 1832, was more than the country could bear; and never was any act of any set of politicians received by the whole community with such a tempest of execration mingled with contempt, which, however, did not assuage its fury, as the proposal of the Tories to '*undertake the Reform,*' provided the country would only bear with them again as Ministers. Bear with them, indeed! The country, how eager soever for Reform, felt and resented the offer as an intolerable insult. It may be a question whether the sensation excited would be very different upon a proposition made by the same parties for carrying through the reforms required by the state of the Church, the Courts of Law, and the Municipal Corporations. But at any rate, the bulk of their own followers would quit them; and supposing them by some strange chance restored to office, they would again have to carry on the Government as they did during the last two years of the late King's reign; that is, by the support of their adversaries, and in defiance of their friends.

Another question may be asked:—How comes it to pass, the

alarmists may demand, that we, who have always maintained the necessity of gradual and safe changes in the institutions of the country, should have dismissed all apprehension of sudden alterations upon a large scale, and should have exclusive confidence in statesmen, who effected in a few months (or rather in one day, for they carried the measure the day they propounded it) a change more vast than ever was produced in any country without convulsion, and greater than any revolution ever caused in our own—and that we should only look for good government and wholesome reforms from Ministers who suddenly gave us a new constitution, and from a Parliament the creation of that change? The answer is short and easy. The obstinate refusal to give any reform, ever so small, and ever so gradual, made a sweeping measure necessary to prevent a revolution,—that is a change by force and by means contrary to the established law. The excellence of that measure is proved by its fruits; the country is in profound peace; and the new Parliament displays on every occasion the most scrupulous adherence to right and justice,—the most marked repugnance to any proceeding of a wild, or visionary, or revolutionary tendency. In the true sense of the word, this is a conservative House of Commons; for if a strict regard to all the rights of property, a constant resolution to alter our institutions with a view to their improvement and their permanence, and a steady determination to put down the lovers of confusion, the workmen of destruction—if these be indications of a conservative character, then has that name been well earned by this assembly. The following passage in the pamphlet before us bestows so just a panegyric upon one most important passage of its conservative prowess, that we cannot withhold it from the reader:—

‘ Connected, however, with this subject, (the Bank Charter,) and of far greater importance than any law which has been passed upon it, is an Act of the House of Commons itself, emanating not from the Government, or from any political party, but supported by men of all political creeds, and upon other topics of all shades of opinions—we allude to the resolution against any depreciation of the standard of value as by law established. Whoever recollects the language held in and out of Parliament at the beginning of the Session; the meetings in Birmingham and Richmond Terrace; the manifestoes of the Currency Club; the rumours which were circulated; the highly raised hopes and loud boastings of a certain party, will admit this event to have been as important in its consequences to the country, as honourable to the Reformed House. The immense majority by which the resolution was carried, the triumph in argument achieved by its supporters, has crushed for ever the expectations of those who would unsettle all the monetary transactions of the empire; and has given a degree of confidence to the industrious and productive classes of the community, which no other

this cant could impose on the dullest reader! If Molière had put such a speech into the mouth of Tartuffe, we should have said that the fiction was unskilful, and that Orgon could not have been such a fool as to be taken in by it. Of the twenty-six years during which Walpole sat in Parliament, thirteen were years of war. Yet he did not, during all those thirteen years, utter a single word, or give a single vote, tending to peace. His most intimate friend—the only friend, indeed, to whom he appears to have been sincerely attached—Conway—was a soldier, was fond of his profession, and was perpetually intreating Mr Pitt to give him employment. In this, Walpole saw nothing but what was admirable. Conway was a hero for soliciting the command of expeditions, which Mr Pitt was a monster for sending out.

What then is the charm, the irresistible charm of Walpole's writings? It consists, we think, in the act of amusing without exciting. He never convinces the reason, nor fills the imagination, nor touches the heart; but he keeps the mind of the reader constantly attentive, and constantly entertained. He had a strange ingenuity peculiarly his own,—an ingenuity which appeared in all that he did,—in his building, in his gardening, in his upholstery, in the matter and in the manner of his writings. If we were to adopt the classification—not a very accurate classification—which Akenside has given of the pleasures of the Imagination, we should say, that with the Sublime and the Beautiful Walpole had nothing to do, but that the third province, the Odd, was his peculiar domain. The motto which he prefixed to his 'Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors,' might have been inscribed with perfect propriety over the door of every room in his house, and on the titlepage of every one of his books. 'Dove diavolo, Messer Ludovico, avete pigliate tante coglionerie?' In his villa, every apartment is a museum, every piece of furniture is a curiosity; there is something strange in the form of the shovel; there is a long story belonging to the bell-rope. We wander among a profusion of rarities, of trifling intrinsic value, but so quaint in fashion, or connected with such remarkable names and events, that they may well detain our attention for a moment. A moment is enough. Some new relic, some new unique, some new carved work, some new enamel, is forthcoming in an instant. One cabinet of trinkets is no sooner closed than another is opened. It is the same with Walpole's writings. It is not in their utility, it is not in their beauty, that their attraction lies. They are to the works of great historians and poets, what Strawberry Hill is to the museum of Sir Hans Sloane, or to the Gallery of Florence. Walpole is constantly showing us things,—

not of very great value indeed,—yet things which we are pleased to see, and which we can see nowhere else. They are baubles; but they are made curiosities either by his grotesque workmanship, or by some association belonging to them. His style is one of those peculiar styles by which every body is attracted, and which nobody can safely venture to imitate. He is a mannerist whose manner has become perfectly easy to him. His affectation is so habitual, and so universal, that it can hardly be called affectation. The affectation is the essence of the man. It pervades all his thoughts and all his expressions. If it were taken away, nothing would be left. He coins new words, distorts the senses of old words, and twists sentences into forms which make grammarians stare. But all this he does, not only with an air of ease, but as if he could not help doing it. His wit was, in its essential properties, of the same kind with that of Cowley and Donne. Like theirs, it consisted in an exquisite perception of points of analogy, and points of contrast too subtle for common observation. Like them, Walpole perpetually startles us by the ease with which he yokes together ideas between which there would seem, at first sight, to be no connexion. But he did not, like them, affect the gravity of a lecture, and draw his illustrations from the laboratory and from the schools. His tone was light and fleering; his topics were the topics of the club and the ball-room. And therefore his strange combinations, and far-fetched allusions, though very closely resembling those which tire us to death in the poems of the time of Charles the First, are read with pleasure constantly new.

No man who has written so much is so seldom tiresome. In his books there are scarcely any of those passages which, in our school days, we used to call *skip*. Yet he often wrote on subjects which are generally considered as dull,—on subjects which men of great talents have in vain endeavoured to render popular. When we compare the ‘Historic Doubts’ about Richard the Third with Whitaker’s and Chalmers’s books on a far more interesting question,—the character of Mary Queen of Scots;—when we compare the ‘Anecdotes of Painting’ with Nichols’s ‘Anecdotes,’ or even with Mr D’Israeli’s ‘Quarrels of Authors and Calamities of Authors,’ we at once see Walpole’s superiority, not in industry, not in learning, not in accuracy, not in logical power, but in the art of writing what people will like to read. He rejects all but the attractive parts of his subject. He keeps only what is in itself amusing, or what can be made so by the artifice of his diction. The coarser morsels of antiquarian learning he abandons to others; and sets out an entertainment worthy of a Roman epicure,—an entertainment consisting of nothing but delicacies,—

upon subjects it cares little about, and knows less ; and the time of Parliament must be engrossed for months, to the exclusion of every other subject, as if it had been determined that one solitary argument should be raised against the Union, by proving that while it lasts no business can be transacted. Nothing in the whole demeanour of the Reformed Parliament was more to be admired than the temper with which all this was borne. Every observer, how superficial soever, saw the disgust which was excited in all but the thirty or forty members who seemed to have come over with the view of thus practically illustrating the inconveniences of the legislative Union ; and yet no such feelings were ever suffered to break out. Possibly another Session may not find men quite so patient.

It is, however, only fair to add, that they form a very inaccurate estimate of the attention bestowed in Parliament upon Scotch affairs, who look to the reports of the debates alone. Whether it be that the gentlemen who conduct this important branch of business are Irishmen, not Scotchmen, or that our concerns are deemed too insignificant to deserve being commemorated at large, we know not ; but the fact is undeniable, that while every thing connected with Ireland receives the most minute attention, all that relates to Scotland is either suppressed or abridged, so as hardly to convey even a hint that any attention has been bestowed upon her affairs. After the people in this part of the island had been complaining of the exclusive attention devoted to Irish business, and blaming alternately their representatives for not speaking, and the newspapers for not reporting them, it was, with unspeakable astonishment that they witnessed that scene, unparalleled in the history of self-love, and which shed a new light upon the ‘importance of a man to himself,’—the quarrel which the principal Irish speaker chose to fasten upon the press for not sufficiently reporting his speeches. We should not have taken notice of this matter, had we not felt assured that the common repositories of the debates convey a very imperfect estimate of the conduct of our Scotch representatives, and, indeed, of Parliament generally, upon Scotch questions. Too little time may, no doubt, have been given to our concerns ; but a great deal more was given than the newspapers would lead any reader to believe.*

* This, and every other deficiency, (for the most part inevitable,) of the daily press, in regard to the debates, is abundantly supplied by the invaluable work conducted by Mr Barrow, entitled, *The Mirror of Parliament*, which leaves nothing to be desired.

ART. XI.—*Letters of Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford, to Sir Horace Mann, British Envoy at the Court of Tuscany*. Now first published from the Originals in the possession of the EARL of WALDGRAVE. Edited by LORD DOVER. Three Volumes 8vo. London: 1833.

WE cannot transcribe this titlepage without strong feelings of regret. The editing of these volumes was the last of the useful and modest services rendered to literature by a nobleman of amiable manners, of untarnished public and private character, and of cultivated mind. On this, as on other occasions, Lord Dover performed his part diligently, judiciously, and without the slightest ostentation. He had two merits, both of which are rarely found together in a commentator. He was content to be merely a commentator,—to keep in the background, and to leave the foreground to the author whom he had undertaken to illustrate. Yet, though willing to be an attendant, he was by no means a slave; nor did he consider it as part of his editorial duty to see no faults in the writer to whom he faithfully and assiduously rendered the humblest literary offices.

The faults of Horace Walpole's head and heart are indeed sufficiently glaring. His writings, it is true, rank as high among the delicacies of intellectual epicures as the Strasburgh pies among the dishes described in the *Almanack des Gourmands*. But, as the *pâté-de-foie-gras* owes its excellence to the diseases of the wretched animal which furnishes it, and would be good for nothing if it were not made of livers preternaturally swollen, so none but an unhealthy and disorganized mind could have produced such literary luxuries as the works of Walpole.

He was, unless we have formed a very erroneous judgment of his character, the most eccentric, the most artificial, the most fastidious, the most capricious, of men. His mind was a bundle of inconsistent whims and affectations. His features were covered by mask within mask. When the outer disguise of obvious affectation was removed, you were still as far as ever from seeing the real man. He played innumerable parts, and over-acted them all. When he talked misanthropy, he out-Timoned Timon. When he talked philanthropy, he left Howard at an immeasurable distance. He scoffed at Courts, and kept a chronicle of their most trifling scandal,—at Society, and was blown about by its slightest veerings of opinion,—at Literary fame, and left fair copies of his private letters, with copious notes, to be published after his decease,—at Rank, and never for a moment forgot that he was an Honourable,—at the practice of Entail, and tasked the

ingenuity of conveyancers to tie up his villa in the strictest settlement.

The conformation of his mind was such, that whatever was little, seemed to him great, and whatever was great, seemed to him little. Serious business was a trifle to him, and trifles were his serious business. To chat with blue-stockings,—to write little copies of complimentary verses on little occasions,—to superintend a private press,—to preserve from natural decay the perishable topics of Ranelagh and White's,—to record divorces and bets, Miss Chudleigh's absurdities, and George Selwyn's good sayings,—to decorate a grotesque house with pie-crust battlements,—to procure rare engravings and antique chimney-boards,—to match odd gauntlets,—to lay out a maze of walks within five acres of ground,—these were the grave employments of his long life. From these he turned to politics as to an amusement. After the labours of the print-shop and the auction-room, he unbent his mind in the House of Commons. And, having indulged in the recreation of making laws and voting millions, he returned to more important pursuits,—to researches after Queen Mary's comb, Wolsey's red hat, the pipe which Van Tromp smoked during his last sea-fight, and the spur which King William struck into the flank of Sorrel.

In every thing in which he busied himself,—in the fine arts, in literature, in public affairs,—he was drawn by some strange attraction from the great to the little, and from the useful to the odd. The politics in which he took the keenest interest, were politics scarcely deserving of the name. The growlings of George the Second,—the flirtations of Princess Emily with the Duke of Grafton,—the amours of Prince Frederic with Lady Middlesex,—the squabbles between Gold Stick and the Master of the Buck-hounds,—the disagreements between the tutors of Prince George,—these matters engaged almost all the attention which Walpole could spare from matters more important still,—from bidding for Zinckes and Petitots,—from cheapening fragments of tapestry, and handles of old lances,—from joining bits of painted glass, and from setting up memorials of departed cats and dogs. While he was fetching and carrying the gossip of Kensington Palace and Carlton House, he fancied that he was engaged in politics, and when he recorded that gossip, he fancied that he was writing history.

He was, as he has himself told us, fond of faction as an amusement. He loved mischief: but he loved quiet; and he was constantly on the watch for opportunities of gratifying both his tastes at once. He sometimes contrived, without showing himself, to disturb the course of ministerial negotiations, and to spread con-

fusion through the political circles. He does not himself pretend that, on these occasions, he was actuated by public spirit; nor does he appear to have had any private advantage in view. He thought it a good practical joke to set public men together by the ears; and he enjoyed their perplexities, their accusations, and their recriminations, as a malicious boy enjoys the embarrassment of a misdirected traveller.

About politics, in the high sense of the word, he knew nothing, and cared nothing. He called himself a Whig. His father's son could scarcely assume any other name. It pleased him also to affect a foolish aversion to kings as kings, and a foolish love and admiration of rebels as rebels: and perhaps, while kings were not in danger, and while rebels were not in being, he really believed that he held the doctrines which he professed. To go no further than the letters now before us, he is perpetually boasting to his friend Mann of his aversion to royalty and to royal persons. He calls the crime of Damien 'that least bad of murders—the murder of a king.' He hung up in his villa a fac-simile of the death-warrant of Charles, with the inscription '*Major Charta*.' Yet the most superficial knowledge of history might have taught him that the Restoration, and the crimes and follies of the twenty-eight years which followed the Restoration, were the effects of this 'Greater Charter.' Nor was there much in the means by which that instrument was obtained, which could gratify a judicious lover of liberty. A man must hate kings very bitterly, before he can think it desirable that the representatives of the people should be turned out of doors by dragoons, in order to get at a king's head. Walpole's Whiggism, however, was of a very harmless kind. He kept it, as he kept the old spears and helmets at Strawberry Hill, merely for show. He would just as soon have thought of taking down the arms of the ancient Templars and Hospitallers from the walls of his hall, and setting off on a crusade to the Holy Land, as of acting in the spirit of those daring warriors and statesmen, great even in their errors, whose names and seals were affixed to the warrant which he prized so highly. He liked revolution and regicide only when they were a hundred years old. His republicanism, like the courage of a bully, or the love of a fribble, was strong and ardent when there was no occasion for it, and subsided when he had an opportunity of bringing it to the proof. As soon as the revolutionary spirit really began to stir in Europe,—as soon as the hatred of kings became something more than a sonorous phrase,—he was frightened into a fanatical royalist, and became one of the most extravagant alarmists of those wretched times. In truth, his talk about liberty, whether he knew it or not, was from the beginning a mere cant,—the remains of a phraseology

which had meant something in the mouths of those from whom he had learned it, but which, in his mouth, meant about as much as the oath by which the Knights of the Bath bind themselves to redress the wrongs of all injured ladies. He had been fed in his boyhood with Whig speculations on government. He must often have seen, at Houghton or in Downing Street, men who had been Whigs when it was as dangerous to be a Whig as to be a highwayman,—men who had voted for the exclusion bill, who had been concealed in garrets and cellars after the battle of Sedgemoor, and who had set their names to the declaration, that they would live and die with the Prince of Orange. He had acquired the language of these men, and he repeated it by rote, though it was at variance with all his tastes and feelings;—just as some old Jacobite families persisted in praying for the Pretender, and passing their glasses over the water-decanter when they drank the King's health, long after they had become zealous supporters of the government of George the Third. He was a Whig by the accident of hereditary connexion; but he was essentially a courtier; and not the less a courtier because he pretended to sneer at the objects which excited his admiration and envy. His real tastes perpetually show themselves through the thin disguise. While professing all the contempt of Bradshaw or Ludlow for crowned heads, he took the trouble to write a book concerning Royal Authors. He pryed with the utmost anxiety into the most minute particulars relating to the Royal Family. When he was a child, he was haunted with a longing to see George the First, and gave his mother no peace till she had found a way of gratifying his curiosity. The same feeling, covered with a thousand disguises, attended him to the grave. No observation that dropped from the lips of Majesty, seemed to him too trifling to be recorded. The French songs of Prince Frederic—compositions certainly not deserving of preservation on account of their intrinsic merit—have been carefully preserved for us by this contemner of royalty. In truth, every page of Walpole's works bewrays him. This Diogenes, who would be thought to prefer his tub to a palace, and who has nothing to ask of the masters of Windsor and Versailles, but that they will stand out of his light, is a gentleman-usher at heart.

He had, it is plain, an uneasy consciousness of the frivolity of his favourite pursuits; and this consciousness produced one of the most diverting of his ten thousand affectations. His busy idleness—his indifference to matters which the world generally regards as important—his passion for trifles—he thought fit to dignify with the name of philosophy. He spoke of himself as of a man whose equanimity was proof to ambitious hopes and fears, who had learned to rate power, wealth, and fame, at their true

value, and whom the conflict of parties, the rise and fall of statesmen, the ebbs and flows of public opinion, moved only to a smile of mingled compassion and disdain. It was owing to the peculiar elevation of his character that he cared about a lath and plaster pinnacle more than about the Middlesex election, and about a miniature of Grammont more than about the American Revolution. Pitt and Murray might talk themselves hoarse about trifles. But questions of government and war were too insignificant to detain a mind which was occupied in recording the scandal of club-rooms and the whispers of the back-stairs, and which was even capable of selecting and disposing chairs of ebony and shields of rhinoceros-skin.

One of his innumerable whims was an extreme dislike to be considered as a man of letters. Not that he was indifferent to literary fame. Far from it. Scarcely any writer has ever troubled himself so much about the appearance which his works were to make before posterity. But he had set his heart on incompatible objects. He wished to be a celebrated author, and yet to be a mere idle gentleman—one of those epicurean gods of the earth who do nothing at all, and who pass their existence in the contemplation of their own perfections. He did not like to have any thing in common with the wretches who lodged in the little courts behind St Martin's Church, and stole out on Sundays to dine with their bookseller. He avoided the society of authors. He spoke with lordly contempt of the most distinguished among them. He tried to find out some way of writing books, as M. Jourdain's father sold cloth, without derogating from his character of *Gentilhomme*. 'Lui, marchand? C'est pure médisance: il ne l'a jamais été. Tout ce qu'il faisait, c'est qu'il était fort obligeant, fort officieux; et comme il se connaissait fort bien en étoffes, il en allait choisir de tous les côtés, les faisait apporter chez lui, et en donnait à ses amis pour de l'argent.' There are several amusing instances of his feeling on this subject in the letters now before us. Mann had complimented him on the learning which appeared in the 'Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors;' and it is curious to see how impatiently Walpole bore the imputation of having attended to any thing so unfashionable as the improvement of his mind. 'I know nothing. How should I? I who have always lived in the big busy world; who lie a-bed all the morning, calling it morning as long as you please; who sup in company; who have played at faro half my life, and now at loo till two and three in the morning; who have always loved pleasure; haunted auctions . . . How I have laughed when some of the Magazines have called me the learned gentleman. Pray don't be like the Magazines.' This folly might be

pardoned in a boy. But a man of forty-three, as Walpole then was, ought to be quite as much ashamed of playing at loo till three every morning, as of being so vulgar a thing as a learned gentleman.

The literary character has undoubtedly its full share of faults, and of very serious and offensive faults. If Walpole had avoided those faults, we could have pardoned the fastidiousness with which he declined all fellowship with men of learning. But from those faults Walpole was not one jot more free than the garreteers from whose contact he shrank. Of literary meannesses and literary vices, his life and his works contain as many instances as the life and the works of any member of Johnson's club. The fact is, that Walpole had the faults of Grub Street, with a large addition from St James's Street—the vanity, the jealousy, the irritability of a man of letters—the affected superciliousness and apathy of a man of *ton*.

His judgment of literature,—of contemporary literature especially,—was altogether perverted by his aristocratical feelings. No writer surely was ever guilty of so much false and absurd criticism. He almost invariably speaks with contempt of those books which are now universally allowed to be the best that appeared in his time; and, on the other hand, he speaks of writers of rank and fashion as if they were entitled to the same precedence in literature which would have been allowed to them in a drawingroom. In these letters, for example, he says, that he would rather have written the most absurd lines in Lee than Thomson's 'Seasons.' The periodical paper called 'The World,' on the other hand, was by 'our first writers.' Who, then, were the first writers of England in the year 1753? Walpole has told us in a note. Our readers will probably guess that Hume, Fielding, Smollett, Richardson, Johnson, Warburton, Collins, Akenside, Gray, Dyer, Young, Warton, Mason, or some of those distinguished men were in the list. Not one of them. Our first writers, it seems, were Lord Chesterfield, Lord Bath, Mr W. Whithed, Sir Charles Williams, Mr Soame Jenyns, Mr Cambridge, Mr Coventry. Of these seven gentlemen, Whithed was the lowest in station, but was the most accomplished tuft-hunter of his time. Coventry was of a noble family. The other five had among them two peerages, two seats in the House of Commons, three seats in the Privy Council, a baronetcy, a blue riband, a red riband, about a hundred thousand pounds a-year, and not ten pages that are worth reading. The writings of Whithed, Cambridge, Coventry, and Lord Bath, are forgotten. Soame Jenyns is remembered chiefly by Johnson's review of the foolish *Essay on the Origin of Evil*. Lord Chesterfield stands much lower in

the estimation of posterity than he would have done if his letters had never been published. The lampoons of Sir Charles Williams are now read only by the curious; and, though not without occasional flashes of wit, have always seemed to us, we must own, very poor performances.

Walpole judged of French literature after the same fashion. He understood and loved the French language. Indeed, he loved it too well. His style is more deeply tainted with Gallicisms than that of any other English writer with whom we are acquainted. His composition often reads, for a page together, like a rude translation from the French. We meet every minute with such sentences as these, 'One knows what temperaments Annibal Caracci painted.' 'The impertinent personage!' 'She is dead rich.' 'Lord Dalkeith is dead of the small-pox in three days.' 'What was ridiculous, the man who seconded the motion happened to be shut out.' 'It will now be seen whether he or they are most patriot.'

His love of the French language was of a peculiar kind. He loved it as having been for a century the vehicle of all the polite nothings of Europe; as the sign by which the free-masons of fashion recognised each other in every capital from Petersburg to Naples; as the language of raillery, as the language of anecdote, as the language of memoirs, as the language of correspondence. Its higher uses he altogether disregarded. The literature of France has been to ours what Aaron was to Moses,—the expositor of great truths, which would else have perished for want of a voice to utter them with distinctness. The relation which existed between Mr Bentham and M. Dumont is an exact illustration of the intellectual relation in which the two countries stand to each other. The great discoveries in physics, in metaphysics, in political science, are ours. But no foreign nation except France has received them from us by direct communication. Isolated in our situation—isolated by our manners, we found truth, but we did not impart it. France has been the interpreter between England and mankind.

In the time of Walpole, this process of interpretation was in full activity. The great French writers were busy in proclaiming through Europe the names of Bacon, of Newton, and of Locke. The English principles of toleration, the English respect for personal liberty, the English doctrine that all power is a trust for the public good, were making rapid progress. There is scarcely any thing in history so interesting as that great stirring up of the mind of France—that shaking of the foundations of all established opinions—that uprooting of old truth and old error. It was plain that mighty principles were at work, whether for evil or for good.

It was plain that a great change in the whole social system was at hand. Fanatics of one kind might anticipate a golden age, in which men should live under the simple dominion of reason, in perfect equality and perfect amity, without property, or marriage, or king, or God. A fanatic of another kind might see nothing in the doctrines of the philosophers but anarchy and atheism, might cling more closely to every old abuse, and might regret the good of old days, when St Dominic and Simon de Montfort put down the growing heresies of Provence. A wise man would have seen with regret the excesses into which the reformers were running, but he would have done justice to their genius, and to their philanthropy. He would have censured their errors; but he would have remembered that, as Milton has said, error is but opinion in the making. While he condemned their hostility to religion, he would have acknowledged that it was the natural effect of a system under which religion had been constantly exhibited to them, in forms which common sense rejected, and at which humanity shuddered. While he condemned some of their political doctrines as incompatible with all law, all property, and all civilisation, he would have acknowledged that the subjects of Louis XV. had every excuse which men could have for being eager to pull down, and for being ignorant of the far higher art of setting up. While anticipating a fierce conflict—a great and wide-wasting destruction—he would yet have looked forward to the final close with a good hope for France and for mankind.

Walpole had neither hopes nor fears. Though the most Frenchified English writer of the eighteenth century, he troubled himself little about the portents which were daily to be discerned in the French literature of his time. While the most eminent Frenchmen were studying with enthusiastic delight English politics and English philosophy, he was studying as intently the gossip of the old court of France. The fashions and scandal of Versailles and Marli—fashions and scandal a hundred years old—occupied him infinitely more than a great moral revolution which was taking place in his sight. He took a prodigious interest in every noble sharper, whose vast volume of wig, and infinite length of riband, had figured at the dressing or at the tucking up of Louis XIV., and of every profligate woman of quality who had carried her train of lovers backward and forward from king to parliament, and from parliament to king, during the wars of the *Fronde*. These were the people of whom he treasured up the smallest memorial, of whom he loved to hear the most trifling anecdote, and for whose likenesses he would have given any price. Of the great French writers of his own time, Montesquieu is the only one of whom he speaks with enthusiasm. And even of Montesquieu he speaks

with less enthusiasm than of that abject thing, Crebillon the younger, a scribbler as licentious as Louvet, and as dull as Rapin. A man must be strangely constituted who can take interest in pedantic journals of the blockades laid by the Duke of A. to the hearts of the Marquise de B. and the Comtesse de C. This trash Walpole extols in language sufficiently high for the merits of 'Don Quixote.' He wished to possess a likeness of Crebillon, and Liotard, the first painter of miniatures then living, was employed to preserve the features of the profligate twaddler. The admirer of the *Sopha*, and of the *Lettres Athéniennes*, had little respect to spare for the men who were then at the head of French literature. He kept carefully out of their way. He tried to keep other people from paying them any attention. He could not deny that Voltaire and Rousseau were clever men; but he took every opportunity of depreciating them. Of D'Alembert he spoke with a contempt, which, when the intellectual powers of the two men are compared, seems exquisitely ridiculous. D'Alembert complained that he was accused of having written Walpole's squib against Rousseau. 'I hope,' says Walpole, 'that nobody will attribute 'D'Alembert's works to me.' He was in little danger.

It is impossible to deny, however, that Walpole's works have real merit, and merit of a very rare, though not of a very high kind. Sir Joshua Reynolds used to say, that though nobody would for a moment compare Claude to Raphael, there would be another Raphael before there was another Claude. And we own that we expect to see fresh Humes and fresh Burkes before we again fall in with that peculiar combination of moral and intellectual qualities to which the writings of Walpole owe their extraordinary popularity.

It is easy to describe him by negatives. He had not a creative imagination. He had not a pure taste. He was not a great reasoner. There is indeed scarcely any writer in whose works it would be possible to find so many contradictory judgments, so many sentences of extravagant nonsense. Nor was it only in his familiar correspondence that he wrote in this flighty and inconsistent manner; but in long and elaborate books—in books repeatedly transcribed and intended for the public eye. We will give an instance or two; for, without instances, readers not very familiar with his works, will scarcely understand our meaning. In the 'Anecdotes of Painting,' he states very truly, that the art declined after the commencement of the civil wars. He proceeds to enquire why this happened. The explanation, we should have thought, would have been easily found. The loss of the most munificent and judicious patron that the fine arts ever had in England,—for such undoubtedly was Charles,—the troubled state of the country,—

the distressed condition of many of the aristocracy,—perhaps also the austerity of the victorious party. These circumstances, we conceive, fully account for the phenomenon. But this solution was not odd enough to satisfy Walpole. He discovers another cause for the decline of the art,—the want of models. Nothing worth painting, it seems, was left to paint. ‘How ‘picturesque,’ he exclaims, ‘was the figure of an Anabaptist!’ As if puritanism had put out the sun and withered the trees;—as if the civil wars had blotted out the expression of character and passion from the human lip and brow,—as if many of the men whom Vandyke painted, had not been living in the time of the Commonwealth, with faces little the worse for wear,—as if many of the beauties afterwards pourtrayed by Lely were not in their prime before the Restoration;—as if the costume or the features of Cromwell and Milton were less picturesque than those of the round-faced peers, as like each other as eggs to eggs, who look out from the middle of the periwigs of Kneller. In the ‘Memoirs,’ again, Walpole sneers at the Prince of Wales, afterwards George III., for presenting a collection of books to one of the American Colleges during the Seven Years’ War, and says that, instead of books, his Royal Highness ought to have sent arms and ammunition;—as if a war ought to suspend all study and all education;—or as if it were the business of the Prince of Wales to supply the colonies with military stores out of his own pocket. We have perhaps dwelt too long on these passages, but we have done so because they are specimens of Walpole’s manner. Everybody who reads his works with attention will find that they swarm with loose and foolish observations like those which we have cited;—observations which might pass in conversation or in a hasty letter, but which are unpardonable in books deliberately written and repeatedly corrected.

He appears to have thought that he saw very far into men; but we are under the necessity of altogether dissenting from his opinion. We do not conceive that he had any power of discerning the finer shades of character. He practised an art, however, which, though easy and even vulgar, obtains for those who practise it the reputation of discernment with ninety-nine people out of a hundred. He sneered at every body, put on every action the worst construction which it would bear, ‘spelt every ‘man backward,’—to borrow the Lady Hero’s phrase,

‘Turned every man the wrong side out,
And never gave to truth and virtue that
Which simpleness and merit purchaseth.’

In this way, any man may, with little sagacity and little trouble,

be considered by those whose good opinion is not worth having, as a great judge of character.

It is said that the hasty and rapacious Kneller used to send away the ladies who sate to him after sketching their faces, and to paint the figure and hands from his housemaid. It was in much the same way that Walpole pourtrayed the minds of others. He copied from the life only those glaring and obvious peculiarities which could not escape the most superficial observation. The rest of the canvass he filled up, in a careless dashing way, with knave and fool, mixed in such proportions as pleased Heaven. What a difference between these daubs and the masterly portraits of Clarendon!

There are contradictions without end in the sketches of character which abound in Walpole's works. But if we were to form our opinion of his eminent contemporaries from a general survey of what he has written concerning them, we should say that Pitt was a strutting, ranting, mouthing, actor,—Charles Townshend, an impudent and voluble jack-pudding,—Murray, a demure cold-blooded, cowardly hypocrite,—Hardwicke, an insolent upstart, with the understanding of a pettifogger, and the heart of a hangman,—Temple, an impertinent poltroon,—Egmont, a solemn coxcomb,—Lyttleton, a poor creature, whose only wish was to go to heaven in a coronet,—Onslow, a pompous proser,—Washington, a braggart,—Lord Camden, sullen,—Lord Townshend, malevolent,—Secker, an atheist who had shammed Christian for a mitre,—Whitefield, an impostor who swindled his converts out of their watches. The Walpoles fare little better than their neighbours. Old Horace is constantly represented as a coarse, brutal, niggardly buffoon, and his son as worthy of such a father. In short, if we are to trust this discerning judge of human nature, England in his time contained little sense and no virtue, except what was distributed between himself, Lord Waldgrave, and Marshal Conway.

Of such a writer it is scarcely necessary to say, that his works are destitute of every charm which is derived from elevation or from tenderness of sentiment. When he chose to be humane and magnanimous—for he sometimes, by way of variety, tried this affectation—he overdid his part most ludicrously. None of his many disguises sate so awkwardly upon him. For example, he tells us that he did not choose to be intimate with Mr Pitt;—and why? Because Mr Pitt had been among the persecutors of his father; or because, as he repeatedly assures us, Mr Pitt was a disagreeable man in private life? Not at all; but because Mr Pitt was too fond of war, and was great with too little reluctance. Strange, that a habitual scoffer like Walpole, should imagine that

this cant could impose on the dullest reader! If Molière had put such a speech into the mouth of Tartuffe, we should have said that the fiction was unskilful, and that Orgon could not have been such a fool as to be taken in by it. Of the twenty-six years during which Walpole sat in Parliament, thirteen were years of war. Yet he did not, during all those thirteen years, utter a single word, or give a single vote, tending to peace. His most intimate friend—the only friend, indeed, to whom he appears to have been sincerely attached—Conway—was a soldier, was fond of his profession, and was perpetually intreating Mr Pitt to give him employment. In this, Walpole saw nothing but what was admirable. Conway was a hero for soliciting the command of expeditions, which Mr Pitt was a monster for sending out.

What then is the charm, the irresistible charm of Walpole's writings? It consists, we think, in the act of amusing without exciting. He never convinces the reason, nor fills the imagination, nor touches the heart; but he keeps the mind of the reader constantly attentive, and constantly entertained. He had a strange ingenuity peculiarly his own,—an ingenuity which appeared in all that he did,—in his building, in his gardening, in his upholstery, in the matter and in the manner of his writings. If we were to adopt the classification—not a very accurate classification—which Akenside has given of the pleasures of the Imagination, we should say, that with the Sublime and the Beautiful Walpole had nothing to do, but that the third province, the Odd, was his peculiar domain. The motto which he prefixed to his 'Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors,' might have been inscribed with perfect propriety over the door of every room in his house, and on the titlepage of every one of his books. 'Dove diavolo, Messer Ludovico, avete pigliate tante coglionerie?' In his villa, every apartment is a museum, every piece of furniture is a curiosity; there is something strange in the form of the shovel; there is a long story belonging to the bell-rope. We wander among a profusion of rarities, of trifling intrinsic value, but so quaint in fashion, or connected with such remarkable names and events, that they may well detain our attention for a moment. A moment is enough. Some new relic, some new unique, some new carved work, some new enamel, is forthcoming in an instant. One cabinet of trinkets is no sooner closed than another is opened. It is the same with Walpole's writings. It is not in their utility, it is not in their beauty, that their attraction lies. They are to the works of great historians and poets, what Strawberry Hill is to the museum of Sir Hans Sloane, or to the Gallery of Florence. Walpole is constantly showing us things,—

not of very great value indeed,—yet things which we are pleased to see, and which we can see nowhere else. They are baubles ; but they are made curiosities either by his grotesque workmanship, or by some association belonging to them. His style is one of those peculiar styles by which every body is attracted, and which nobody can safely venture to imitate. He is a mannerist whose manner has become perfectly easy to him. His affectation is so habitual, and so universal, that it can hardly be called affectation. The affectation is the essence of the man. It pervades all his thoughts and all his expressions. If it were taken away, nothing would be left. He coins new words, distorts the senses of old words, and twists sentences into forms which make grammarians stare. But all this he does, not only with an air of ease, but as if he could not help doing it. His wit was, in its essential properties, of the same kind with that of Cowley and Donne. Like theirs, it consisted in an exquisite perception of points of analogy, and points of contrast too subtle for common observation. Like them, Walpole perpetually startles us by the ease with which he yokes together ideas between which there would seem, at first sight, to be no connexion. But he did not, like them, affect the gravity of a lecture, and draw his illustrations from the laboratory and from the schools. His tone was light and fltering ; his topics were the topics of the club and the ball-room. And therefore his strange combinations, and far-fetched allusions, though very closely resembling those which tire us to death in the poems of the time of Charles the First, are read with pleasure constantly new.

No man who has written so much is so seldom tiresome. In his books there are scarcely any of those passages which, in our school days, we used to call *skip*. Yet he often wrote on subjects which are generally considered as dull,—on subjects which men of great talents have in vain endeavoured to render popular. When we compare the ‘Historic Doubts’ about Richard the Third with Whitaker’s and Chalmers’s books on a far more interesting question,—the character of Mary Queen of Scots ;—when we compare the ‘Anecdotes of Painting’ with Nichols’s ‘Anecdotes,’ or even with Mr D’Israeli’s ‘Quarrels of Authors and Calamities of Authors,’ we at once see Walpole’s superiority, not in industry, not in learning, not in accuracy, not in logical power, but in the art of writing what people will like to read. He rejects all but the attractive parts of his subject. He keeps only what is in itself amusing, or what can be made so by the artifice of his diction. The coarser morsels of antiquarian learning he abandons to others ; and sets out an entertainment worthy of a Roman epicure,—an entertainment consisting of nothing but delicacies,—

the brains of singing birds, the roe of mullets, the sunny halves of peaches. This, we think, is the great merit of his 'Romance.' There is little skill in the delineation of the characters. Manfred is as commonplace a tyrant, Jerome as commonplace a confessor, Theodore as commonplace a young gentleman, Isabella and Matilda as commonplace a pair of young ladies, as are to be found in any of the thousand Italian castles in which condottieri have revelled, or in which imprisoned duchesses have pined. We cannot say that we much admire the big man whose sword is dug up in one quarter of the globe, whose helmet drops from the clouds in another, and who, after clattering and rustling for some days, ends by kicking the house down. But the story, whatever its value may be, never flags for a single moment. There are no digressions, or unseasonable descriptions, or long speeches. Every sentence carries the action forward. The excitement is constantly renewed. Absurd as is the machinery, and insipid as are the human actors, no reader probably ever thought the book dull.

Walpole's 'Letters' are generally considered as his best performances, and, we think, with reason. His faults are far less offensive to us in his correspondence than in his books. His wild, absurd, and ever-changing opinions about men and things are easily pardoned in familiar letters. His bitter, scoffing, depreciating disposition, does not show itself in so unmitigated a manner as in his 'Memoirs.' A writer of letters must be civil and friendly to his correspondent at least, if to no other person.

He loved letter-writing, and had evidently studied it as an art. It was, in truth, the very kind of writing for such a man—for a man very ambitious to rank among wits, yet nervously afraid that, while obtaining the reputation of a wit, he might lose caste as a gentleman. There was nothing vulgar in writing a letter. Not even Ensign Northerton, not even the Captain described in Hamilton's *Baron*—and Walpole, though the author of many quartos, had some feelings in common with those gallant officers—would have denied that a gentleman might sometimes correspond with a friend. Whether Walpole bestowed much labour on the composition of his letters, it is impossible to judge from internal evidence. There are passages which seem perfectly unstudied. But the appearance of ease may be the effect of labour. There are passages which have a very artificial air. But they may have been produced without effort by a mind of which the natural ingenuity had been improved into morbid quickness by constant exercise. We are never sure that we see him as he was. We are never sure that what appears to be nature is not an effect of art. We are never sure that what appears to be art is not merely habit which has become second nature.

In wit and animation the present collection is not superior to those which have preceded it. But it has one great advantage over them all. It forms a connected whole—a regular journal of what appeared to Walpole the most important transactions of the last twenty years of George the Second's reign. It contains much new information concerning the history of that time—the portion of English history of which common readers know the least.

The earlier letters contain the most lively and interesting account which we possess of that 'great Walpolean battle,' to use the words of Junius, which terminated in the retirement of Sir Robert. Horace Walpole entered the House of Commons just in time to witness the last desperate struggle which his father, surrounded by enemies and traitors, maintained, with a spirit as brave as that of the column at Fontenoy, first for victory, and then for honourable retreat. Horace was, of course, on the side of his family. Lord Dover seems to have been enthusiastic on the same side, and goes so far as to call Sir Robert 'the glory of the Whigs.'

Sir Robert deserved this high eulogium, we think, as little as he deserved the abusive epithets which have often been coupled with his name. A fair character of him still remains to be drawn: and, whenever it shall be drawn, it will be equally unlike the portrait by Coxe and the portrait by Smollett.

He had, undoubtedly, great talents and great virtues. He was not, indeed, like the leaders of the party which opposed his Government—a brilliant orator. He was not a profound scholar, like Carteret, or a wit and a fine gentleman, like Chesterfield. In all these respects, his deficiencies were remarkable. His literature consisted of a scrap or two of Horace, and an anecdote or two from the end of the Dictionary. His knowledge of history was so limited, that, in the great debate on the Excise Bill, he was forced to ask Attorney-General Yorke who Empson and Dudley were. His manners were a little too coarse and boisterous even for that age of Westerns and Tophalls. When he ceased to talk of politics, he could talk of nothing but women; and he dilated on his favourite theme with a freedom which shocked even that plain-spoken generation, and which was quite unsuited to his age and station. The noisy revelry of his summer festivities at Houghton gave much scandal to grave people, and annually drove his kinsman and colleague, Lord Townshend, from the neighbouring mansion of Rainham.

But, however ignorant he might be of general history and of general literature, he was better acquainted than any man of his day with what it concerned him most to know, mankind, the English nation, the Court, the House of Commons, and his own

office. Of foreign affairs he knew little ; but his judgment was so good, that his little knowledge went very far. He was an excellent parliamentary debater, an excellent parliamentary tactician, an excellent man of business. No man ever brought more industry or more method to the transacting of affairs. No minister in his time did so much ; yet no minister had so much leisure.

He was a good-natured man, who had for thirty years seen nothing but the worst parts of human nature in other men. He was familiar with the malice of kind people, and the perfidy of honourable people. Proud men had licked the dust before him. Patriots had begged him to come up to the price of their puffed and advertised integrity. He said, after his fall, that it was a dangerous thing to be a minister,—that there were few minds which would not be injured by the constant spectacle of meanness and depravity. To his honour, it must be confessed, that few minds have come out of such a trial so little damaged in the most important parts. He retired, after more than twenty years of power, with a temper not soured, with a heart not hardened, with simple tastes, with frank manners, and with a capacity for friendship. No stain of treachery, of ingratitude, or of cruelty, rests on his memory. Factions hatred, while flinging on his name every other foul aspersion, was compelled to own that he was not a man of blood. This would scarcely seem a high eulogium on a statesman of our times. It was then a rare and honourable distinction. The contests of parties in England had long been carried on with a ferocity unworthy of a civilized people. Sir Robert Walpole was the minister who gave to our Government that character of lenity which it has since generally preserved. It was perfectly known to him that many of his opponents had dealings with the Pretender. The lives of some were at his mercy. He wanted neither Whig nor Tory precedents for using his advantage unsparingly. But, with a clemency to which posterity has never done justice, he suffered himself to be thwarted, vilified, and at last overthrown, by a party which included many men whose necks were in his power.

That he practised corruption on a large scale is, we think, indisputable. But whether he deserved all the invectives which have been uttered against him on that account may be questioned. No man ought to be severely censured for not being beyond his age in virtue. To buy the votes of constituents is as immoral as to buy the votes of representatives. The candidate who gives five guineas to the freeman, is as culpable as the man who gives three hundred guineas to the member. Yet we know that, in our own time, no man is thought wicked or dishonourable,—no man is cut,—no man is black-balled, because, under the old system of election, he was returned, in the only way in which he could be

returned, for East Retford, for Liverpool, or for Stafford. Walpole governed by corruption, because, in his time, it was impossible to govern otherwise. Corruption was unnecessary to the Tudors: for their Parliaments were feeble. The publicity which has of late years been given to parliamentary proceedings has raised the standard of morality among public men. The power of public opinion is so great, that, even before the reform of the representation, a faint suspicion that a minister had given pecuniary gratifications to Members of Parliament in return for their votes, would have been enough to ruin him. But, during the century which followed the Restoration, the House of Commons was in that situation in which assemblies must be managed by corruption, or cannot be managed at all. It was not held in awe, as in the sixteenth century, by the Throne. It was not held in awe, as in the nineteenth century, by the opinion of the people. Its constitution was oligarchical. Its deliberations were secret. Its power in the State was immense. The Government had every conceivable motive to offer bribes. Many of the members, if they were not men of strict honour and probity, had no conceivable motive to refuse what the Government offered. In the reign of Charles the Second, accordingly, the practice of buying votes in the House of Commons was commenced by the daring Clifford, and carried to a great extent by the crafty and shameless Danby. The Revolution, great and manifold as were the blessings of which it was directly or remotely the cause, at first aggravated this evil. The importance of the House of Commons was now greater than ever. The prerogatives of the Crown were more strictly limited than ever; and those associations in which, more than in its legal prerogatives, its power had consisted, were completely broken. No prince was ever in so helpless, so distressing a situation, as William the Third. The party which defended his title was, on general grounds, disposed to curtail his prerogative. The party which was, on general grounds, friendly to the prerogative, was adverse to his title. There was no quarter in which both his office and his person could find favour. But while the influence of the House of Commons in the Government was becoming paramount, the influence of the people over the House of Commons was declining. It mattered little in the time of Charles the First whether that House were or were not chosen by the people,—it was certain to act for the people,—because it would have been at the mercy of the Court, but for the support of the people. Now that the Court was at the mercy of the House of Commons, that large body of members who were not returned by popular election had nobody to please but themselves. Even those who were returned

by popular election did not live, as now, under a constant sense of responsibility. The constituents were not, as now, daily apprised of the votes and speeches of their representatives. The privileges which had, in old times, been indispensably necessary to the security and efficiency of Parliaments, were now superfluous. But they were still carefully maintained,—by honest legislators, from superstitious veneration,—by dishonest legislators, for their own selfish ends. They had been a useful defence to the Commons during a long and doubtful conflict with powerful sovereigns. They were now no longer necessary for that purpose; and they became a defence to the members against their constituents. That secrecy which had been absolutely necessary, in times when the Privy Council was in the habit of sending the leaders of opposition to the Tower, was preserved in times when a vote of the House of Commons was sufficient to hurl the most powerful minister from his post.

The Government could not go on unless the Parliament could be kept in order. And how was the Parliament to be kept in order? Three hundred years ago it would have been enough for a statesman to have the support of the Crown. It would now, we hope and believe, be enough for him to enjoy the confidence and approbation of the great body of the middle class. A hundred years ago it would not have been enough to have both Crown and people on his side. The Parliament had shaken off the control of the Royal prerogative. It had not yet fallen under the control of public opinion. A large proportion of the members had absolutely no motive to support any administration except their own interest, and in the lowest sense of the word. Under these circumstances, the country could be governed only by corruption. Bolingbroke, who was the ablest and the most vehement of those who raised the cry of corruption, had no better remedy to propose than that the Royal prerogative should be strengthened. The remedy would no doubt have been efficient. The only question is, whether it would not have been worse than the disease. The fault was in the constitution of the Legislature; and to blame those ministers who managed the Legislature in the only way in which it could be managed, is gross injustice. They submitted to extortion because they could not help themselves. We might as well accuse the poor Lowland farmers who paid 'black mail' to Rob Roy, of corrupting the virtues of the Highlanders, as Sir Robert Walpole of corrupting the virtue of Parliament. His crime was merely this,—that he employed his money more dexterously, and got more support in return for it, than any of those who preceded or followed him.

He was himself incorruptible by money. His dominant passion

was the love of power : and the heaviest charge which can be brought against him is, that to this passion he never scrupled to sacrifice the interests of his country.

One of the maxims which, as his son tells us, he was most in the habit of repeating was, *quieta non movere*. It was indeed the maxim by which he generally regulated his public conduct. It is the maxim of a man more solicitous to hold power long than to use it well. It is remarkable that, though he was at the head of affairs during more than twenty years, not one great measure, not one important change for the better or for the worse in any part of our institutions, marks the period of his supremacy. Nor was this because he did not clearly see that many changes were very desirable. He had been brought up in the school of toleration, at the feet of Somers and of Burnet. He disliked the shameful laws against Dissenters. But he never could be induced to bring forward a proposition for repealing them. The sufferers represented to him the injustice with which they were treated, boasted of their firm attachment to the House of Brunswick and to the Whig party, and reminded him of his own repeated declarations of good will to their cause. He listened, assented, promised, and did nothing. At length, the question was brought forward by others ; and the Minister, after a hesitating and evasive speech, voted against it. The truth was, that he remembered to the latest day of his life that terrible explosion of high-church feeling which the foolish prosecution of a foolish parson had occasioned in the days of Queen Anne. If the Dissenters had been turbulent he would probably have relieved them : but, while he apprehended no danger from them, he would not run the slightest risk for their sake. He acted in the same manner with respect to other questions. He knew the state of the Scotch Highlands. He was constantly predicting another insurrection in that part of the empire. Yet during his long tenure of power, he never attempted to perform what was then the most obvious and pressing duty of a British Statesman,—to break the power of the Chiefs, and to establish the authority of law through the furthest corners of the Island. Nobody knew better than he that, if this were not done, great mischiefs would follow. But the Highlands were tolerably quiet in his time. He was content to meet daily emergencies by daily expedients ; and he left the rest to his successors. They had to conquer the Highlands in the midst of a war with France and Spain, because he had not regulated the Highlands in a time of profound peace.

Sometimes, in spite of all his caution, he found that measures which he had hoped to carry through quietly, had caused great agitation. When this was the case he generally modified or with-

drew them. It was thus that he cancelled Wood's patent in compliance with the absurd outcry of the Irish. It was thus that he frittered away the Porteous Bill to nothing, for fear of exasperating the Scotch. It was thus that he abandoned the Excise Bill, as soon as he found that it was offensive to all the great towns of England. The language which he held about that measure in a subsequent session is eminently characteristic. Pulteney had insinuated that the scheme would be again brought forward. 'As to the wicked scheme,' said Walpole, 'as the gentleman is pleased to call it, which he would persuade gentlemen is not yet laid aside, I for my part, assure this House, I am not so mad as ever again to engage in any thing that looks like an Excise; though, in my private opinion, I still think it was a scheme that would have tended very much to the interest of the nation.'

The conduct of Walpole with regard to the Spanish war is the great blemish of his public life. Archdeacon Coxe imagined that he had discovered one grand principle of action to which the whole public conduct of his hero ought to be referred. 'Did the administration of Walpole,' says the biographer, 'present any uniform principle which may be traced in every part, and which gave combination and consistency to the whole? Yes, and that principle was, THE LOVE OF PEACE.' It would be difficult, we think, to bestow a higher eulogium on any statesman. But the eulogium is far too high for the merits of Walpole. The great ruling principle of his public conduct was indeed a love of peace, but not in the sense in which Archdeacon Coxe uses the phrase. The peace which Walpole sought was not the peace of the country, but the peace of his own administration. During the greater part of his public life, indeed, the two objects were inseparably connected. At length he was reduced to the necessity of choosing between them,—of plunging the State into hostilities for which there was no just ground, and by which nothing was to be got; or of facing a violent opposition in the country, in Parliament, and even in the royal closet. No person was more thoroughly convinced than he of the absurdity of the cry against Spain. But his darling power was at stake, and his choice was soon made. He preferred an unjust war to a stormy session. It is impossible to say of a Minister who acted thus, that the love of peace was the one grand principle to which all his conduct is to be referred. The governing principle of his conduct was neither love of peace nor love of war, but love of power.

The praise to which he is fairly entitled is this, that he understood the true interest of his country better than any of his contemporaries, and that he pursued that interest whenever it was not incompatible with the interests of his own intense and grasp-

ing ambition. It was only in matters of public moment that he shrunk from agitation, and had recourse to compromise. In his contests for personal influence there was no timidity, no flinching. He would have all or none. Every member of the Government who would not submit to his ascendancy was turned out or forced to resign. Liberal of every thing else, he was avaricious of nothing but power. Cautious every where else, when power was at stake he had all the boldness of Wolsey or Chatham. He might easily have secured his authority if he could have been induced to divide it with others. But he would not part with one fragment of it to purchase defenders for all the rest. The effect of this policy was, that he had able enemies and feeble allies. His most distinguished coadjutors left him one by one, and joined the ranks of the opposition. He faced the increasing array of his enemies with unbroken spirit, and thought it far better that they should inveigh against his power than that they should share it.

The opposition was in every sense formidable. At its head were two royal personages—the exiled head of the House of Stuart, the disgraced heir of the House of Brunswick. One set of members received directions from Avignon. Another set held their consultations and banquets at Norfolk House. The majority of the landed gentry,—the majority of the parochial clergy,—one of the universities,—and a strong party in the City of London, and in the other great towns, were decidedly adverse to the Government. Of the men of letters, some were exasperated by the neglect with which the minister treated them,—a neglect which was the more remarkable, because his predecessors, both Whig and Tory, had paid court with emulous munificence, to the wits and the poets;—others were honestly inflamed by party zeal; almost all lent their aid to the opposition. In truth, all that was alluring to ardent and imaginative minds was on that side;—old associations,—new visions of political improvement,—high-flown theories of loyalty,—high-flown theories of liberty,—the enthusiasm of the cavalier,—the enthusiasm of the roundhead. The Tory gentleman, fed in the common-rooms of Oxford with the doctrines of Filmer and Sacheverell, and proud of the exploits of his great-grandfather, who had charged with Rupert at Marston,—who had held out the old manor-house against Fairfax, and who, after the King's return, had been set down for a Knight of the Royal Oak,—flew to that section of the opposition which, under pretence of assailing the existing administration, was in truth assailing the reigning dynasty. The young republican, fresh from his Livy and his Lucan, and flowing with admiration of Hampden, of Russell, and of Sydney,

hastened with equal eagerness to those benches from which eloquent voices thundered nightly against the tyranny and perfidy of courts. So many young politicians were caught by these declarations, that Sir Robert, in one of his best speeches, observed, that the opposition against him consisted of three bodies,—the Tories, the discontented Whigs, who were known by the name of the patriots, and the boys. In fact, every young man of warm temper and lively imagination, whatever his political bias might be, was drawn into the party adverse to the Government; and some of the most distinguished among them—Pitt for example, among public men, and Johnson, among men of letters—afterwards openly acknowledged their mistake.

The aspect of the opposition, even while it was still a minority in the House of Commons, was very imposing. Among those who, in Parliament or out of Parliament, assailed the administration of Walpole, were Bolingbroke, Carteret, Chesterfield, Argyle, Pulteney, Wyndham, Dodington, Pitt, Lyttleton, Barnard, Pope, Swift, Gay, Arbuthnot, Fielding, Johnson, Thomson, Akenside, Glover.

The circumstance that the opposition was divided into two parties, diametrically opposed to each other in political opinions, was long the safety of Walpole. It was at last his ruin. The leaders of the minority knew that it would be difficult for them to bring forward any important measure, without producing an immediate schism in their party. It was with very great difficulty that the Whigs in opposition had been induced to give a sullen and silent vote for the repeal of the Septennial Act. The Tories, on the other hand, could not be induced to support Pulteney's motion for an addition to the income of Prince Frederic. The two parties had cordially joined in calling out for a war with Spain: but they now had their war. Hatred of Walpole was almost the only feeling which was common to them. On this one point, therefore, they concentrated their whole strength. With gross ignorance, or gross dishonesty, they represented the Minister as the main grievance of the state. His dismissal—his punishment—would prove the certain cure for all the evils which the nation suffered. What was to be done after his fall—how misgovernment was to be prevented in future—were questions to which there were as many answers as there were noisy and ill-informed members of the opposition. The only cry in which all could join was, 'Down with Walpole!' So much did they narrow the disputed ground—so purely personal did they make the question—that they threw out friendly hints to the other members of the Administration, and declared that they refused quarter

to the Prime Minister alone. His tools might keep their heads, their fortunes, even their places, if only the great father of corruption were given up to the just vengeance of the nation.

If the fate of Walpole's colleagues had been inseparably bound up with his, he probably would, even after the unfavourable elections of 1741, have been able to weather the storm. But as soon as it was understood that the attack was directed against him alone, and that, if he were sacrificed, his associates might expect advantageous and honourable terms, the ministerial ranks began to waver, and the murmur of *sauve qui peut* was heard. That Walpole had foul play is almost certain; but to what extent it is difficult to say. Lord Islay was suspected; the Duke of Newcastle something more than suspected. It would have been strange, indeed, if his grace had been idle when treason was hatching.

'Che Gan fu traditor prima che nato.'—'His name,' said Sir Robert, 'is perfidy.'

Never was a battle more manfully fought out than the last struggle of the old statesman. His clear judgment, his long experience, and his fearless spirit, enabled him to maintain a defensive war through half a session. To the last his heart never failed him; and, when at length he yielded, he yielded, not to the threats of his enemies, but to the intreaties of his dispirited and refractory followers. When he could no longer retain his power, he compounded for honour and security, and retired to his garden and his paintings, leaving to those who had overthrown him—shame, discord, and ruin.

Every thing was in confusion. It has been said that the confusion was produced by the dexterous policy of Walpole; and, undoubtedly, he did his best to sow dissension amongst his triumphant enemies. But there was little for him to do. Victory had completely dissolved the hollow truce which the two sections of the opposition had but imperfectly observed, even while the event of the contest was still doubtful. A thousand questions were opened in a moment. A thousand conflicting claims were preferred. It was impossible to follow any line of policy which would not have been offensive to a large portion of the successful party. It was impossible to find places for a tenth part of those who thought that they had a right to be considered. While the parliamentary leaders were preaching patience and confidence—while their followers were clamouring for reward, a still louder voice was heard from without—the terrible cry of a people angry, they hardly knew with whom—and impatient, they hardly knew for what. The day of retribution had arrived. The opposition reaped what they had sown; inflamed with hatred and cupi-

dity, despairing of success by any ordinary mode of political warfare, and blind to consequences which, though remote, were certain, they had conjured up a devil which they could not lay. They had made the public mind drunk with calumny and declamation. They had raised expectations which it was impossible to satisfy. The downfall of Walpole was to be the beginning of a political millennium; and every enthusiast had figured to himself that millennium according to the fashion of his own wishes. The republican expected that the power of the Crown would be reduced to a mere shadow—the high Tory that the Stuarts would be restored—the moderate Tory that the golden days which the Church and the landed interest had enjoyed during the last years of Queen Anne, would immediately return. It would have been impossible to satisfy every body. The conquerors satisfied nobody.

We have no reverence for the memory of those who were then called the patriots. We are for the principles of good government against Walpole; and for Walpole against the opposition. It was most desirable that a purer system should be introduced; but if the old system was to be retained, no man was so fit as Walpole to be at the head of affairs. There were frightful abuses in the Government—abuses more than sufficient to justify a strong opposition; but the party opposed to Walpole, while they stimulated the popular fury to the highest point, were at no pains to direct it aright. Indeed, they studiously misdirected it. They misrepresented the evil. They prescribed inefficient and pernicious remedies. They held up a single man as the sole cause of all the vices of a bad system, which had been in full operation before his entrance into public life, and which continued to be in full operation when some of these very bawlers had succeeded to his power. They thwarted his best measures. They drove him into an unjustifiable war against his will. Constantly talking in magnificent language about tyranny, corruption, wicked ministers, servile courtiers, the liberties of Englishmen, the Great Charter, the rights for which our fathers bled—Timoleon, Brutus, Hampden, Sydney—they had absolutely nothing to propose which would have been an improvement on our institutions. Instead of directing the public mind to definite reforms, which might have completed the work of the revolution,—which might have brought the legislature into harmony with the nation, and which might have prevented the Crown from doing by influence what it could no longer do by prerogative—they excited a vague craving for change, by which they profited for a single moment, and of which, as they well deserved, they were soon the victims.

Among the reforms which the state then required, there were two of paramount importance—two which would alone have remedied almost every abuse, and without which all other remedies would have been unavailing—the publicity of parliamentary proceedings, and the abolition of the rotten boroughs. Neither of these was thought of. It seems to us clear, that if these were not adopted, all other measures would have been illusory. Some of the patriots suggested changes which would, beyond all doubt, have increased the existing evils a hundredfold. These men wished to transfer the disposal of employments, and the command of the army, from the Crown to the Parliament; and this on the very ground that the Parliament had long been a grossly corrupt body. The security against corruption was to be, that the members, instead of having a portion of the public plunder doled out to them by a minister, were to help themselves.

The other schemes of which the public mind was full, were less dangerous than this. Some of them were in themselves harmless. But none of them would have done much good, and most of them were extravagantly absurd. What they were we may learn from the instructions which many constituent bodies, immediately after the change of administration, sent up to their representatives. A more deplorable collection of follies can hardly be imagined. There is, in the first place, a general cry for Walpole's head. Then there are bitter complaints of the decay of trade—decay which, in the judgment of these enlightened politicians, was all brought about by Walpole and corruption. They would have been nearer to the truth if they had attributed their sufferings to the war into which they had driven Walpole against his better judgment. He had foretold the effects of his unwilling concession. On the day when hostilities against Spain were proclaimed, when the heralds were attended into the city by the chiefs of the opposition, when the Prince of Wales himself stopped at Temple-Bar to drink success to the English arms, the Minister heard all the steeples of the city jingling with a merry peal, and muttered, 'They may ring the bells now: they will be wringing their hands before long.'

Another grievance for which of course Walpole and corruption were answerable, was the great exportation of English wool. In the judgment of the sagacious electors of several large towns, the remedying of this evil was a matter second only in importance to the hanging of Sir Robert. There are also earnest injunctions on the members to vote against standing armies in time of peace—injunctions which were, to say the least, ridiculously unreasonable in the midst of a war which was likely to last, and which did actually last, as long as the Parliament. The repeal of the Septennial

Act, as was to be expected, was strongly pressed. Nothing was more natural than that the voters should wish for a triennial recurrence of their bribes and their ale. We feel firmly convinced that the repeal of the Septennial Act, unaccompanied by a complete reform of the constitution of the elective body, would have been an unmixed curse to the country. The only rational recommendation which we can find in all these instructions is, that the number of placemen in Parliament should be limited, and that pensioners should not be allowed to sit there. It is plain, however, that this reform was far from going to the root of the evil; and that, if it had been adopted, the consequence would probably have been, that secret bribery would have been more practised than ever.

We will give one more instance of the absurd expectations which the declamations of the opposition had raised in the country. Akenside was one of the fiercest and most uncompromising of the young patriots out of Parliament. When he found that the change of administration had produced no change of system, he gave vent to his indignation in the 'Epistle to Curio,' the best poem that he ever wrote—a poem, indeed, which seems to indicate, that, if he had left lyric composition to Gray and Collins, and had employed his powers in grave and elevated satire, he might have disputed the pre-eminence of Dryden. But whatever be the literary merits of the epistle, we can say nothing in praise of the political doctrines which it inculcates. The poet, in a rapturous apostrophe to the Spirits of the Great Men of Antiquity, tells us what he expected from Pulteney at the moment of the fall of the tyrant.

' See private life by wisest arts reclaimed,
See ardent youth to noblest manners framed,
See us achieve what'er was sought by you,
If Curio—only Curio—will be true.'

It was Pulteney's business, it seems, to abolish faro and masquerades, to stent the young Duke of Marlborough to a bottle of brandy a-day, and to prevail on Lady Vane to be content with three lovers at a time.

Whatever the people wanted, they certainly got nothing. Walpole retired in safety, and the multitude were defrauded of the expected show on Tower Hill. The Septennial Act was not repealed. The placemen were not turned out of the House of Commons. Wool, we believe, was still exported. 'Private life' afforded as much scandal as if the reign of Walpole and corruption had continued; and 'ardent youth' fought with watchmen, and betted with blacklegs as much as ever.

The colleagues of Walpole had, after his retreat, admitted some of the chiefs of the opposition into the Government. They soon found themselves compelled to submit to the ascendancy of one of their new allies. This was Lord Carteret, afterwards Earl Granville. No public man of that age had greater courage, greater ambition, greater activity, greater talents for debate, or for declamation. No public man had such profound and extensive learning. He was familiar with the ancient writers. His knowledge of modern languages was prodigious. The privy council, when he was present, needed no interpreter. He spoke and wrote French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, German, even Swedish. He had pushed his researches into the most obscure nooks of literature. He was as familiar with Canonists and Schoolmen as with orators and poets. He had read all that the universities of Saxony and Holland had produced on the most intricate questions of public law. Harte, in the preface to the second edition of the 'History of Gustavus Adolphus,' bears a remarkable testimony to the extent and accuracy of Lord Carteret's knowledge. 'It was my good fortune or prudence to keep the main body of my army (or in other words my matters of fact) safe and entire. The late Earl of Granville was pleased to declare himself of this opinion; especially when he found that I had made Ciemnitiuss one of my principal guides; for his lordship was apprehensive I might not have seen that valuable and authentic book, which is extremely scarce. I thought myself happy to have contented his Lordship even in the lowest degree: for he understood the German and Swedish histories to the highest perfection.'

With all this learning, Carteret was far from being a pedant. His was not one of those cold spirits, of which the fire is put out by the fuel. In council, in debate, in society, he was all life and energy. His measures were strong, prompt, and daring; his oratory animated and glowing. His spirits were constantly high. No misfortune, public or private, could depress him. He was at once the most unlucky and the happiest public man of his time.

He had been Secretary of State in Walpole's administration, and had acquired considerable influence over the mind of George the First. The other Ministers could speak no German. The King could speak no English. All the communication that Walpole held with his master was in very bad Latin. Carteret dismayed his colleagues by the volubility with which he addressed his Majesty in German. They listened with envy and terror to the mysterious gutturals which might possibly convey suggestions very little in unison with their wishes.

Walpole was not a man to endure such a colleague as Carteret. The King was induced to give up his favourite. Carteret joined

the opposition, and signalized himself at the head of that party, till, after the retirement of his old rival, he again became Secretary of State.

During some months he was chief Minister—indeed sole Minister. He gained the confidence and regard of George the Second. He was at the same time in high favour with the Prince of Wales. As a debater in the House of Lords, he had no equal among his colleagues. Among his opponents, Chesterfield alone could be considered as his match. Confident in his talents and in the royal favour, he neglected all those means by which the power of Walpole had been created and maintained. His head was full of treaties and expeditions, of schemes for supporting the Queen of Hungary, and humbling the House of Bourbon. He contemptuously abandoned to others all the drudgery, and, with the drudgery, all the fruits of corruption. The patronage of the Church and the Bar he left to the Pelhams as a trifle unworthy of his care. One of the judges,—Chief Justice Willis, if we remember rightly,—went to him to beg some ecclesiastical preferment for a friend. Carteret said, that he was too much occupied with Continental Politics to think about the disposal of places and benefices. ‘You may rely on it, then,’ said the Chief Justice, ‘that people who want places and benefices will go to those who have more leisure.’ The prediction was accomplished. It would have been a busy time indeed in which the Pelhams had wanted leisure for jobbing; and to the Pelhams the whole cry of place-hunters and pension-hunters resorted. The parliamentary influence of the two brothers became stronger every day, till at length they were at the head of a decided majority in the House of Commons. Their rival, meanwhile, conscious of his powers, sanguine in his hopes, and proud of the storm which he had conjured up on the Continent, would brook neither superior nor equal. ‘His rants,’ says Horace Walpole, ‘are amazing: so are his parts and his spirits.’ He encountered the opposition of his colleagues, not with the fierce haughtiness of the first Pitt, or the cold unbending arrogance of the second, but with a gay vehemence, a good-humoured imperiousness that bore every thing down before it. The period of his ascendancy was known by the name of the ‘Drunken Administration;’ and the expression was not altogether figurative. His habits were extremely convivial, and Champagne probably lent its aid to keep him in that state of joyous excitement in which his life was passed.

That a rash and impetuous man of genius like Carteret should not have been able to maintain his ground in Parliament against the crafty and selfish Pelhams, is not strange. But it is less easy

to understand why he should have been generally unpopular throughout the country. His brilliant talents, his bold and open temper, ought, it should seem, to have made him a favourite with the public. But the people had been bitterly disappointed; and he had to face the first burst of their rage. His close connexion with Pulteney, now the most detested man in the nation, was an unfortunate circumstance. He had indeed only three partisans, —Pulteney, the King, and the Prince of Wales,—a most singular assemblage.

He was driven from his office. He shortly after made a bold, indeed a desperate attempt to recover power. The attempt failed. From that time he relinquished all ambitious hopes, and retired laughing to his books and his bottle. No statesman ever enjoyed success with so exquisite a zest, or submitted to defeat with so genuine and unforced a cheerfulness. Ill as he had been used, he did not seem, says Horace Walpole, to have any resentment, or indeed any feeling except thirst.

These letters contain many good stories,—some of them no doubt grossly exaggerated, about Lord Carteret;—how, in the height of his greatness, he fell in love at first sight on a birthday with Lady Sophia Fermor, the handsome daughter of Lord Pomfret;—how he plagued the Cabinet every day with reading to them her ladyship's letters;—how strangely he brought home his bride;—what fine jewels he gave her;—how he fondled her at Ranelagh;—and what queen-like state she kept in Arlington Street. Horace Walpole has spoken less bitterly of Carteret than of any public man of that time, Fox, perhaps, excepted; and this is the more remarkable, because Carteret was one of the most inveterate enemies of Sir Robert. In the 'Memoirs,' Horace Walpole, after passing in review all the great men whom England had produced within his memory, concludes by saying, that in genius none of them equalled Lord Granville. Smollett, in 'Humphrey Clinker,' pronounces a similar judgment in coarser language. 'Since Granville was turned out, there has been no minister in this nation worth the meal that whitened his periwig.'

He fell; and the reign of the Pelhams commenced. It was Carteret's misfortune to be raised to power when the public mind was still smarting from recent disappointment. The nation had been duped, and was eager for revenge. A victim was necessary,—and on such occasions, the victims of popular rage are selected like the victim of Jephthah. The first person who comes in the way is made the sacrifice. The wrath of the people had now spent itself, and the unnatural excitement was succeeded by an unnatural calm. To an irrational eagerness for something

new, succeeded an equally irrational disposition to acquiesce in every thing established. A few months back the people had been disposed to impute every crime to men in power, and to lend a ready ear to the high professions of men in opposition : they were now disposed to surrender themselves implicitly to the management of ministers, and to look with suspicion and contempt on all who pretended to public spirit. The name of patriot had become a byword of derision. Horace Walpole scarcely exaggerated when he said, that in those times, the most popular declaration which a candidate could make on the hustings was, that he had never been and never would be a patriot. At this conjuncture took place the rebellion of the Highland clans. The alarm produced by that event quieted the strife of internal factions. The suppression of the insurrection crushed for ever the spirit of the Jacobite party. Room was made in the Government for a few Tories. Peace was patched up with France and Spain. Death removed the Prince of Wales, who had contrived to keep together a small portion of that formidable opposition of which he had been the leader in the time of Sir Robert Walpole. Almost every man of weight in the House of Commons was officially connected with the Government. The even tenor of the session of Parliament was ruffled only by an occasional harangue from Lord Egmont on the army estimates. For the first time since the accession of the Stuarts there was no opposition. This singular good fortune, denied to the ablest statesmen,—to Salisbury, to Strafford, to Clarendon, to Walpole,—had been reserved for the Pelhams.

Henry Pelham, it is true, was by no means a contemptible person. His understanding was that of Walpole on a somewhat smaller scale. Though not a brilliant orator, he was, like his master, a good debater, a good parliamentary tactician, a good man of business. Like his master, he distinguished himself by the neatness and clearness of his financial expositions. Here the resemblance ceased. Their characters were altogether dissimilar. Walpole was good-humoured, but would have his way : his spirits were high, and his manners frank even to coarseness. The temper of Pelham was yielding, but peevish : his habits were regular, and his deportment strictly decorous. Walpole was constitutionally fearless, Pelham constitutionally timid. Walpole had to face a strong opposition ; but no man in the government durst wag a finger against him. Almost all the opposition which Pelham had was from members of the government of which he was the head. His own paymaster spoke against his estimates. His own secretary at war spoke against his Regency Bill. In one day Walpole turned Lord Chesterfield, Lord Bur-

lington, and Lord Clinton, out of the royal household,—dismissed the highest dignitaries of Scotland from their posts,—and took away the regiments of the Duke of Bolton and Lord Cobham, because he suspected them of having encouraged the resistance to his Excise Bill. He would far rather have contended with a strong minority, under able leaders, than have tolerated mutiny in his own party. It would have gone hard with any of his colleagues who had ventured to divide the House of Commons against him. Pelham, on the other hand, was disposed to bear any thing rather than drive from office any man round whom a new opposition could form. He therefore endured with fretful patience the insubordination of Pitt and Fox. He thought it far better to connive at their occasional infractions of discipline, than to hear them, night after night, thundering against corruption and wicked ministers from the other side of the House.

We wonder that Sir Walter Scott never tried his hand on the Duke of Newcastle. An interview between his Grace and Jeanie Deans would have been delightful, and by no means unnatural. There is scarcely any public man in our history, of whose manners and conversation so many particulars have been preserved. Single stories may be unfounded or exaggerated. But all the stories, whether told by people who were perpetually seeing him in Parliament, and attending his levee in Lincoln's Inn Fields, or by Grub Street writers, who never had more than a glimpse of his star through the windows of his gilded coach, are of the same character. Horace Walpole and Smollett differed in their tastes and opinions as much as two human beings could differ. They kept quite different society. The one played at cards with countesses, and corresponded with ambassadors. The other passed his life surrounded by a knot of famished scribblers. Yet Walpole's Duke, and Smollett's Duke, are as like as if they were both from one hand. Smollett's Newcastle runs out of his dressingroom, with his face covered with soap-suds, to embrace the Moorish envoy. Walpole's Newcastle pushes his way into the Duke of Grafton's sickroom to kiss the old nobleman's plasters. No man was ever so unmercifully satirized. But in truth he was himself a satire ready made. All that the art of the satirist does for other ridiculous men, nature had done for him. Whatever was absurd about him stood out with grotesque prominence from the rest of the character. He was a living, moving, talking, caricature. His gait was a shuffling trot; his utterance a rapid stutter; he was always in a hurry; he was never in time; he abounded in fulsome caresses and in hysterical tears. His oratory resembled that of Justice Shallow. It was nonsense' efferrescent with animal spirits and impertinence. Of his ignorance

many anecdotes remain, some well authenticated, some probably invented at coffeehouses, but all exquisitely characteristic. 'Oh —yes—yes—to be sure—Annapolis must be defended—troops must be sent to Annapolis—Pray where is Annapolis?'—'Cape Breton an island! wonderful—show it me in the map. So it is, sure enough. My dear sir,—you always bring us good news. I must go and tell the King that Cape Breton is an island.'

And this man was, during nearly thirty years, Secretary of State—and, during nearly ten years, First Lord of the Treasury! His large fortune, his strong hereditary connexion, his great Parliamentary interest, will not alone explain this extraordinary fact. His success is a signal instance of what may be effected by a man who devotes his whole heart and soul without reserve to one object. He was eaten up by ambition. His love of influence and authority resembled the avarice of the old Usurer in the 'Fables of Nigél.' It was so intense a passion, that it supplied the place of talents, that it inspired even fatuity with cunning. 'Have no money dealings with my father,' says Martha to Lord Glenvarloch; 'for, dotard as he is, he will make an ass of you.' It was as dangerous to have any political connexion with Newcastle as to buy and sell with old Trapbois. He was greedy after power with a greediness all his own. He was jealous of all his colleagues, and even of his own brother. Under the disguise of levity he was false beyond all example of political falsehood. All the able men of his time ridiculed him as a dunce, a driveller, a child who never knew his own mind for an hour together; and he overreached them all round.

If the country had remained at peace, it is not impossible that this man would have continued at the head of affairs without admitting any other person to a share of his authority, until the Throne was filled by a new Prince, who brought with him new maxims of Government, new favourites, and a strong will. But the inauspicious commencement of the Seven Years' War brought on a crisis to which Newcastle was altogether unequal. After a calm of fifteen years the spirit of the nation was again stirred to its inmost depths. In a few days the whole aspect of the political world was changed.

But that change is too remarkable an event to be discussed at the end of an article already too long. It is probable that we may, at no remote time, resume the subject.

NOTE RESPECTING MR DE FELLEBERG'S ESTABLISHMENTS
AT HOFWYL.

WE had intended to insert, in this Number, an article on the subject of Mr De Fellenberg's establishments, particularly on that for the maintenance and education of poor children in an agricultural seminary. The subject derives at present a peculiar interest from the enquiries of the Commissioners on the Poor Laws, and other circumstances. But we have been induced to postpone our observations, in consequence of having been informed that a gentleman, who is fully qualified to do the subject justice, and who has recently been residing at Hofwyl—Mr Duppa—has a work in preparation respecting its establishments. The great success which has attended Mr De Fellenberg's labours, prompted as they have ever been by the purest benevolence, and guided by sound and judicious views, renders his experience most valuable in all the great discussions which are now likely to arise both upon the Poor Laws and upon National Education. His institution for the instruction of Schoolmasters—an object of vast importance—deserves particular attention. It succeeded perfectly, and was tried long before the system was adopted in Prussia.

It is truly painful to think that the government of the countries which his wise and patriotic exertions so greatly benefit, as well as honour, should, both in the earlier stage of his labours, and still more of late, have shown a disposition to discourage, and even to thwart, his proceedings. The knowledge of the petty annoyances to which he has been exposed ought not to be confined to the obscure cantons where they have been so unworthily exemplified. Mr Duppa, we trust, will not be prevented by any misplaced delicacy from making them fully known in this country, where they are sure to meet the reprobation they so well deserve.

ERRATUM.

THE quotation from Professor Pillans's work on Teaching, contained in the Note at page 525 of our Number for July, instead of being, as there given and printed, 'the *very opposite*, if not openly avowed, is at least *invariably* acted on,' ought to have been as follows :—'the very opposite, if not openly avowed, is at least almost invariably acted upon.'

No. CXVIII. will be published in January.

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THE
EDINBURGH REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1834.

No. CXVIII.

ART. I.—1. *An Enquiry into the Expediency of the existing Restrictions on the Importation of Foreign Corn.* By JOHN BARTON, Esq. 8vo. London: 1833.

2. *Report from the Select Committee on Agriculture, with Minutes of Evidence.* Printed by order of the House of Commons, Aug. 19, 1833.

THERE are few, if any, practical questions of deeper or more general importance than that respecting the regulation of the Trade in Corn. Unluckily, however, so many interests are involved in its settlement; such exaggerated notions are entertained as to the advantages that must result to some, and the injury that must be done to others, by maintaining the existing regulations, or by the adoption of others, that the difficulty of the question is at least equal to its importance. But however great the obstacles in the way of its proper settlement, we are satisfied that they will not be lessened by delaying, if that were possible, the discussion of the question. The sooner it is resolutely grappled with the better. The apprehension of changes, indefinite in their nature, and of which, consequently, no one can pretend to appreciate the effect, is quite fatal to the vigorous and successful prosecution of any branch of industry. If there has been of late years any decline of agricultural enterprise, or if fewer expensive plans of improvement have been undertaken, it is principally ascribable to the general conviction that the present system of corn laws cannot be upheld; that a change of some sort or other must take place; and that no one can foretell its nature, or the extent to which it may be carried. It is, therefore, of the last importance, if we would give that feeling of security to the agriculturists that is so essential, that a well-considered

effort should be made to adjust the regulations as to the corn trade on sound principles, and in such a way as may appear best fitted to promote the interests of all classes. We are not, indeed, sanguine enough to suppose, that any arrangement which it is possible to suggest will satisfy the zealots either of the party opposed to the corn laws, or of that by which they are supported. But we believe that there is a great and growing party, both amongst the town and country population, who entertain more moderate and rational views. They are anxious to see the question settled by the adoption of a middle course; and we feel satisfied that this policy is recommended not only by the peculiar circumstances and exigencies of the case, but that it is the only one consistent with sound principle, and the treatment of all parties with the same equal and impartial justice. If we would place the corn laws on a firm foundation, and get rid of that perpetual agitation and threatening of change that is the bane of industry, they must be modified so as to satisfy the reasonable wishes and desires of this great middle party. There will, no doubt, be various obstacles in the way even of a change of this sort. But if it be, as we are well convinced is the fact, neither prudent nor possible to maintain these laws on their present footing, a wise statesman should not unnecessarily delay the introduction of the requisite changes, and should not be deterred by difficulties that may be overcome by proper firmness and judicious arrangements. We do not know that we shall be able to throw much light on so complex a question; but having given some attention to it, we shall avail ourselves of this opportunity briefly to enquire into the nature and extent of the modifications required to place our corn laws on a satisfactory footing; and having done this, we shall next endeavour to show that they may be adopted with little inconvenience to any party; and that they can hardly fail of being productive of very great national advantage.

It cannot surely be necessary that we should enter, at this time of day, into any lengthened disquisition to prove the advantages of being able to obtain abundant supplies of raw produce at a low price. Every one engaged in industrious undertakings is uniformly anxious to find out means for facilitating production, and, consequently, of making commodities cheaper and more easily obtained; and the merit of any invention in the useful arts, is principally determined by its influence in this respect. Why is it that Brindley, Arkwright, Watt, Bakewell, Meikle, and other inventors, are regarded as benefactors of their species, and as having contributed in no ordinary degree to the advancement of the country? The answer is obvious. Their inventions, by facilitating the production and conveyance of commodities, have

increased their quantity, and reduced their price, to an extent that could hardly have been conceived possible; and have, by so doing, added proportionally to the wealth and enjoyments of all classes. It might not, perhaps, be good policy to attempt, supposing it were practicable, to accelerate improvement by legislative premiums and encouragements; but it is very difficult to suppose that there can be any circumstances that would justify the legislature in interfering to check invention; or in upholding, by artificial regulations, the price of any article, especially if it be one of prime necessity. Where, owing to the employment of improved machinery, the discovery of new channels of commerce, or the breaking down of monopolies, the labour required to produce, or the money required to purchase any article, is diminished, it is as clear as the sun at noon-day, that more labour or money must remain to produce or purchase other desirable articles. And if any considerable saving could be effected in the cost of so important a commodity as corn, the means of procuring other necessaries, conveniences, and enjoyments, would be very materially augmented. There can be no question, indeed, that any regulation tending to enhance the cost of so indispensable an article is, *prima facie*, the most objectionable that can be imagined. A number of articles might be specified, the high or low price of which is of very trivial consequence. But corn enters so largely into the consumption of all classes, and forms so important a part of the expenditure of the labourer, that any artificial increase of its price occasions privations, and withholds enjoyments, in a tenfold greater degree than would be done by enhancing the cost of almost any thing else.

What has now been stated seems so very obvious, that we should only be practising on the patience of our readers if we attempted to strengthen it by argument. In the present instance, too, this would be quite superfluous. All the intelligent advocates of the existing corn laws,—all those in fact whose opinion upon such a subject is entitled to any respect,—would subscribe to every thing that has just been stated. They do not object to the principles we have laid down, but to their application, or their completeness. They admit, that had no restrictions been formerly imposed on the importation of corn, it might now be highly inexpedient to enact them; but they contend that, as restrictions have existed for a lengthened period, as much capital has been invested, and many great and important interests have grown up under their protection, they have become so interwoven with our whole social economy that they could not be repealed, or materially modified, without occasioning very great loss to the agricultural classes, and much general derangement; and that it is by no means clear that the ultimate good to be derived from the

measure, supposing it were realised to the fullest extent, would be sufficient to countervail the ruin and embarrassment that must, in the first instance at least, follow its adoption. They farther contend, that the restriction on the importation of corn, is not a favour conferred on the agriculturists, but that they are entitled to it as an act of justice; that they are loaded with heavier burdens than any other class; and that it would be grossly unfair to admit foreign corn without subjecting it to a duty equivalent to these extra burdens. These seem to be the most cogent arguments that can be adduced in favour of the existing regulations. But it has, also, been contended, that though a more liberal system might be introduced without inflicting any material injury or injustice on the agricultural classes, it might well be doubted whether its introduction would be expedient; that cheapness is not the only, nor even the principal consideration to be attended to in a matter of this sort; that security is of paramount importance; and that the power and prosperity of a great nation cannot be otherwise than precarious, if she depend upon others for any considerable portion of her subsistence.

Such are the statements that have been, or may be put forth by the apologists of restrictions on the importation of corn; and it is not to be denied that they are entitled to very great attention. It is difficult to compare the precise amount of the burdens laid on the agriculturists with those laid generally on the other classes: considering, however, the peculiar way in which they are affected by tithes, poor-rates, and other local imposts, we have no doubt that they are very decidedly higher. Now, if such be the case, the agriculturists are clearly entitled to insist, as matter of strict justice, that a duty shall be laid on all foreign raw produce sufficient fully to countervail the peculiar taxes with which they are affected. Suppose, to illustrate this principle, that hatters and glovers are equally taxed: under such circumstances, neither party could complain that they were unfairly dealt by, were foreign hats and gloves admitted under equal *ad valorem* duties. But suppose that a tax of five or ten per cent is laid on the articles produced by the hatter, or on his profits, from which the glover is exempted; in such a case, no one can doubt that the hatter would be unjustly treated, if the duty on foreign hats were not increased in a corresponding ratio: unless this were done, the peculiar duty with which he was affected, would place him in a comparatively disadvantageous situation; and though he might not be entirely driven from his business, his profits could hardly fail of being reduced below the level of those of the glovers. So long as taxation affects all classes equally, none of them has any peculiar right to complain; nor can it, however heavy, justify any attempts to protect either one or more classes from foreign competition. But

whenever it ceases to be equal, whenever it presses more severely on some than on others, that moment do those that are most heavily taxed acquire a legitimate claim to an equivalent protection. It is impossible to refuse them this, without trampling on every principle of justice. Such protection is not given to them as a favour; but to keep them where they have a right to be kept,—on the same level as the other classes of their countrymen. If they be relieved from these peculiar burdens, the necessity for the countervailing duties will of course cease, and they may, and, indeed, ought, to be repealed forthwith; but the equalization of taxation at home must, in all cases, precede the equalization of the duties on importation from abroad.

Although, therefore, we are advocates for an alteration of the corn laws, we are no advocates for the introduction of foreign corn free of duty. However advantageous this might be to certain classes, we are not to promote their interests by acting unjustly by others equally entitled to protection. When the tithes, poor-rates, and other local burdens, that now press with peculiar severity on the agriculturists, have been equalized, and made to press equally on the monied and mercantile classes, the right of the agriculturists to a protecting duty will cease, and it will be as open to the legislature to deal with it as with any other duty.

But while we are quite as willing as the most determined champions of the agriculturists to concede their claim to such a duty, we contend that its amount must be determined by the circumstances which vindicate its imposition,—that is, by the amount of the extra burdens laid on the agriculturists; and we farther contend, that its amount, when ascertained, must be fixed and constant, at least until the peculiar burdens affecting the agriculturists be increased or diminished; and that it can have nothing to do with the prices of corn in Great Britain or on the Continent. It ought to be imposed, not to benefit the agriculturists, but to do them justice—to balance the excess of taxes with which they are charged; and as this excess is not affected by variations of price, so neither ought the countervailing duty.

The total amount of the sums levied in England and Wales on account of the poor, and of other public rates, exclusive of tithes, may be taken at about *ten* millions a-year; of which above two millions are levied from houses, mills, &c., leaving not quite eight millions to be defrayed by the land. It is not possible to form any precise estimate of the value of tithes; but, taking them in England at three millions, we shall have a sum of eleven millions, which may be regarded as forming, for the most part, a peculiar burden on the land of England; to which about a million more may be added for Scotland. No estimate, having the smallest pretensions to accuracy, has been formed of the total annual value of the agricultural produce of the empire; but if

such an estimate were formed, the countervailing duty on the importation of foreign corn, butter, cheese, beef, seeds, &c., should be an *ad valorem* one; bearing the same relation to the articles on which it is laid, that the twelve millions of extra charge laid on the agriculturists bears to the entire value of their products. But in a case of this sort, minute accuracy is not to be affected; and we should rather err on the side of too much production than of too little. There does not seem to be any reason whatever for supposing that the agriculturists are fairly entitled to a countervailing duty of above 4s. or 4s. 6d. a-quarter on wheat, and other grain in proportion; but, to obviate all cavilling, and to take away all pretence for affirming that they had been harshly treated, we should not object to allowing them a duty of 6s. or 7s. a-quarter. The quantity of the different sorts of grain annually produced in Great Britain is not certainly less than 42,000,000 of quarters; and, taking the average duty at 5s., it would amount upon this quantity to no less than 10½ millions sterling; being nearly equal to all the peculiar taxes falling on the agriculturists,—even supposing (for which, however, there is not the shadow of a ground) that they fall exclusively on corn. But wherever the public have to deal with a particular class, it is always best to lean in its favour; and the advantages that would be derived from opening the ports at all times to importation at a fixed duty of 6s. or 7s. would be so very great, that an adjustment of the question on this footing would satisfy all reasonable persons.

The restrictions that at present exist, and that have existed for a lengthened period, on the importation of corn, are bottomed on very different principles from those above laid down. They are not intended fairly to countervail the peculiar burdens of the agriculturists, but to maintain prices in this country at a forced elevation. At an average, we do not grow enough of grain for our supply; and, in order artificially to enhance its price above its natural level, a *graduated scale* of duties has been devised, diminishing as the home prices increase, and increasing as they diminish; so that in some years the importation is very great, while in others it is absolutely nothing. Such a system is in all respects objectionable. It is, in fact, completely opposed to every principle for the attainment of which society is formed. All laws, having reference to domestic economy, ought to have for their object to facilitate, as far as that can be done without trenching on the just rights of individuals, the acquisition, and to reduce the cost of commodities. But the object of the corn laws is exactly the reverse. They are avowedly intended to maintain the price of wheat in this country at between 60s. and 70s. a-quarter; and, in furtherance of this object, they impose a duty of no less than 24s. 8d. a-quarter on foreign corn entered for home consumption, when the price of British corn is between 62s. and 63s. a-quarter!

And their defenders are forward to admit that they have answered their expectations ; that they create a permanent artificial scarcity, or, in other words, maintain prices at an unnatural elevation ; and they, consistently enough it must be admitted, deprecate their repeal or modification, mainly because it would be followed by a reduction of prices.

But even if they did not artificially increase prices, the influence of the corn laws over the commerce of the country is so very hostile to the public interests, as to render their modification quite indispensable. Great Britain, of all countries that ever existed, is the least favourably situated for restrictions on importation. The state of society amongst us is, in many respects, peculiar. It is not possible to specify another country, either in the ancient or modern world, with so vast a population having no property in the soil, nor any concern in its culture, but depending wholly on the demand of foreigners for their peculiar productions. The enormous amount of the town population, and their precarious condition, are circumstances that cannot fail, when maturely reflected upon, to excite the apprehensions even of the most sanguine. Were any thing to occur to shake or undermine our commercial and manufacturing system, it is not easy to imagine the consequences. In the United States, and in almost every part of the Continent, the population dependent on foreign demand is so trifling compared with the rest, that it could easily be provided for, though their intercourse with foreigners were cut off. But here it is far otherwise. We are not only more densely peopled than almost any other country ; but a third part, or *five and a half millions*, at least, of our population, are either employed upon foreign materials, or upon articles destined for the foreign market. Trade and manufactures may elsewhere be regarded as a sort of luxury, but in England they are of the first necessity. The public tranquillity, the security of property, and the very existence, in fact, of a large portion of our people, depend upon our maintaining our ascendancy in them ; nor should any thing be permitted to exist, even for a single moment, that may either tend to render them insecure, or to counteract their progress.

It is plain, however, that nothing can do this so effectually as the exclusion of raw produce from our markets, or the admitting it only by fits and starts. Corn is not only the article most in demand at home, but it forms the principal equivalent that foreigners have to offer for our goods ; so that, by restricting its importation, we actually compel them to withdraw from our shop, and to establish manufactures for themselves. Were our ports always open, under a fixed duty of 6s. or 7s., the supply of our demand would be an object of great importance to the foreign growers. But at present, even a deficient crop in this country is of little service to them, and is highly injurious to every other

description of foreigners. The reason is, that we are not regularly in the market; occasionally, indeed, we import, even in a single season, above *three millions* of quarters; but at other times we import nothing, or next to nothing, for three or four years together. In consequence, the foreign growers seldom venture to raise additional quantities in anticipation of a demand from England; or, if they do, they never fail in a short time to have them wholly thrown upon their hand. Hence, when there is any considerable deficiency in our crops, we are forced to resort to markets where we are not expected, and where, consequently, our presence is injurious to every one, save the few that hold stocks of corn; inasmuch as our purchases always occasion a sudden improvement of prices. It is true, therefore, that our corn laws are not a local, but a general nuisance. Their mischievous influence is not confined to this country only, but extends from Kentucky to Siberia, from Odessa to Archangel. They are so capricious in their nature, and occasion such fluctuations in every market to which we have access, that, instead of being surprised at the obstructions sometimes thrown in the way of our intercourse with them, the only wonder is, that they have not been increased in a tenfold proportion. The subjoined official account will illustrate what has now been stated:—

Account specifying the Quantities of Foreign Corn, Flour, and Meal, annually entered for Home Consumption, in the United Kingdom, since 1815.

Years.	Wheat and Flour.	Barley and Meal.	Rye and Meal.	Oats and Oatmeal.	Indian Corn.	Beans and Peas.	Total.
1815	—	160	148	214	—	1	523
1816	225,263	14,918	10,259	76,294	—	—	362,734
1817	1,020,949	133,438	132,227	473,813	157	17,122	1,777,706
1818	1,593,518	695,621	79,221	990,947	1,411	177,850	3,538,568
1819	122,133	364,012	17,293	523,515	26,738	199,716	1,253,407
1820	34,274	—	—	726,848	—	3	761,125
1821	2	—	—	—	—	—	2
1822	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1823	12,137	—	—	—	—	—	12,137
1824	15,777	39,263	—	619,340	1,249	—	675,629
1825	525,231	270,679	3,442	15	91	30,767	830,225
1826	315,892	332,641	67,241	1,185,214	6,222	189,894	2,097,104
1827	572,733	236,991	21,887	1,851,248	145,842	157,854	2,986,555
1828	842,050	217,545	489	14,374	22,747	119,782	1,216,987
1829	1,364,220	202,406	65,331	192,890	22,688	96,514	1,944,049
1830	1,701,885	52,107	19,121	900,319	4,100	63,644	2,741,176
1831	1,491,631	522,709	56,868	355,120	65,428	83,444	2,568,983
1832	324,435	27,665	61	2,863	1,024	21,181	423,229

N. B.—The entries in the present year (1833) are quite inconsiderable.

Now, though there can be no doubt that, owing to differences of the crops, there must, under any system, be considerable variations in the yearly amount of imports, still it is abundantly certain, that with a fixed duty they would be quite inconsiderable, compared with those indicated in the above table. At present, whenever the duty happens to fall to a moderate amount, whatever corn may be in the warehouses here is immediately entered; at the same time that the continental ports are swept of their supplies. But were the duty fixed, all this haste to profit by the favourable opportunity for glutting a market that may not probably be accessible for the next twelve months, would be obviated. There would be at all times a considerable importation; though, when prices happened to be reduced by the abundance of our own harvests, a large portion of the imports would go into the warehouses. On the whole, however, there cannot be the shadow of a doubt that our demand would be incomparably more steady than at present. This is a point as to which the example of Ireland is decisive. There is not, and there cannot be, any reason for supposing, had the imports from her been subjected to the same duties and restrictions as those from Poland, that they would have been less fluctuating. But being freely admitted at all times, they have continued to increase since 1818; and no considerable variation has taken place in their amount from year to year. And it is clear that, though a fixed duty might have materially lessened the average importation, it would not have in any degree affected the importation of one year as compared with another. Were the corn trade with foreign countries placed on this footing, their owners and occupiers would reckon upon our demand, and would endeavour to meet it, while their prices would cease to be affected by the opening and shutting of the British ports; and, which is perhaps of still more importance, a regular and constant demand would grow up for the products of our factories among vast classes, to whom they are at present hardly known.

At present, every opening of the ports is sure, if the deficiency to be supplied be considerable, to occasion more or less pressure on the money market, and a good deal of mercantile suffering. Coming, as we generally do, unexpectedly, and always capriciously, into the foreign market, we are, for the most part, obliged to purchase with bullion, or to sell goods at a heavy reduction of price. In 1831, the inconvenience thence arising was very serious indeed; and, but for the great skill and discretion evinced in the management of the Bank, might have been productive of much mischief. We have imported no corn from Prussia during the present year; but in a year or two we shall probably go into her

markets with a demand for 400,000 or 500,000 quarters. Under ordinary circumstances, an increase of imports is always accompanied by a corresponding increase of exports; but, to bring this about, the increase must neither be sudden nor excessive; for, if so, the chances are a thousand to one that the foreign demand for our products will not increase at the same time with equal readiness, and to an equal extent. Corn is the principal means possessed by the Poles of paying for English goods; and, as we frequently shut it out, their imports from Britain are unavoidably below even the average amount of their exports; so that when we have an extraordinary demand for corn, the greater part of the excess must be paid in bullion; and, instead of being benefited by its occurrence, our commercial and manufacturing interests are deeply injured.

Perseverance in a policy of this sort must unavoidably end in mischief. There are few foreign articles, except raw produce, suitable for our markets; and if we exclude it, or admit it only in such a way as renders our purchases noxious to others, without being beneficial to ourselves, it is easy to see that we shall, at no distant period, lose our ascendancy as a commercial people, and with it our wealth and prosperity. Reciprocity is the beginning, the middle, and the end of all commercial transactions. If we would wish that others should buy largely from us, we must buy largely from them;—we must make them feel that they are interested in our well-being, and that the exclusion of British products from their markets would be a grievous injury to them. We have, it is true, made in several respects an approach to a more liberal system in our intercourse with foreigners; but we are far short of what we ought to have done, and of what we *must* do, if we mean to keep the vantage-ground we have gained. Our relaxations, too, have been principally in the navigation laws, the colonial regulations, and in the restrictions on the trade with France. As respects some countries, our policy, far from being improved, has been the reverse. Look at our treatment of Russia, Prussia, Sweden, and Denmark. They all suffer, but particularly Prussia, from our recent regulations. Though one of the most flourishing and prosperous of European kingdoms, Prussia has only three commodities of any consequence—corn, timber, and wool—suitable for our markets. Formerly we admitted all these under reasonable duties; but now the first two, which are by far the most important, are either wholly excluded, or loaded with oppressive *discriminating* duties. Need we wonder that Prussia is indignant at such treatment? ‘It may be true,’ says she, ‘that you have relaxed your old and favourite monopoly system in favour of others, but, in as far as Prussia is

‘ concerned, you have studied to make it more illiberal and more
‘ oppressive. You lay a heavy discriminating duty on our tim-
‘ ber; and you refuse to admit a single bushel of our corn into
‘ your markets, except when you are threatened with scarcity
‘ and famine, and when your purchases do us more harm than
‘ good. Even the admission of our ships into British ports, on
‘ the same terms that we admit British ships into ours—a conces-
‘ sion of little or no value to us, and which you could not venture
‘ to withhold—is the theme of unceasing complaint in your Par-
‘ liament and in your journals. Such being the case, what con-
‘ fidence can we place in your professions of liberality? They
‘ may deceive others, but every Prussian is aware of their hol-
‘ lowness. And since you will not deal with us on any thing like
‘ fair and equal terms, what resource have we, but to get on
‘ without you, and to manufacture for ourselves what, under other
‘ circumstances, we should have brought from England? There
‘ is no good Prussian who is not anxious to be independent of
‘ your blind and selfish policy.’

Our readers must not suppose that this is an imaginary statement. On the contrary, it is substantially identical with the language which the Prussian Ministry hold on all occasions; and its truth is the only thing about it that ought to give us pain. If we will treat independent and powerful nations in the blind and perverse way that we have treated Prussia, we must be prepared for the consequences. These, however, have hitherto been but little attended to; but we are greatly mistaken if they do not speedily make themselves felt. Prussia, including the dependent German states that have adopted her tariff, is, without any question, by far the largest European consumer of British goods. Those who talk lightly of her commercial hostility, might with equal good sense ridicule the distress and ruin of 250,000 manufacturers. We cannot afford to lose a market in which we find an annual vent for manufactured goods worth from five to six millions sterling. But, unless we change our policy, this result will certainly take place. Nothing but the timely modification of our corn laws, and the giving to the Prussians, Russians, and other corn-growing people, the same sort of interest in our supplies that our purchases of cotton give to the Carolinians and Southern Americans, will be able to avert their commercial hostility, preserve their markets to our manufacturers, provide for the continued prosperity of the latter, and secure for all classes amongst us, a steady and ample supply of food at a reasonable rate.

But, admitting all that has previously been stated, it may still be contended, that we are not to incur a certain, to ward off what is, in a great measure, only a probable and contingent evil. It is alleged that it would be quite impossible to admit foreign corn under a fixed duty of 6s. or 7s., without throwing an immense extent of land out of tillage, and occasioning the total ruin of a large portion of the agricultural population. Now, however anxious for a modification of the corn laws, we should certainly hesitate in recommending any such measure, if we could bring ourselves to believe that it would have so destructive an influence upon our agriculture. But we are persuaded that there are no real grounds for supposing that it would have any such effect; and we shall briefly state why we think so.

Whatever influence the opening of the ports, under a fixed duty of 6s. or 7s. a-quarter, might have on agriculture, would plainly depend on its influence on prices. We have, therefore, first of all, to enquire into its probable operation in this respect.

The prices of British corn during the ten years ending with 1832, have been as under:—

Years.	Wheat.		Rye.		Barley.		Oats.		Beans.		Peas.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
1823	53	5	31	11	31	7	22	11	33	1	35	0
1824	64	0	41	5	36	5	24	10	40	1	40	8
1825	68	7	42	4	40	1	25	8	42	10	45	5
1826	58	9	41	2	34	5	26	9	44	3	47	8
1827	56	9	39	0	36	6	27	4	47	7	47	7
1828	60	5	34	2	32	10	22	6	38	4	40	6
1829	66	3	34	10	32	6	22	9	36	8	36	8
1830	64	3	35	10	32	7	24	5	36	1	39	2
1831	66	4	40	0	38	0	25	4	39	10	41	11
1832	58	8	34	7	33	1	20	5	35	4	37	0
Average,	61	8 $\frac{3}{4}$	37	5 $\frac{3}{4}$	34	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	24	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	39	4 $\frac{3}{4}$	41	1 $\frac{3}{4}$

Now, the question is, supposing foreign corn to be charged with a duty of 6s. or 7s., for what could it be sold, in ordinary years, in England?

Dantzic being the principal port in Europe for the exportation of corn, and that whence we have always drawn the greatest portion of our supplies, we shall attempt to ascertain its probable cost when brought from this great emporium.

It is necessary, first of all, to observe, that comparatively little wheat is raised in the country between Warsaw and Dantzic; and that no considerable demand for exportation can be met without resorting to the provinces traversed by the Vistula and the Bug, a great way south of Warsaw. It would seem to be pretty well established by the data collected by Mr Jacob in his tours, that 28s. or 30s. a-quarter, is the lowest price for which any considerable quantity of wheat can be had for exportation in ordinary years, in the corn-growing provinces. Its *minimum* cost price when brought to London, according to the evidence collected by Mr Jacob, would be as under:—

	s.	d.
Cost of wheat, at Warsaw, per quarter, - - -	28	0
Conveyance to the boats, and charges for loading, stowing, and securing by mats, - - - - -	0	6
Freight to Dantzic, - - - - -	5	0
Loss on the passage by pilfering, and causing it to grow, - - - - -	3	0
Expenses at Dantzic in turning, drying, screening, warehousing, and loss of measure, - - - - -	2	0
Profit or commission, as the case may be, to the merchant at Dantzic, - - - - -	1	6
Freight, primage, insurance, and shipping charges, at Dantzic and in London, - - - - -	8	0
	<hr/>	
Cost of the wheat to the English merchant, - - -	48	0

It ought, however, to be observed, that the premium paid the underwriters does not cover the risk attending damage from heating or otherwise on the voyage; and it ought further to be observed, that the freight from Warsaw to Dantzic, and from Dantzic home, is here charged at the lowest rate. Mr Jacob supposes that an extraordinary demand for as much wheat as would be equal to *six* days' consumption of that grain in England, or for 216,000 quarters, would raise the cost of freight on the Vistula from 30 to 40 per cent; and as such a demand could hardly be supplied without resorting to the markets in the provinces to the south of Warsaw, its *minimum* cost to the London merchants could not, under such circumstances, amount, even supposing some of these statements to be a little exaggerated, to less than from 50s. to 53s., or 55s., a-quarter.

Mr Grade, of Dantzic, furnished the Committee of 1821 with the following table of the average prices of corn at that city, free on board, in decennial periods, from 1770 to 1820.

Average price from ten to ten years, of the different species of Corn, free on board, per quarter, in sterling money, at Dantzic.

	Wheat.		Rye.		Barley.		Oats.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
From 1770 to 1779, -	33	9	21	8	16	1	11	1
— 1780 to 1789, -	33	10	22	1	17	11	12	4
— 1790 to 1799, -	43	8	26	3	19	3	12	6
— 1800 to 1809, -	60	0	34	10	25	1	13	1
— 1810 to 1819, -	55	4	31	1	26	0	20	4
Aggregate Average Price of 49 Years, -	45	4	27	2	20	10	13	10

It may be objected to this account, that the prices during war afford no criterion of their amount during peace; and that we can infer nothing as to the present cost of wheat at Dantzic from its cost during the 10 or 50 years ending with 1819. We admit this; and we have inserted Mr Grade's table rather to gratify the curiosity of our readers, than because we mean to found any reasonings upon it. The following table is, however, of a very different character. It is an account furnished by Mr Gibson, the British consul at Dantzic, of the prices obtained for the different species of grain, when sold in granary in that city, during the ten years ending with 1831. Of its accuracy and authenticity, there can be no more question than of its importance.

Average prices of Grain bought from granary in sterling money, at Dantzic, per imperial quarter.

Years.	Wheat.		Rye.		Barley.		Oats.		Pease.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
1822	30	3	18	4½	12	5½	10	11½	15	7
1823	27	9	18	6½	14	10½	11	0½	18	2½
1824	23	8	11	2½	8	11½	7	7	11	11
1825	24	2	11	4	10	5	8	1	14	7
1826	25	1	15	3½	13	5½	12	5½	23	1
1827	26	11	18	2	16	9	13	10	31	11
1828	27	1	19	5	14	3	11	3	28	4
1829	47	1	17	4	13	8	10	11	18	8
1830	42	2	20	3	15	0	11	2	20	8
1831	50	2	23	6	21	3	15	8	27	7
Average	33	5	17	10	14	1	11	3½	21	0¾

The shipping charges amount to about 8d. or 9d. a-quarter; and this, added to the above, gives 34s. 1d. or 34s. 2d. for the average price of wheat *free on board* at Dantzic, during the ten years ending with 1831. The charges on importation into England, warehousing here, and then delivering to the consumer, exclusive of duty and profit, would amount to about 10s. a-quarter. This appears from the following detailed statement furnished by one of the most eminent corn-factors in London to the Lords' Committee of 1827, on the price of foreign corn.

Account of the Ordinary Charges on 100 Quarters of Wheat, shipped from Dantzic on consignment, and landed under Bond in London.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
One hundred quarters, supposed cost at Dantzic, free on board, 30s. -				150	0	0
Freight at 5s. per quarter, and 10 per cent, - - - - -	27	10	0			
Metage ex ship, &c. 6s. 6d. per last, - - - - -	3	5	0			
Lighterage and landing, 9d. per quarter, - - - - -	3	15	0			
Insurance on L.180, including 10 per cent imaginary profit at 80s. per cent; policy 5s. per cent, - - - - -	7	14	0			
Granary rent, and insurance for one week, - - - - -	0	5	0			
Turning and trimming, about - - - - -	0	2	0			
Delivering from granary, 3d. per quarter, - - - - -	1	5	0			
Metage, &c. ex granary, 2s. per last, - - - - -	1	0	0			
Commission on sale, 1s. per quarter, - - - - -	5	0	0			
Del credere, 1 per cent on, suppose, 40s. - - - - -	2	0	0			
				51	16	0
Total cost to importer, if sold in bond, - - - - -				201	16	0
Imaginary profit, 10 per cent, - - - - -				20	3	6
				221	19	6
Would produce, at 44s. 4d. per quarter, - - - - -				221	13	4

N.B.—Loss on Measuring not considered.

Freight and insurance are taken in this statement at an average, being sometimes higher and sometimes lower.

We are, therefore, entitled to affirm, without the fear of being contradicted by any one acquainted with the circumstances, that nothing can be more entirely unfounded than the notion, so prevalent in this country, as to the extreme cheapness of corn at Dantzic. When there is little or no foreign demand, and all that is brought to the city is thrown upon the home market, prices are

of course very much depressed; but when there is a moderate demand for exportation, they immediately rise to something like the average level of the European market. During the greater number of years embraced in the consular return, the Polish corn trade was extremely depressed; and in some seasons the exports only amounted to a few thousand quarters. But notwithstanding these unfavourable circumstances, the price of wheat free on board, at an average of the whole ten years, was 34s. 1d. a-quarter. Now, if we add to this 10s. a-quarter for freight and other charges attending its importation into England, and delivery to the consumer, it is plain it could not, in the event of its being charged with a duty of 6s. or 7s. a-quarter on importation, be sold, so as to indemnify the importer for his outlay, without yielding him any profit, for less than 50s. or 51s. a-quarter. And there are really no very satisfactory reasons for supposing that it could be disposed of for so little; for whenever it has been admitted into the British ports under any thing like reasonable duties, prices at Dantzic have *uniformly been above 40s. a-quarter*. Supposing, however, that in the event of our ports being always open, the growth of corn in Poland would be so much increased as to admit of wheat being shipped, in ordinary seasons, for 34s., still it is quite obvious it could not be sold in London, under a duty of 6s. or 7s., so as not to be a losing concern, for less than 53s. or 54s. a-quarter.

But however specious this statement may appear, we are told that it is fallacious. Dantzic is not the only port whence corn may be imported: and it appears from the accounts furnished by Mr Canning, consul at Hamburgh, that the average price of wheat in that city, during the ten years ending with 1831, was only 26s. 6½d., being nearly 7s. a-quarter under its price at Dantzic during the same period, besides having the advantage of greater proximity to England. Nothing, therefore, it is alleged, can be more erroneous than to affirm that foreign wheat could not be sold in England, under a duty of 6s. or 7s., for less than 53s. or 54s.: at most, it could not exceed 46s. or 47s.

A statement substantially the same with this was made by a very intelligent witness before the late Agricultural Committee; and, which is rather singular, it seems to have satisfied them. Being, for the most part, country gentlemen, they could hardly fail to know that wheat is of very different qualities; and that, when some sorts of British wheat sell readily for 60s. and 66s., others may be bought for 46s. and 48s. But, for what reason we know not, no question was put to the witness upon this important point. Had the smallest enquiry been made, it would have been immediately seen, that the lower price of wheat at Hamburgh, as compared with its price at Dantzic, was entirely owing to its infe-

rior quality. Though small-grained, and not so heavy as several other sorts, Dantzic wheat is remarkably thin-skinned, and yields the finest flour. Some of the best white, or, as it is technically termed, 'high mixed' Dantzic wheat is equal, if not superior, to the very best English; but the supply of this sort is comparatively limited, and the average quality of all that is exported from Dantzic is believed to approach very nearly to the average quality of English wheat. Allowing for its quality, it will be found that wheat is, speaking generally, always cheaper in Dantzic than in any of the Continental ports nearer to London. There are but few seasons, indeed, in which Dantzic wheat is not imported in considerable quantities into both Hamburgh and Amsterdam. But it is quite impossible that such should be the case, unless, taking quality and other modifying circumstances into account, it were really cheaper than the native and other wheats met with in these markets. In fact, the market of Hamburgh is principally supplied with the coarse damp wheats of Holstein and of the Lower Elbe; and such is their inferiority, that whenever there is any considerable importation into England, it is of every-day occurrence for merchants, millers, &c. to order Dantzic wheat in preference to that from Holstein, Hanover, &c., though the latter might frequently be put into warehouse here for 20s. a-quarter less than the former. It is, therefore, quite indispensable, in attempting to draw any inference as to the comparative prices of corn in different countries, to make the requisite allowances for differences of *quality*. Unless this be done, whatever conclusions may be come to, can rarely be otherwise than false and misleading; and when they happen to be right, they can be so only through the merest accident.

Dantzic being by far the greatest exporting port for corn in the north of Europe, its price may be assumed as the general measure of the price in other shipping ports. At all events, it is certain that when Dantzic is exporting, wheat cannot be shipped, *taking quality into account, at a cheaper rate from any other place*. The importer invariably resorts to what he believes to be, all things considered, the cheapest markets; and it is a contradiction and an absurdity to suppose, that he should burden himself with a comparatively high freight, and pay 34s. 1d. for wheat in Dantzic, provided he could buy an equally good article in so convenient a port as Hamburgh for 26s. 6½d.

If, therefore, we are right in estimating the minimum price at which middling Dantzic wheat could be imported in ordinary years, under a duty of 6s. or 7s., at 53s. or 54s., we may be assured that this is the *lowest price* at which foreign wheat, of about the average quality of that of England, can be imported. So long as Dantzic wheat is brought to our markets, it shows con-

clusively that they cannot be supplied at a lower rate from any other quarter. The greater cheapness of the imports from other places must, under such circumstances, be apparent only; that is, it must be counterbalanced by a corresponding inferiority of quality.

It is unnecessary, for the reasons now stated, to enquire at any considerable length into the prices of corn at other foreign ports. There is very little probability that Odessa, the only great shipping port in southern Europe, will ever furnish us with any considerable supply. The voyage thence to London is of uncertain duration, but generally very long. It is essential, too, to the importation of the wheat in good condition, that it should be made during the winter months, when the navigation of the Black Sea is peculiarly dangerous, and the insurance proportionally high. When the voyage is made in summer, unless the wheat be very superior and be shipped in exceedingly good order, it is almost sure to heat; and has frequently, indeed, been injured to such a degree as to require to be dug from the ship's hold with pick-axes. Unless, therefore, means be devised for lessening the risk of damage during the voyage, there is very little reason for thinking that any quantity of Odessa wheat worth notice will ever find its way to Britain.

The price of wheat at Odessa is seldom under 24s., and is often as high as 35s. or 40s.; but taking it as low as 24s., if we add to this 16s. for the expense of importation, (see Evidence of Mr Schneider, Appendix to Lords' Report of 1827,) and 6s. or 7s. for duty, it would cost the merchant here, exclusive of profit, 46s. or 47s.; and it is not so valuable, by 7s. or 8s. a quarter, as average English wheat. It is plain, therefore, allowing for difference of quality, that it could not be sold, even when cheapest, in the English market, for less than 54s. or 55s. In most seasons, it could not be imported at all.

America is quite unable to supply our markets on lower terms than Dantzic or Odessa. It appears from an account furnished by Mr Buchannan, British Consul at New York, that the average prices of wheat at that city, during the eleven years ending with 1831, have been as follow:—

Years.	Per Bushel.	Years.	Per Bushel.
	Dol. Cent.		Dol. Cent.
1821	- 0.89	1828	- 1.08
1822	- 0.90	1829	- 1.38
1823	- 1.05	1830	- 0.98
1824	- 1.15	1831	- 1.19
1825	- 1.04	—	—
1826	- 0.90		
1827	- 0.97		
Average of the 11 years,			1.15

Taking the dollar at 4s. 3d., this makes the average price of wheat at New York, during the eleven years ending with 1831, 4s. 11d. a-bushel, or 39s. 4d. a-quarter. Now, if we add to this 10s. for the expense of importation, warehousing here, and delivery to the consumer, it is plain that no American wheat could be imported and sold in ordinary years in Great Britain, even without a duty, were the home price under 50s.

Canada wheat is rather lower priced than that of the United States; but, being spring wheat, it is proportionally less valuable; and the quantity is, besides, inconsiderable.

Canadian wheat being admitted (when the home price is under 67s.) at a constant duty of 5s., it is said that wheat has recently been carried to Quebec from Archangel, in the view of being thence imported into England as Canadian wheat, the saving of duty being supposed more than sufficient to defray the cost of a double voyage across the Atlantic. But grain from the colonies is not admitted into England at the low duty, without the importers subscribing a declaration that it is the produce of such colonies; any wilful inaccuracy in such document being punished by the forfeiture of the corn so imported, and of L.100 of penalty; and, in addition to this, the corn, flour, &c., must also be accompanied by a *certificate of origin*, subscribed by the collector or comptroller at the port of shipment. It is, therefore, difficult to see how the importers of Russian corn into Canada are to get it shipped for England as colonial corn; and we have no doubt most of it will go to the West Indies.

We feel pretty confident that the above statements cannot be successfully controverted; and they show that wheat cannot, in ordinary years, be imported into England, under a fixed duty of 6s. or 7s., for less than from 53s. to 55s. a-quarter; but taking it at only 50s., it admits of demonstration, that the opening of the ports, in the way proposed, could occasion none of those destructive consequences to agriculture, of which we have heard so much. It appears, from the account of the prices of British corn, previously laid before the reader, that the price of wheat amounted, at an average of the ten years ending with 1832, to 61s. 8d. a-quarter, being only 11s. 8d. a-quarter above its very lowest probable future price under a system of open ports, with a constant duty of 6s. or 7s. It will further be observed, that several crops during the last decennial period were very deficient, and the imports unusually large. Had the crops throughout the whole ten years been of an average amount, the price would not have exceeded 55s. or 56s. But without insisting on this, it is quite ludicrous to suppose that a reduction of a *sixth-part* in the price of corn should have the disastrous influence upon agriculture so many anticipate, or affect to anticipate. It cannot justly

be said that 1823 was by any means an unfavourable year for the farmer; and yet the average price of wheat was then only 53s. 5d., being below rather than above its future average price, with open ports and reasonable fixed duties. We hope the agriculturists will look a little more narrowly into this question. The more they examine it, and reflect upon its various bearings, the more will they be satisfied that they have nothing to fear, even in the first instance, from the proposed modification of the corn laws; whilst it cannot fail to prove, in the end, as beneficial to them as to the rest of the community.

But we can appeal to still stronger evidence to show the groundless nature of the fears entertained by the agriculturists as to the opening of the ports under a duty of 6s. or 7s. The price of wheat in England, at an average of the ten years ending with 1820, was 86s. 3d. a-quarter; but during the ten years ending with 1832, it was only 61s. 8d. Here is a fall of about 25s. a-quarter, being about three times as great as any that could result from opening the ports under the proposed plan; and yet no evidence has been produced to satisfy any reasonable person that agriculture has retrograded in consequence. But if agriculture has been able to bear, without any material injury, a fall in the price of wheat of from 86s. 3d. to 61s. 8d., with what face can it be said that it will be destroyed if prices be further reduced from 61s. to 53s. or 50s.? We are reminded, that it is the last feather that breaks the horse's back. But the analogy does not hold; for here we have to deal not with one but with fifty horses, all of different degrees of strength; and no proof has been, nor, we believe, can be adduced to show that the weakest horse would be disabled, or, in other words, that the occupiers of the poorest lands in tillage would be obliged to relinquish their business by the projected change.

The late Agricultural Committee avow, in their Report, the opinion, that agriculture has retrograded during the last ten years, and that the growth of wheat has been materially diminished. We confess, however, that we see no grounds whatever, except the very obvious bias of the Committee, for this assertion, which may easily be shown to be most unfounded. It appears, from accounts rendered by the Custom-house, and printed by order of the House of Commons, that the imports of foreign wheat and flour into Great Britain, during the ten years ending with 1820, amounted in all to 6,206,321 quarters. Owing to the fire at the Custom-house, the exports to foreign ports in 1813 are not exactly known; but those for the other years are given, and if we take them for the whole period at 1,000,000 quarters, we shall not be 20,000 quarters over or under the mark. It follows, consequently, that the quantity of wheat and wheat-flour

kept for consumption in Great Britain, during the ten years ending with 1820, amounted to about 5,206,321 quarters. Now, it appears from the accounts printed in the appendix to the late agricultural report, that, during the ten years ending with 1830, 5,349,927 quarters of foreign wheat and flour were entered for home consumption, being almost identical with the quantity left for consumption during the previous ten years ! But the population of Great Britain, which in 1821 was 14,391,631, had increased in 1831 to 16,537,938. Here, then, notwithstanding the stationary imports of wheat and flour, we have more than *two millions* added to the population ; and whatever the committee may think, these two millions do not subsist on the chameleon's diet. On the contrary, taking the population at an average, there cannot be the shadow of a doubt that the consumption of wheat per man is decidedly greater at this moment than at any former period of our history. Hence it appears, that the extraordinary assertion of the Committee, that the growth of wheat has diminished, is not only wholly groundless, but that the very opposite assertion must be true. Instead of decreasing, the growth of wheat must have increased, so as to feed an increased population of more than two millions of persons, and to feed all the other fourteen millions better than they were ever fed before.

We have great respect for many of the witnesses brought before the Committee, and doubt not that they stated only what they believed was the exact truth ; but neither their declarations nor belief can weigh against the fact, that, during the ten years ending with 1830, two millions were added to the population,—that the average consumption per head of wheat was increased,—and that the imports continued about stationary. The Committee admit that there has been a material improvement in Ireland ; but had they taken the trouble to look, however cursorily, into the official accounts, they would have seen, that all the increase that really took place in the imports of wheat and wheat-flour from Ireland, during the ten years ending with 1830, as compared with the previous ten years, is not much above 350,000 quarters a-year ;—an increase quite inadequate to supply the greater individual consumption of wheat in Great Britain, supposing the population had not been at all augmented. Oats is the great article of Irish importation ; but it would not be very difficult to show that even this has not increased so fast as the demand for horse food.

Not only, however, is the population of the country both vastly increased and better fed, but there is, besides, a great and rapidly increasing demand for wheat in other ways. The committee will perhaps be surprised when we tell them, that the con-

sumption of flour in the cotton manufacture, in the dressing of webs, &c. amounts, at this moment, to about 230,000 barrels a-year! And this new and deep channel of demand has increased even more rapidly than the imports from Ireland.

The grand complaint at present is, that the profits of agriculture are low. But they are not lower than in other businesses; and though they were, we deny that they will ever be raised by restrictions on importation. Agricultural, like shipping profits, are low only compared with what they were during the latter years of the war. Those who owned and occupied land from 1808 to 1814, when rents, though constantly rising, never overtook the more rapid rise of prices, are unable to form a fair and dispassionate estimate of the present state of things. Mr Tooke tells us, in his excellent work on 'Prices,' that in 1813, a ship, of which the whole cost and outfit did not amount to L.4000, earned a gross freight of L.80,000 on a voyage from London to Bourdeaux and back.* We do not know the lucky owner; but we have no doubt that he hates reciprocity treaties, and believes that those who now build or buy ships are little better than madmen. So it is with the farmers of 1812 and 1813. Innumerable instances occurred in those years of crops of wheat selling for about as much as the fee-simple of the land on which they were raised would have brought a short time previously. Till such time as those familiar with so extraordinary a state of things have disappeared, we may expect perpetual complaints of the decay of agriculture and of the impoverishment of the farmers; and even the descendants of such persons can hardly escape being biassed by the statements they have so often heard. Hence the extreme difficulty of getting evidence from those practically engaged in husbandry, on which it would be safe to rely. And the better way, at least when it can be adopted, is to resort at the same time to those official statements and comparisons which do not depend on partial, incomplete, or biassed testimony. Had the late Agricultural Committee attended ever so little to this sort of evidence, there is reason to think that they would have materially modified some of the conclusions embodied in their report.

But there is, even among the witnesses examined by the Committee, several who bear testimony to the improving condition of agriculture. Mr Robert Wright of Norfolk, who has had very extensive practice as a farmer and land-valuer, declares, that Norfolk is as well cultivated at present as it ever has been; that it is in a progressive state of improvement, although the progress be less rapid than during the war; and he affirms the same of

* *High and Low Prices*, 2d. ed. p. 212.

the counties of Suffolk and Cambridge, with which he is also well acquainted. The evidence of Mr Coode of Cornwall, who is very extensively employed in the letting of land, is to the same effect. He says, that lands are improving in value, that rents are better paid now than they were five years ago; and that at present land is 'fully as well, or rather better cultivated,' than formerly. Mr Coode farther states, that in his recollection the Cornish peasantry almost invariably used barley, but that now it is very little used, wheat having supplied its place. Other witnesses make similar declarations.

Undoubtedly, however, the general bearing of the evidence is to the effect that the produce of the land and the capital of the farmers are both diminishing. But we have shown that the former conclusion cannot be true; and we do not see how it is possible that the capital of the farmer should have decreased at the same time that his produce has increased. We do not, however, mean to say, that there is not at present a good deal of distress and well-founded complaining among the agriculturists. Neither farmers nor landlords have as yet learned to accommodate themselves to the new state of things; they are still haunted by the recollections, and influenced by the habits that grew out of the period of depreciation and high prices; and very many still entertain the fallacious notion that legislative protection will at last elevate prices to something like the old level. Rents have not in consequence been reduced, in numerous instances, to their natural level; and though the farmers' expenses have been materially diminished, they are still, generally speaking, a good deal more than either their capital or situation would seem to warrant. We may farther mention, that, during the three or four years ending with 1832, the occupiers of wet, heavy lands suffered from the seasons, which were peculiarly unfavourable to them: but it would be ridiculous to lay any stress on an accidental and evanescent circumstance of this sort. That the condition of the farming class is less prosperous, that is, that *farming profits are smaller* than during the war, we admit; but we are assured, upon unquestionable authority, that those who carry on agriculture with adequate skill and economy, and who pay a fair rent, are quite as well off as the same class of persons previously to 1808, and as any other class now engaged in industrious undertakings. In corroboration of this statement we may observe, that there is no disinclination evinced at this moment to take farms in almost any part of the country. In many districts, on the contrary, the competition for them is excessively keen; and had any considerable number been unoccupied, we may be sure the circumstance would have been brought prominently

forward by the Committee, who have not certainly turned a deaf ear to any tale of distress.

Much stress is laid by many of the witnesses on the exhausted state in which farms are frequently left by the outgoing tenants. This, however, is an evil that will never be obviated, except by the general introduction of a proper system of letting land; and we take leave to deny that it is more prevalent now than at any former period. Even when England was an exporting country, and agricultural distress had never been heard of, *scourging* was the ordinary practice. The Rev. Walter Harte, in his learned and excellent Essays on Husbandry, the second edition of which was published in 1770, affirms, that 'a shrewd farmer, in many cases, as things now stand, gets more by continually harassing the ground, than by giving it the assistance of repose and manure; he *gains by desolation, and loses by improvements*. In some parts, the inhabitants have an old proverb:

He that havocs may sit,
He that improves must flit.'

If any one of our readers will take the trouble to look into the account of the agricultural state of the kingdom, published by the Board of Agriculture in 1816, he will see a tale of distress, compared with which the representations of the late Committee may be said to depict a state of extraordinary prosperity. The statements in that publication exhibit, say its authors, 'the present *deplorable state* of the national agriculture; bankruptcies, seizures, executions, imprisonments, and farmers become parish paupers, are particularly mentioned by many of the correspondents; there are great arrears of rent, and in many cases tithes and poor-rates unpaid; improvements of every kind generally discontinued; live-stock greatly lessened; tradesmen's bills unpaid; and alarming gangs of poachers and other depredators. These circumstances are generally expressed in language denoting extreme distress, and absolute ruin in a variety of instances.' (P. 5.)

As there had been a very sudden and heavy fall of prices during the two years preceding 1816, there can be no doubt that there was then a good deal of distress; but there is still less doubt that the statements in the publication by the Board of Agriculture, and in the declamatory harangues of honourable gentlemen in the House of Commons, to the same effect, were grossly exaggerated. Prices, instead of being higher, have been for the last ten years lower than in 1815 or 1816; yet, notwithstanding all the sinister auguries then indulged in, we have added *three millions* to our population, without having added 100,000

quarters to the average amount of our imports of corn, or one solitary pound weight to our imports of butchers' meat.

The Agricultural Committee quote from Burke, the following passage, with deserved eulogy:—'It is a perilous thing to try experiments on the farmer; on the farmer, whose capital is far more feeble than is commonly imagined; whose trade is a very poor one, for it is subject to great risks and losses: the capital, such as it is, is turned but once in the year; in some branches it requires even three years before the money is repaid.' Now, it is principally because we acknowledge the truth of this statement, that we are anxious for a modification of the Corn Laws. So long as the present system is maintained, there can be no security for any one engaged in agriculture. Every session will teem with projects all deeply affecting the capital and interests of the farmer; and seeing the great and growing power by which they will be supported, some of them cannot fail of being adopted. At all events, it is certain *that an alteration cannot be deferred beyond the first season of scarcity.* It is material, too, to observe, that the exasperation growing out of the restrictions will then compel their entire abolition, without consideration, and without any one of those accompanying conditions required to do justice to the agriculturists, and to protect the public interests. Those who wish to prolong this truly 'perilous' state of things, are not the friends, but the worst enemies of the farmer. There is, however, but one way in which it can be terminated with safety, advantage, and justice to all parties; and that is, by opening the ports to importation at all times, under reasonable fixed duties. If the agriculturists insist on more than this, they will insist on what they are not justly entitled to; and in seeking to gain what they cannot fairly claim, and what, if gained, would not be of any real service to them, they will assuredly lose what they have a right to, and what is essential to the maintenance of their interests. On the other hand, such a modification of the Corn Laws as has been proposed, would satisfy all reasonable persons among the mercantile and manufacturing classes; and should any portion of them insist on a still further modification, they would be opposed, not by the agriculturists only, but by every individual amongst themselves, who, while he is anxious for the abolition of all undeserved privileges, is equally anxious to maintain the just rights of others.

It is impossible to suppose a time better suited than the present for bringing about the desired modifications. The country is tranquil, and, owing to the low price of British corn, caused by the late abundant harvest, the fall consequent to an alteration of the system would be quite immaterial. One of the most

intelligent witnesses examined by the Committee, Mr Oliver, thinks that the future probable price of British wheat, under the present law, may be estimated at about 50s.; and if so, it is sufficiently clear, from the statements previously laid before the reader, that very little, if any, disturbance could be given to agriculture by the adoption of the proposed measure. But all estimates of future prices, except in as far as they are founded on those previously realized, must be extremely deceptive; and if there be *any* truth in the statements of the witnesses as to the distress of the agriculturists, it would seem more rational, considering the rapid increase of population, to anticipate a rise of prices under the present law, rather than a fall. But, taking them at the average of the last ten years, or at 61s. 8d., the reduction from the regular admission of foreign corn at a duty of 6s. or 7s., could not, as has been already seen, exceed 8s. or 10s. Mr Oliver entered into some elaborate statements to show the quantity of land that would be thrown out of tillage by the importation of certain quantities of produce. But there is far too much of hypothesis and conjecture in such estimates, to allow of our laying much stress upon them. The real question is, how much would the proposed change affect prices? If it did not affect them, it could not, whatever might be the amount of imports, in any degree affect the interests of the farmers, or the extent of land in cultivation. But, supposing it were to occasion a reduction of 8s. or 10s. a-quarter, is it not a contradiction to pretend that such a fall would occasion any serious diminution in the growth of corn, when we have seen that a fall of about 25s. a-quarter during the last ten years, as compared with the previous ten, has been accompanied by a large increase of produce?

But it may be said, if you be right in your position, that the constant admission of foreign corn, under a duty of 6s. or 7s., would not, at an average, depress prices more than 8s. or 10s. a-quarter, this is making a contest *de lana caprina*; the ultimate gain derivable from the change being so very trifling as not to balance the inconveniences that must always, in the first instance, ensue from every innovation upon an established system. Nothing, however, can be more shortsighted and erroneous than this representation. Considering the immense consumption of corn in the United Kingdom, a fall of 8s. or 10s. on wheat and other grain in proportion, would be of very great importance: it would, in fact, be a saving of some millions a-year in the expenditure of the labouring population. But this is not by any means the most beneficial result that would follow from the change. We concede that the notions entertained by a very large portion of the community as to the pecuniary advantages

they would derive from the repeal or modification of the Corn Laws, are in a very great degree unfounded. But so long as these laws are kept up, they will never be disabused of their error. Demagogues will exaggerate their injurious operation, that they may thereby inflame the passions of the multitude, excite them to disorder, and acquire influence; the more considerate will contend, that the landlords and farmers must be better judges of the matter than any one else; and that they would not struggle to support an odious system, unless it were a means of enriching themselves at the expense of their neighbours. He must be a bold man, indeed, who can contemplate unappalled the consequences of a struggle between the Town and Country population,—a struggle that would be utterly destructive of the interests of both parties. Unquestionably, however, nothing can be more likely to precipitate such a catastrophe than the resolution to maintain, at all hazards, the present Corn Laws. The folly of such a determination would be at least equal to its guilt. We defy any one to show that the existing Corn Law is productive of any real advantage to the agriculturists; and it is productive of much real, and of still more supposed loss to the other classes.

It appears from the official accounts, that, in 1828, 842,000 quarters of wheat were entered for home consumption, at an average duty of only 1s. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. per quarter. In 1829, the entries were 1,364,000 quarters, and the duty 9s. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. In 1830, the entries rose to 1,702,000 quarters, and the duty fell to 6s. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; and in 1831, the entries were 1,491,000 quarters, and the duty 4s. 8d. Now, there are obviously very slender grounds for thinking that the imports would have been materially greater had the duty been constant at 6s. or 7s.; for though the present system of duties frequently checks importation for a lengthened period, yet, on the other hand, when prices rise, and the duties are reduced, every bushel in the warehouses is immediately entered for home consumption; and the chance which is every now and then occurring of getting grain entered under the nominal duty of 1s. probably tempts the bolder class of speculators to adventure more largely, though at a greater risk to themselves, than they would do under a different system. The gambling spirit generated and kept alive by this system, and which is, if possible, more injurious to the agricultural than to the mercantile classes, will never be got rid of, except by the adoption of the plan we have proposed.

But independently of all other reasons in favour of a change, the disastrous influence of the present Corn Laws on the foreign trade of the country, ought to be held conclusive as to the necessity of their modification. It is unnecessary to recapitulate what we have already stated in reference to this branch of the

subject. Neither is it of any consequence to enquire whether we have done wisely in pushing our manufactures and commerce to the extent to which they have been carried. It is sufficient to know that their continued prosperity is indispensable to the well-being of the state; and that their decline would be productive of national poverty, bankruptcy, and revolution. And yet, were any one asked to point out a method more likely than another to destroy our commercial and manufacturing prosperity, we do not know that he could suggest any thing better calculated to effect that object, than the shutting of our ports against foreign raw produce. What can be more likely to drive away customers from our shop, than the refusal to receive the principal equivalents they have to offer for our goods? or what more likely to provoke them to retaliate, and to tempt them to set up manufactures for themselves?

In their anxiety to make out a case in favour of the existing Corn Law, the Committee have made the notable discovery, that prices have fluctuated less under it than in any former period of our history. Now, it so happens that the present Law was enacted in 1829; so that when the Committee were framing their Report, it had not been *four* years in existence! It is quite ludicrous to draw inferences from an experience of this sort. But admitting that it is sufficient to form the basis of a comparison, it will not go far to support the conclusion of the Committee. The variation in the average yearly prices from 1829 to 1832, was from 66s. 4d. to 58s. 8d., or 7s. 8d.; while during the four years ending with 1774, when the Corn Laws were totally different, and importation comparatively free, prices varied from 47s. 2d. to 52s. 8d., or 5s. 6d.; being 2s. 2d. less than the former. It is true the Committee tell us that the averages, previously to 1792, were not accurately taken; but of this they give no proof, and they do not pretend that the inaccuracy varied from year to year.

No doubt, however, the present system is tolerably well fitted to keep prices pretty steady while the crops are deficient, which was the case during the four years ending with 1832. But it loses all its efficacy the moment they become abundant. Our supply being generally deficient, the restrictions on importation raise our prices in ordinary years above the level of those of the surrounding states; so that when we happen to have an unusually luxuriant harvest, the whole extra supply is thrown upon the home market, exportation being impracticable till the price has sunk ruinously low. It was owing to this circumstance that prices fell in October, 1822, to 38s. 1d. This, in fact, is one of the greatest defects in the existing system; and it is one that is wholly incurable so long as it is maintained.

What we have now stated naturally directs our attention to a topic which we are surprised has not been brought more prominently forward in the discussions as to the Corn Laws—we mean the expediency of granting a drawback on exportation. We trust we have already satisfactorily shown that the agriculturists have an undoubted right to demand that a duty shall be laid on imported corn, sufficient fully to countervail the peculiar duties with which they are burdened; and whether this duty be fixed at 6s., 7s., or 10s., they have an equally good right to claim a corresponding drawback on all corn exported to other countries. To grant the one, and deny the other, would be inconsistent and absurd. The duty on importation is imposed because the corn produced at home is subject to an excess of taxation; and when, therefore, such corn is exported, justice requires that this excess be remitted or drawn back. This is a point on which Mr Ricardo has expressed himself as follows:—

‘ In allowing this drawback, we are merely returning to the farmer a tax which he has already paid, and which he must have to place him in a fair state of competition in the foreign market, not only with the foreign producer, but with his own countrymen who are producing other commodities. It is essentially different from a bounty on exportation, in the sense in which the word bounty is generally understood; for by a bounty is generally meant a tax levied on the people, for the purpose of rendering corn unnaturally cheap to the foreign consumer; whereas, what I propose is, to sell our corn at the price at which we can really afford to produce it, and not to add to its price a tax which shall induce the foreigner rather to purchase it from some other country, and deprive us of a trade which, under a system of free competition, we might have selected.’*

While, therefore, a duty of 6s. or 7s. would secure to the farmers all that increase of price in ordinary years to which they are justly entitled, the accompanying drawback, by enabling them to export in an abundant year, would prevent that ruinous depression of price which, under the present system, uniformly almost renders the bounty of Providence injurious to them. Besides being equitable, and bottomed on sound principles, such a plan would render the business of farmers and corn-dealers comparatively secure; and would give a steadiness to prices, to which, notwithstanding the statement of the Committee, it is quite impossible they should ever attain under the present system.

* Protection to Agriculture, page 53.

We think that by the foregoing deduction we have sufficiently established the following conclusions: 1st, That justice to the agriculturists requires that a fixed duty be laid on foreign corn when imported, sufficient fully to countervail the peculiar burdens laid on corn raised at home; and that this duty may be taken, with a decided leaning in favour of the agriculturists, at 6s. or 7s. a-quarter on wheat, and other grain in proportion. 2d, That the present Corn Law is not founded on this equitable principle, but is intended to force up prices in this country to an artificial elevation, by excluding foreign corn from our markets except when the home price is comparatively high; and that its operation is, in consequence, exceedingly injurious to the public interests, and is especially hostile to, and subversive of our manufacturing and commercial prosperity. 3d, That, comparing the prices in Britain and in foreign exporting countries during the last ten years, there are no grounds whatever for thinking that the opening of the ports, in the way proposed, would occasion a reduction of more than 8s. or 10s. on the average prices of British corn. 4th, That it is quite visionary to suppose that such a fall could give any serious shock to British agriculture, particularly when we see that though prices fell about 25s. a-quarter during the ten years ending with 1830, as compared with the previous ten years, there has been all the while a continued increase in the production of wheat, &c. 5th, That agricultural industry, and the capital of the farmer, must always be insecure and in a 'perilous' state, so long as the present system is continued, and that the false and exaggerated notions entertained of its influence, can hardly fail, if it be maintained, to occasion internal confusion and disorder. And, 6th, That it is not true that the present system gives steady prices;—that, in the event of a fixed duty being laid on corn, equivalent to the peculiar burdens laid on the agriculturists, justice to the latter requires that a corresponding drawback should be allowed on all corn exported; and that a system of this sort, by enabling them to send abroad a portion of the produce of unusually plentiful crops, would prevent prices from being unnaturally depressed in favourable seasons, and would, consequently, be far more advantageous to the farmers, as well as to every other class, than the present system.

We trust no one will infer, from any thing we have stated, that we are inimical to the interests of the agriculturists. Nothing assuredly can be more remote from the fact. Their well-being is inseparable from that of the other classes; and we are most anxious to promote it, in as far as that can be done without injuring others. We, however, heartily dislike all advocacy of particular interests; our object is to promote the real and lasting

prosperity of the community; and the agriculturists may be assured, that this is the only way in which they can be permanently and really benefited. The assertion that their interests are opposed to those of the other classes, is as false as it is dangerous. The real encouragement of agriculture consists in the number and affluence of the manufacturing and commercial classes; that is, of the buyers of agricultural produce; and any nation which imposes burdens and restrictions on the latter, in order to benefit the former, contradicts and defeats the very purpose she is anxious to forward. ‘Land and trade,’ to borrow the just and forcible expressions of Sir Josiah Child, ‘are TWINS, and have always, and ever will wax and wane together. It cannot be ill with trade but land will fall, nor ill with land but trade will feel it.’ Hence the obvious absurdity of attempting to advance one great interest at the expense of the rest. They must all stand or fall together. In an advanced and complicated system like ours, nothing is separate or independent—every thing is mutual and reciprocal. ‘The landed proprietors of England possess the important advantage of immediate vicinity to the largest and most flourishing manufacturing towns in the world; and the consequence is, that in proportion to its fertility, land in England pays a higher rent, whether estimated in produce or in money, than in any other country. Let not shortsighted avarice destroy the sources of the golden eggs; let not the proprietors of England, by restricting the importation of foreign agricultural produce, artificially raise its value in our markets, and thus depress the rate of profit, until the seats of manufacture are transferred to France, or Holland, or Germany. No proposition, we believe, admits of a more rigid demonstration, than that the highest rents will be paid in countries in which manufacturing industry is carried to the greatest height. But it is obviously impossible that manufactures should continue to flourish in a country where restrictions on the importation of corn raise the value of raw produce in relation to wrought goods, and thereby depress manufacturing profits below the rates prevailing in the neighbouring countries. If we do not freely import foreign produce, our manufacturing superiority cannot be maintained, and, by necessity, our high comparative rents cannot continue to be paid.’*

It has been contended by some, that if Parliament, by modifying the Corn Laws, lowers the price of corn, it is bound, from

* *Torrens on the External Corn Trade*, 4th edit. p. 158.

a just regard to the interests of all parties, to enact, that a proportional deduction shall be made from the rents payable to the landlords. But there is no room or ground whatever for any such conclusion. Had it been provided that the Corn Laws were to continue for a certain specified period, there might have been some reason for calling upon the Legislature to interfere to regulate the engagements between landlords and tenants, if an attempt had been made to alter the laws previously to the expiration of such specified term. But it is needless to say that no engagement of the sort was entered into with respect to the Corn Laws. It has always been as open to the Legislature to deal with them as with the window duties, or any thing else. They have been repeatedly changed since 1815; and though they were abolished to-morrow, no one could say that Parliament had done what it had not a perfect right to do. And it would be absurd to suppose, that because a public regulation that might be changed or annulled at any moment, had been dispensed with, it was any part of the duty of Parliament to interfere with the private engagements of those who may be affected by the change. Every one who has bought, let, or hired, land since 1815, did so, knowing that a very large party in the country were hostile to the Corn Laws, and that they were liable to be changed, or to be annihilated, by the Legislature. And we are not to maintain a system destructive of the public interests, or to involve Government in an interference that could lead to nothing but abuse, merely that an attempt may be made to protect a few individuals from the effects of their own improvidence and neglect of the most ordinary precautions.

But, in point of fact, only a small portion of the empire is occupied by tenants for a term of years, paying a fixed money rent, independent of contingencies. Every body knows that a very great part of England is held by *tenants at will*; that is, by tenants who may leave their farms whenever they please, upon giving due notice. If such persons pay too high rents, it is their own fault; and it is very difficult indeed, to see how they are to be injuriously affected by any change in the Corn Laws. Exclusive of these, a large class of farmers, holding under leases, do not pay fixed money rents, but rents *varying with the price of corn*; so that whether it fetches 50s. or 60s. a-quarter is really nearly the same thing to them. The comparative few who pay fixed money rents, under leases having a considerable time to run, may safely be left to deal with their landlords on the sound principle of mutual interest. It is not, and it cannot possibly be, for the advantage of a landlord to act unfairly or harshly by his tenants. The experience of every part of the empire proves that

those estates are always in the best order, and yield in the end the largest returns, where rents are never carried beyond the sum that an industrious tenant is fairly able to pay.

But we advert to these points rather because they have been dwelt upon by others, than because we are of opinion that the probable fall of prices under the system we have proposed would have any sensible influence upon rents. A fall of 7s. or 8s. in the price of corn would, amongst other things, certainly occasion an increased demand for butchers' meat, cheese, butter, and other agricultural products. The price of the latter might not rise in consequence of a modification of the Corn Laws, but assuredly there is no reason whatever for supposing that it would be reduced. If any land ceased to be cultivated it would be applied to pasturage; and though its gross produce might be less, yet, as the expense of attending to it would be next to nothing, it might yield quite as high a rent as before. Neither is it to be doubted that the greater prosperity of manufactures and commerce that would follow from the regular admission of foreign corn, under a moderate duty, would redound, in no ordinary degree, to the advantage of agriculture. Prices did not rise in the interval between the peace of Paris, in 1763, and the breaking out of the late war; and yet, with the exception of two or three years, towards the close of the American war, all sorts of agricultural improvements were carried on during this period with extraordinary vigour and success; and there was a progressive and very considerable rise of rent. This resulted from the great increase of manufactures; the new markets that were opened on all sides; and especially from the greater demand for animal food, in consequence of the greater wealth diffused throughout the country. Similar causes will doubtless be in future productive of similar effects. And we venture to predict, that were the Corn Laws modified in some such way as we have suggested, a very short time only would elapse till rents were decidedly higher than they will ever be under the present system.

It seems to be pretty generally supposed, that landlords have suffered more than any other class, from the change in the situation of the country since the peace. The fact, however, is not really so; and though it were, it could have no influence upon this question. The fall of rents since 1815, may be taken, at an average of Great Britain, at about 25 per cent, not more. But the fall in the rate of profit realized by manufacturers and merchants, and in the interest received by the monied classes, has been decidedly greater than this. The encumbrances of the landlords have also been much dwelt upon, but without good reason; for wherever they consist of debts to strangers contracted

during the high prices, the payments on their account have, speaking generally, been reduced to a greater degree than rents. All those landlords, too, who either live wholly or partly in towns, derive peculiar advantages from the fall in the price of farm produce. They pay less for their bread, beef, and beer; less for the keeping of their horses; and reap, in short, the same direct advantage from the fall as a manufacturer or a stockholder. Their being identified with a monopoly system, which, while it is injurious to the other classes, is not, and can never be of any real benefit to them, is the only unfavourable circumstance in the condition of the landlords of England.

The other arguments in favour of the existing restrictions on the importation of foreign corn will not detain us long. The notion that, if we regularly imported, we might be suddenly deprived of our supplies from abroad, and reduced, in consequence, to the greatest distress, is really too ridiculous to deserve notice. We often hear of agriculturists, manufacturers, &c., being involved in the greatest difficulties, from a disinclination on the part of others to buy; but we never yet have heard, and it may be safely affirmed that we never will hear, of their voluntarily distressing themselves by refusing to sell. Whatever difficulty we have ever hitherto met with in obtaining supplies from abroad, has resulted entirely from our own policy. Owing to the capricious and accidental nature of our demand, it is of little or no advantage to the foreign cultivator; and little or no corn has been raised in the view of its being sent to England. But it would be quite another thing were our ports always open. The supply of the deficiency of the English markets would then be an object of great importance to the Polish, Russian, American, and other foreign cultivators, who, there can be no doubt, would, in consequence, extend their tillage, and increase their disposable surplus.

The following table, which exhibits the quantities of the different sorts of foreign corn imported in 1831, and the countries whence they came, shows the absurdity of supposing that any combination should ever be formed to deprive us of supplies. We are, in this respect, quite independent of the whims and caprices of particular Cabinets. But it deserves notice, that were our ports regularly open, the Government of no foreign nation, from which we imported any considerable quantity of grain, could put a stop to the trade, without inflicting the most serious injury on its own subjects, and occasioning the most violent complaints. The efforts of Napoleon to exclude us from the Continent, contributed, perhaps as much as the snows of Russia, to the overthrow of his colossal power.

ACCOUNT of the IMPORTS into Great Britain of Foreign Corn in 1831; specifying the Countries whence they were Imported, and the Quantities brought from each.

Countries from which imported.	Barley, and Barley Meal.		Beans.		Indian Corn and Meal.		Oats, and Oatmeal.		Peas.		Rye, and Rye Meal.		Wheat, and Wheat Flour.		Buck Wheat.		Total.	
	Qrs.	Bu.	Qrs.	Bu.	Qrs.	Bu.	Qrs.	Bu.	Qrs.	Bu.	Qrs.	Bu.	Qrs.	Bu.	Qrs.	Bu.	Qrs.	Bu.
Russia,	42,568	2	—	—	316	6	369,608	1	6,372	7	53,911	5	461,584	1	937,363	6		
Sweden,	1,718	7	—	—	—	—	20,663	5	34	3	60	6	71	2	22,548	7		
Denmark,	115,658	1	1,299	4	—	—	96,996	5	2,667	2	5,832	2	55,967	6	278,421	4		
Prussia,	60,778	6	1,157	5	—	—	70,115	4	35,211	0	18,447	3	296,286	5	481,996	7		
Germany,	116,928	3	7,664	4	—	—	31,450	1	13,962	7	7,103	5	218,507	4	395,617	1		
The Netherlands,	12,284	0	7,070	3	—	—	15,226	0	471	0	4,205	2	30,249	4	69,506	1		
France,	18,737	7	1,454	0	17,893	2	7,936	0	122	5	137	4	103,700	5	156,673	3		
The Azores,	—	—	0	4	2,649	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	22	2	2,672	1		
Spain,	2,318	3	0	4	1,598	5	—	—	—	4	—	—	154,671	1	158,623	1		
— The Canary Islands,	418	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,082	4	1,501	2		
Italy,	3,003	1	—	—	47	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	253,295	5	260,039	0		
Malta,	—	—	1,031	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	13,339	7	14,371	2		
Ionian Islands,	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	249	3	249	3		
Turkey,	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6,215	4	6,839	7		
Cape of Good Hope,	624	0	—	0	—	—	—	—	—	0	—	—	2,183	4	2,183	4		
Mauritius,	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
East India Company's Territories,	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Van Diemen's Land,	15	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	136	0	—	—	5,490	4	5,641	5		
British North American Colonies,	240	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	461	6	233	6	218,327	2	226,166	3		
British West Indies,	—	—	—	—	0	4	6,902	6	—	—	—	—	45	5	45	5		
United States, America,	—	—	0	1	22,195	3	599	4	0	1	1,887	3	463,418	7	488,101	2		
Chili and Peru,	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	140	7	140	7		
Jersey, Alderney, } Foreign and Man, } Produce.	1,128	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9,242	1	10,463	0		
	5,498	6	18	5	—	—	2,831	2	22	0	—	—	14,265	5	22,636	2		
Total,	381,922	0	23,388	6	44,702	1	622,361	4	59,559	2	91,819	4	2,311,362	2	3,541,809	0		

But it is said, that if we neglect our own agriculture, and depend on that of foreign countries for supplies, any serious deficiency could not be made up by importation. But who says that we are to neglect our agriculture? We have already seen that the produce of our agriculture has increased since the peace, so as to be able to feed nearly *three millions* of additional mouths, notwithstanding the heavy fall of prices in the interval; so that it is contradictory and absurd to contend that the trifling additional fall of price that would be occasioned by the adoption of the system we have recommended could occasion the neglect of agriculture. Besides, though it were so, the objection would not be good. A nation confined to its own resources may suffer severely from a deficient crop; but it is clear, that a nation drawing a portion of her supplies from different quarters, and availing herself of all the peculiar facilities of production given by Providence to different countries, must be less affected by the vicissitudes of harvests. We have frequently heard of a local, but never of a general scarcity.

Mr Barton, in the pamphlet placed at the head of this article, endeavours to prove that a high price of corn diminishes mortality; and in favour of this singular position, he produces tables of burials, prices, &c., from 1780. But, whatever this gentleman may think, it does not necessarily follow, that because two circumstances are consentaneous, the one is, therefore, the cause of the other. The improved condition and habits of the labouring and middle classes since 1780, coupled with the extirpation of the small-pox, and other improvements in medical science, have occasioned a diminution in the rate of mortality, which has more than balanced the contrary influence of the increased price of corn. Mr Barton would have been quite as logical, and quite as correct, had he ascribed the diminished mortality to the increase in the number of steam-engines, or to the more general employment of children in factories.

But we are told, that though every other objection to the plan we have proposed could be successfully disposed of, it is impracticable, inasmuch as the duty on importation could not be levied in scarce years. If the duty were oppressive—that is, if it were imposed artificially to bolster up prices, and not fairly to countervail the peculiar burdens laid on the agriculturists—it might frequently require to be suspended; but we are satisfied, that with a reasonable and moderate duty of 6s. or 7s., accompanied with a corresponding drawback, the fluctuations of price would be confined within such narrow limits, that the anticipated necessity would rarely, if ever, arise. If it did, the Privy Council might easily suspend the duty. No one objects to the Habeas Corpus

Act, that it is necessary sometimes to place it in abeyance ; and its occasional suspension would be no more valid objection to the proposed plan. There is no good reason for thinking that any interference with it would be required once in half a century.

We do, therefore, hope that this great question will be taken up by Parliament, while there is yet time dispassionately to consider it in all its bearings. It must be evident to every man of sense that the present system cannot, and ought not, to continue. And such being the case, a wise Statesman will embrace the earliest opportunity, consistently with the consideration due to so important a subject, of bringing forward the necessary modifications. The grand object ought to be, if possible, to put down agitation by introducing a measure bottomed on sound principles, and calculated to satisfy reasonable men of all parties. And such, we humbly conceive, is the measure we have endeavoured to elucidate.

ART. II.—*A Rhymed Plea for Tolerance, in Two Dialogues ; with a Prefatory Dialogue.* London : 1833.

THE philosophical criticism of satire, or, it may rather be said, of satirical poetry, is a province which, as far as we know, is as yet unexplored. We have no intention of entering here fully into the subject. But a few words concerning one great feature of it will, as we think, form a not unsuitable preface to the account which we are about to give of the little volume before us.

That satire is, or may be, true poetry, the writings of Pope alone afford evidence sufficient. To mention one only of the prominent excellences to be found in his satires, their terseness, and harmony, and even their epigrammatic point and conceit, how alien soever from simplicity of expression, yet tend always to produce a single effect on the mind of the reader, and to swell the sacrifice of whatever victim he brings before us. The indignation of Juvenal, and the gravity of Johnson, tend in like manner to bring one object before our minds, and to amplify it. And if this be not poetry in them, neither can it be poetry in Crabbe or Cowper, or in either the verse or prose of our lamented Scott. Of good poetry, moreover, this is one of the very highest excellences. As it is of the essence of military generalship to bring large masses to bear on one point, so is it of the essence of

the poet's art to bring likewise to bear on one point many impressions. To do this in matters of feeling is to be a pathetic—in matters of description, a graphic—in matters of wit, a brilliant writer. We shall not stop to consider whether there be any poetical qualities besides these. It is enough for our purpose to observe, that as there is nothing poetical in the exercise of the reasoning powers alone, so neither is the exercise of these powers inconsistent with poetry. If, for instance, a writer can infuse pathos or brilliancy into his arguments, his arguments may be no less poetical than his descriptions; and, if they be just and true, their truth and justice will not diminish, but will add greatly to the effect of the fervour or power with which their strictly poetical qualities are conceived or expressed. In all writing possessed of those qualities, nothing more is requisite to make it true poetry, than that the power be not lost or dissipated in uncombined or unintelligible movements; or that the instrument have not only the tones in it which a skilful artist may call out, but that it also be taught to breathe those tones forth with a sufficiently continuous and steady effect.

We think that these principles, which are true of poetry in general, are especially so of satirical poetry; and also that they lead us to a discovery of the chief causes which reduce or limit its popularity. There is certainly no other sort of writing in which powerful minds are more naturally disposed to indulge, and yet none perhaps which, with some splendid exceptions, so soon dies and is forgotten. This is partly because its usual objects are transient and personal, but partly also, we think, in consequence of the almost universal adoption of the form of Dialogue as the vehicle in which it is issued. We do not object to this form of writing altogether. There is no other which gives better or more natural play to a quick and lively imagination and ingenuity. It is, perhaps, for this reason that it became so popular among the Greeks, and that it has also been adopted by Berkeley in a dialogue of which it is little to say that it is not inferior to any of the Socratic. But that it is a form of writing essentially defective in power, may be easily collected from what we have said. It is the very nature of dialogue to break up those masses of impression which all effective poetry brings to bear on one point. There are two ways in which it does this. It either opens a cross fire from an opposite battery, and so riddles the whole platoon, and spoils the charge; or otherwise the charge is made on a very soft-headed respondent, who has but few, and these but idle, words to give in return. This is a dilemma from which compositions of this kind cannot escape. Either the subordinate performer plays blindly into the hands of his principal; or, if he

be made a real party, and allowed to advocate his own cause with spirit, a still worse evil is produced. The critical and controversial faculties are then summoned to decide the question at issue, and all the traces of passion and of impression fade away from the scene. The 'Hind and Panther' affords a sufficient example. If there be any writer in our language of whom we may affirm that he was better qualified than any other to tinge argument with poetical effect, it is Dryden. But though he has put forth his whole strength and his whole heart in this poem, it has nowhere any dominion over the affections; and, though abounding in passages of vigour and poignancy, cannot now be read except as a task.

The application of these cursory observations to the poem before us, is, that we think its Mr A. would have done better without Mr B. A writer who reminds us by turns of Crabbe and of Cowper, no less than of Pope, assuredly is not wanting in any of the intellectual requisites which a satirical poet ought to possess. The author's object is a very noble one, and he reaches it fully; but the form of dialogue which he assumes, intercepts, we think, much of the impression which the evident sincerity, and high tone of moral feeling with which he writes, would otherwise make. The general purport of the work is to enforce the duty of our regarding each other as equally the children of an impartial and benevolent Parent, and of our disallowing to the odious principle of theological hatred any ingress into our minds. Without entering into any of the subordinate matter, we may state this generally, as the argument of the pages before us; and we shall now proceed to quote a few passages illustrative of the phrase and temper in which it is carried on. Some of the couplets, and shorter passages, in particular, appear to us to be of a high order of excellence. But there is an apparent want of practice in writing, or a too habitual indulgence of condensation of thought, which often severely taxes our powers to unravel the meaning.

The following portrait of the perhaps unrivalled female heroism of Mrs Fry is perfectly worthy (and more than this cannot be said) of its subject :

‘ Just so, within that loathsome prison gate,
Mid guilt and crime, and ribald laugh and hate,
Yon female saint, with steadfast footstep, moves,
And bears the ill, because the good she loves;
Untainted walks amid their tainted leaven,
Sees earth's worst part, and communes still with heaven.

A. But principles we hate, and not the man.

B. 'Tis dangerous thus to balance on a span :

For, spite such nice distinction, logic-spun,
 Thinker and thought, to common minds, are one.
 Not Calvin's self could snap the vulgar tether,
 So burn'd the man and principles together.'

On the forced contributions too often levied by a class of religionists, who cannot be expected to possess much favour with a satirist, we have the following commentary:—

' But for the paltry tribe, who calculate,
 Still ere they give, the profit and the rate ;
 Each pro and con in balanced file array'd,
 And charity itself—a thing of trade ;
 And even, when worldly least, then lent, not given ;
 Upcounting still their interest score with heaven :
 But for these ruffian-mendicants : (just such
 Le Sage hath drawn—a musket for a crutch :)
 Who quest for alms, in accent of command,
 And in the name of pity, bid me stand ;
 Hector'd by such, I prize at equal rate,
 Who robs me with the pistol, or the plate.'

From so small a work we must not multiply citations, and therefore conclude with the following, as conveying as clear a notion as any other we could select, of the general feeling and character of the whole:—

' And what though some, not shunning to be taught,
 Nay, thirsty for the truth, yet find it not ;
 Like fainting traveller, through Arabian sand,
 Where the shy fount still mocks the searching hand,
 Condemned to tread the Doubter's dreary way,
 To the last tinge of life's descending day.
 Yet even for these,—the spirit bold and rude,
 And all the irreverent heat of youth subdued,—
 Slow rolling years at length have done their part,
 Whilst from the husband's and the father's heart,
 New feelings, household interests, budding out,—
 If not supplanting, yet o'ershadowing doubt,—
 Produce at length the calm submitted mind,
 That past and present scans with will resign'd,
 And onward pondering o'er the dark untrod,
 In humblest acquiescence rests on God.

' And yet such faith though God perhaps permit,
 Nor church, nor conventicle, deem it fit.
 No sheltering niche have they for trembling doubt :
 Or true, or false, the creed must still be stout,
 Pledg'd to some sect—less matter what that one,—
 But woe betide the wretch who herds with none.

' Each hath his own prophetic dream, I wis—
 His mad millennium scheme—and mine is this :

A greater than the old Saturnian birth
 Shall come, when o'er this vex'd and vexing earth
 Tolerance her wing shall spread, like parent dove,
 And faith be but another word for love ;
 And conscience, on no synods forced to wait,
 Herself perform the work of sect and state.

* * * * *

By simple folk bred up, unwont to range,
 I cling to childhood's prayers, and shrink from change :
 But taught the Gospel came, that stripes should cease,
 Hold, like Moravian, its best lesson—Peace :
 On harder doctrines lean, in quiet trust,
 And leave polemic folios in their dust ;—
 But this point hold, howe'er each sect may brawl,
 Where pure the life, where free the heart from gall,
 Whate'er the creed, Heaven looks with love on all.'

That we concur unreservedly in all these sentiments, (and indeed there is scarcely any sentiment of the author in which we do not concur,) the pages of this journal must bear ample testimony. And to this we may add, what is no slight praise, that the author's hatred of intolerance, does not lead him into any intolerant severity towards any of those persons, who, from too dogmatic an education, or from too narrow and exclusive principles of religion, may still hold opinions less truly catholic than we think they ought to do, and even hope they will do. But we may also observe, that though he has not conjured up quite out of nothing the giant on whom he inflicts wounds, which in all reason ought to be mortal, he yet has very much amplified his giant's real form and dimensions. A man of liberal education, and who has plainly lived in good society, must, we think, have been unfortunate, if, in these times, he has found it the character of any circle in which he has mixed, to deny that error, or discrepancy of faith, may often be involuntary, and therefore honest ; or to exclude any honest or conscientious individual from the approbation of the common Father of mankind, or from the happiness which that Father will bestow in the future world, on all who love and serve him in sincerity. A great degree of confusion, as to the process by which this is to be brought about, and how it is to be reconciled to subscriptions and creeds, is, we doubt not, exceedingly common ; and among the many manifestations of spirits and tongues which we are now visited with, we are well aware that some are very selfish and exclusive. For subscriptions and creeds we are no sticklers. We at least think, that if they are narrow, they ought to be enlarged. But still we are confident, that the great preponderance in weight, in numbers, and in orthodoxy, of the members not of our own

Church only, and of the Church of England, but also of that of Rome, both join in the feeling as expressed above, that with God sincerity is all in all, and also sincerely hold this feeling to be consistent, and without any questionable casuistry, with all the formularies to which they assent or subscribe.

ART. III.—*Historical Memoirs of the House of Russell, from the Time of the Norman Conquest. With a Preliminary Volume on the first race of Ancestry whence the House of Russell had its origin.* By J. H. WIFFEN, M.R.S.L. 3 vols. 8vo. London: 1833.

FAMILY history, usually confined to dates and pedigrees, assumes a higher tone, and becomes an object of general interest, when it illustrates the character and manners of past times, or throws light on the great revolutions that take place, at certain periods, in human affairs. In this last respect, Mr Wiffen has been singularly fortunate in his choice of the family, whose history he has undertaken to elucidate. The first of the House of Russell who attained to eminence, flourished at a time when the Reformation of Religion gave a new turn to the foreign and domestic policy of his country. A second member of the family was deeply engaged in that memorable contest between liberty and prerogative, which brought one monarch to the scaffold, and hurled another from his throne. A third, the best beloved and most popular of his name, sealed with his blood his attachment to the rights and liberties of his countrymen. The last of the family commemorated in these pages, took an active part in those struggles between the Court and the Aristocracy, which have ended in the reconstruction of the House of Commons on a more popular basis than had ever existed in any former period of our history. In this last innovation, it may be added, as well as in the change of religion, and in the contests with prerogative, the name of Russell again appears in connexion with Reform.

Mr Wiffen, with the usual passion of antiquaries to dive into the darkest and least interesting parts of their subject, has dedicated a preliminary volume to the early, and, we must confess, problematical history of the Russells. He has more satisfactorily traced the origin of their name to the castle of Rozel, near Cherbourg, in Lower Normandy, the possessors of which, as frequently happened in the infancy of surnames, appear to have taken their designation from one of their principal fiefs. The signature of

Hugh du Rozel occurs as witness to a charter of Matilda, wife of the Conqueror, as early as 1066. But, though usually called du Rozel, the possessors of that domain, with a latitude not unfrequent in the early history of the feudal baronage, sometimes styled themselves De Barneville, from another castle that belonged to them. A branch of the family obtained the fief of Rosel, near Caen, which, from the similarity of its name, had that appellation most probably given to it by its possessor, a younger son of the Lord du Rozel. It is from this younger branch that Mr Wiffen derives the Dukes of Bedford.

The family of du Rozel, according to the information collected by Mr Wiffen in Normandy, was itself a younger branch of the Bertrands, Lords of Briquebec, descended from Drogo, the companion, if not the relation, of Rollo, first Duke of Normandy. This extraction gives our author an opportunity of exhibiting a pedigree of the Russells from Olaf the sharp-eyed, King of Rerik, in the sixth century, to Hugh Bertrand, *alias* du Rozel, *alias* de Barneville, who accompanied the Conqueror in his invasion of England. It has also furnished him with an excuse for extracting from Snorro some curious details of the predatory habits, ferocious manners, and vindictive passions of the Jarls and Vikingr, the ancestors of Rollo, and enabled him to touch on the adventures of the Bertrands in Apulia, and to enter on the part they took in the civil wars and dissensions of Normandy before the Conquest. These topics diversify agreeably the early and more arid parts of his work.

Hugh du Rozel, the first person who is known to have assumed that designation, attended the Conqueror in his invasion of England, and, with his four sons, assisted at the battle of Hastings. One of his sons accompanied Robert of Normandy in the first Crusade; and, under the name of the Lord de Barneville, distinguished himself greatly in that expedition. After prodigies of valour, in various encounters with the Saracens, he perished under the walls of Antioch, universally regretted by the army. His younger brother Hugh, Lord of Rosel, near Caen, returned in safety from the Holy Land, and establishing himself in England, became the progenitor of the Dukes of Bedford.

It does not appear that Hugh du Rozel or his sons obtained any distinguished recompense for their services in the conquest of England. No one of the name of Russell is to be found in 'Domesday' among the tenants in chief, though persons of the name of Rozell and Rozellin are repeatedly mentioned as under-tenants. It is stated in the 'Testa de Nevill,' that the manor of Kingston Russell, in Dorsetshire, had been in the family of Russell from the time of William the Bastard. If this be correct,

they must have held it originally as under-tenants, or it must have been granted to them after the conclusion of the survey. It is valued in the 'Testa de Nevill' at half a hide of arable land, and described as a manor held in serjeanty, under the obligation of serving the King as Marshal of the Butlery at Christmas and Easter.

Mr Wiffen appears to have employed great pains and industry in tracing the family of Russell, in many of its branches, through the offices and employments they held, the lands they possessed, and the marriages they contracted, during the long period that elapsed from the Norman Conquest to the accession of the House of Tudor. But, as these are points of little interest to general readers, we shall proceed at once to the founder of the future wealth and greatness of the family.

John Russell, afterwards Earl of Bedford, was eldest son of James Russell of Barwick, in the county of Dorset. Little is known of his early life or education. He appears to have travelled abroad, and to have obtained a knowledge of foreign languages. In consequence of this acquisition, he was sent for, by his relation Sir Thomas Trenchard, to entertain Philip of Austria, who, with his wife Joanna, heiress of Castile, had been driven by stress of weather to land at Weymouth. Philip, pleased with the conversation of Mr Russell, carried him to Windsor, and introduced him to the notice of Henry VII., who appointed him one of the gentlemen of his privy chamber. In this situation he was continued by Henry VIII.; and on the breaking out of hostilities with France, he accompanied that monarch to the Continent as a volunteer. In the war that followed, he distinguished himself as an active and successful partisan; and on the surrender of Tournay he was named deputy-governor of that fortress, and had a grant of lands in the newly conquered country, in testimony and recompense of his services. In a subsequent war he signalized himself in the capture of Morlaix, lost an eye on the occasion, and with Sir Thomas More and others, received the honour of knighthood on the spot, from the Earl of Surrey, Admiral of the fleet. In 1523, he was sent on a secret mission to the Constable of Bourbon, who, in resentment of his private injuries, had offered to betray his country, and open to the enemies of France an entrance into the heart of that kingdom. Russell reached Chantilly without discovery, and concluded a treaty with Bourbon according to his instructions. But the plot being surmised or detected before it was ripe for execution, the Constable, instead of accomplishing his treasonable purpose, was compelled to escape as a fugitive from the country he had intended to betray; and returning with a band of foreigners, he was baffled

by the perfidy of his German mercenaries, in his attempt to penetrate into France. On this discomfiture, Bourbon repaired to the Imperial army in Italy, and Russell remained in communication with him at Besançon.

In the following campaign, Russell appears to have found no small difficulty in conveying to Bourbon the money intrusted to his care for the use of that adventurer in his projected invasion of Provence. From Geneva to Chambery he had it carried on mules, 'packed in bales, trussed with baggage; as oats and old clothes, to make it bulky, and nicked with a merchant's nick, as merchants accustomedly doth use to convey merchandise to Italy upon mules, for other carriage is not possible to be had.' Arrived at Chambery, he informs his employers that the Duke of Savoy, 'like a noble and gentle prince, had lovingly condescended to let the money be transported to Turin on his own mules in his coffer, wherein accustomedly is carried the ornaments and stuff of his chapel; and upon them is written the contents of every coffer, to the intent that none otherwise may be thought than that it is his stuff unto his chapel belonging.' Under this sanctified cloak were the wages of Henry VIII. transmitted, by a neutral prince, to the Constable of Bourbon, for the ruin and devastation of his country. How it must surprise the 'noble and gentle' money-brokers of the present day, to find such difficulties in the conveyance of subsidies to a belligerent. We have heard of the clerk in a counting-room being despatched from London to Vienna, with a passport through Holland, and a mystical scrap of paper in his pocket, which was sufficient to rekindle the flames of war, and once more to let loose hordes of ruthless barbarians to lay waste and desolate the civilized world. In the sixteenth century the scarcity of money and want of credit were the great obstacles to extensive plans of conquest, and the great safeguards to nations against flagitious attacks on their independence.

Russell remained in Italy, after the battle of Pavia, till the departure of Bourbon for Spain. The Court of England had, in the meantime, changed entirely its system of foreign policy; in consequence of which he was, soon after his return, sent a second time into Italy, to negotiate with the Pope, who had also abandoned his former ally, and entered into a league, with Henry and Francis, against the Emperor. In his second mission, Sir John Russell had many difficulties to encounter from the fears and vacillations of the Papal court; and, in the course of his negotiations, he was exposed to no small personal danger from the preponderance of the Imperialists in Italy. In a third mission he was sent

to Bologna, to confer with Lautrec, commander of the French armies in that country.

The services of Sir John Russell abroad could not fail to recommend him for employment at home. But, though favoured by Wolsey, he appears to have had no great advancement in his fortune till Cromwell was placed at the head of affairs. He had been intimately connected with Cromwell while in Italy, and had received from him useful aid and advice when placed in a situation of difficulty and peril at Bologna; in return for which he had introduced Cromwell into the service of Wolsey, and recommended him to the favour of the King. Cromwell was not unmindful of their past friendship, and, on his own elevation to power, he procured for Sir John Russell the place of Comptroller of the Household, and the rank of Privy Counsellor. On the breaking out of an insurrection in Lincolnshire, occasioned by the innovations of Henry and his minister in matters of religion, Russell was employed to appease the insurgents, which he accomplished without bloodshed; and, on the birth of Edward VI., he was raised, with other commoners, to the peerage, and to enable him to maintain his dignity, he had a grant from the Crown of the manor of Amersham, which had been forfeited seventeen years before by the attainder of Stafford, Duke of Buckingham. That there was any crime or disgrace in accepting from the Crown the manor of Amersham, because it had once belonged to a Duke of Buckingham, who may or may not have been guilty of the treason for which he suffered, no one but Mr Burke, in the irritable and vindictive temper of his later years, could have ventured to insinuate. The manor of Amersham had escheated to the Crown by a legal judgment; and as the law then stood, it was competent for the reigning prince to bestow it, in reward of services to the state, on any one he thought deserving of such a recompense. Whether forfeited by a recent or by an ancient attainder, it was equally at the disposal of the Crown; and in neither case was the person, to whom the grant was made, legally or morally responsible for the manner in which it had fallen into the hands of government. Lord Russell had no more to do with the execution of the Duke of Buckingham than Mr Burke himself. He was alive, indeed, at the time, but had neither been judge, accuser, nor witness, at the trial. It was probably on account of its vicinity to his estate of Chenies, that Amersham was selected as the reward of his services, and the means of enabling him to support his dignity.

Soon after the elevation of Lord Russell to the peerage he was made Knight of the Garter, and appointed Lord Warden of the Stannaries. For these favours he seems to have been indebted to the influence of Cromwell; and, though far from deserting that mini-

ster on his fall—having, on the contrary, as Mr Wiffen informs us, ‘with virtuous boldness remonstrated for pardon,’—his course of prosperity was not interrupted by that event. In 1541 he was constituted Lord High Admiral, and named President of the Council which was instituted for the administration of justice in the south-western counties. In 1543 he exchanged the office of Lord High Admiral for the Privy Seal; and, in the last expedition of Henry into France, he assisted at the taking of Boulogne, and commanded with the Duke of Norfolk at the siege of Montreuil. After his return to England, he was actively engaged in providing for the defence of the south-western coast against a threatened descent of the French; and on the death of the King, he was one of the sixteen executors named in his will.

During the reign of Edward VI., Lord Russell was employed in repressing a formidable insurrection in Devonshire and Cornwall, which had been provoked by the innovations in religion, and exasperated by extensive enclosures of commons. For this service he was created Earl of Bedford, and during the remainder of that reign he continued in the office of Privy Seal, taking as little part as possible in the internal dissensions of the ministry. On the conclusion of a treaty of marriage between Queen Mary and Philip of Spain, grandson of his first patron, he was sent to Corunna to obtain the ratification of the marriage articles before the arrival of that prince in England; and soon after his return he expired at his house in the Strand, forty-nine years after his first introduction to public life; leaving behind him, says Mr Wiffen, ‘the reputation of being almost the only nobleman at Court, who, by his prudence, moderation, and innate gentleness of heart, had managed to stand well with all parties during the changes, the troubles, and the factions, of four successive reigns.’ He appears, indeed, to have been a man of singular prudence, and of no mean capacity for business, faithful to his friends, but not above profiting by their misfortunes when he could no longer serve them.

We have entered into this, perhaps tedious, enumeration of the principal services and employments of the Earl of Bedford, as affording some explanation of the honours and rewards heaped upon him, without having recourse to the calumnious imputation of Mr Burke, that he was indebted to his baseness and subserviency for his fortune. According to that accomplished but malignant libeller, the first Earl of Bedford was ‘the minion of Henry VIII.—in all likelihood such another as his master—the prompt and greedy instrument of a levelling tyrant—his favourite and chief adviser—one who brought poverty, wretchedness, and depopulation on his country—a courtier raised to eminence by instigating a tyrant to injustice.’ To these charges it may be

answered, that they have no foundation whatever but in the ulcerated and distempered imagination of Mr Burke. History gives no authority for them. The Earl of Bedford was employed with others in the service of Henry VIII. ; but there is no ground for the assertion that he was the minion or chief adviser of that monarch. It was not to the partiality of the King, but to the favourable opinion of Wolsey and Cromwell, that he owed his first advancement in the public service. During the prosecution of the divorce, and at the time of the establishment of the royal supremacy, he had not even a privy counsellor's place. When the monasteries were suppressed, he was comptroller of the household—an office not likely to give him much weight in affairs of state. He was none of the commissioners appointed to investigate the abuses in these foundations, or to persuade or compel their inmates to surrender their possessions to the Crown. In an age soured with theological acrimony, and inflamed with religious animosities, he is not accused of harshness or severity to the adherents of the ancient faith. He presided, it is true, by virtue of his office, at the trial of the Abbot of Glastonbury, who was condemned by the verdict of a jury and hanged for theft ; but, on the other hand, it was at his intercession the Abbot of Peterborow was spared, for whom he applied to Cromwell as being ‘ an honest man, and as ‘ ready and obedient a subject as any one of his coat in England.’ He served or commanded in many foreign expeditions with credit and reputation, and was repeatedly charged with the defence of the coast of England against foreign invasion. If he was employed to put down internal disturbances, he is not accused either of slackness or of cruelty in the discharge of that duty. In the reign of Edward he was appointed to negotiate peace with France, and in obedience to his instructions, he gave back Boulogne to its former masters, four years before the stipulated term for its surrender—a place which he had contributed to take, and which neither he nor any one else thought it advisable to keep. In a long political life he deserted no friend, and never abandoned the cause he had espoused. A partisan of the Reformation, he received from its friends splendid rewards for his services, and had therefore no occasion, in his declining years, to accept from his political adversaries what might be considered the price of his tergiversation. He seems to have been a man of good sense, without brilliant or commanding qualities, and to have served four successive princes without the employment of any bad arts to gain or to secure their favour.

The Earl of Bedford, it is true, was enriched by grants of abbey lands, which the Crown had acquired by forced surrenders or direct confiscation. It is unnecessary to enter on the means employed

by Henry and his ministers for the suppression of monasteries. The Earl of Bedford does not appear to have been either the adviser or agent in these measures. The grants made to him were of lands already annexed to the Crown. Similar grants had been made in every reign since the Conquest. When lands fell to the Crown by escheat or forfeiture, it had been usual at all times, after a longer or shorter interval, to confer them on persons who had rendered real or supposed services to the state. The grants of Henry VIII., differed in no respect from those of his predecessors, except in their magnitude, and in the offence they gave, and still give, to religious parties. The Catholics lament the uses from which they were subtracted. The Protestant clergy grudge them to laymen, and murmur at the selfishness which could appropriate otherwise than to the church established by law, the spoils that had been wrested from its predecessor. Regarding themselves as inheritors from the Catholic clergy, they are enraged that any part of the heritage has escaped them.

Two objections have been made to the alienations of the abbey-lands by Henry VIII. It has been said, that, if the estates taken from the monks had been retained by the Crown, the King would have possessed an independent revenue, without taxes or impositions on the subject. Such shallow politicians forget that it has been the necessity for parliamentary aids which has restrained whatever was arbitrary in prerogative, and secured and confirmed to the people whatever privileges and liberties they enjoy. Let them reflect on what must have been the fate of England, if Charles I. had been able to make war on Scotland without applying for assistance to his English parliament. It has been held by another class of objectors, that to deprive the Church of property, once dedicated to its service, is sacrilege; and that every layman, who partakes of its spoils, is guilty of that offence. If this doctrine were true—if the Church, like the grave, were ever to receive and never to render back—if its property could not be alienated by any authority on earth, while its aggrandisement could be checked only by temporal laws, that might be relaxed or suspended from temporary considerations—the Church would be an abyss in which all the landed property of the kingdom must in time be engulfed. But the objection proceeds on an utter confusion of thought. It is founded on a transference, in idea, to land, of a quality that can belong only to the persons to whom it appertains, or to the uses for which it is appropriated. The proprietor of land may be a sacred person, and the uses to which it is applied may be sacred uses; but the land itself can have no such character. Church property, as well as lay property, may be unjustly confiscated, and the crime in both cases is the same;

but when once annexed to the state, it is open to laymen as much as to churchmen. Church lands, like lands in ancient demesne, may retain, in the hands of private individuals, privileges which they had acquired in their pristine state; but to maintain that land which once belonged to the Church must be for ever devoted to ecclesiastical uses, is not more reasonable than to say, that land in ancient demesne can have no lawful purchaser but the Crown. If land, once dedicated to sacred purposes, became for ever sacred, it should follow, by a parity of reasoning, that land, once dedicated to infamous uses, became for ever infamous. But who ever thought that the estate of the Bishop of Winchester in Southwark had a character of infamy attached to it, because, in the times of his lordship's predecessors, it was set apart for the public stews, which were kept under their guidance and superintendence?

Francis, second Earl of Bedford, appears to have been a pious, charitable man, zealously attached to the Reformation. Being appointed governor of Berwick in 1564, he had much intercourse with Scotland; and his correspondence printed in these volumes, part of which had been already published, contains some interesting particulars of the tragic scenes passing in that kingdom. The following extract from one of his letters to Sir William Cecil, describes the little artifices practised by Mary and Darnley, to gain proselytes to their religion; and, while it exposes the failure of their endeavours, it justifies the distrust entertained by Knox and other Reformers of their designs.

‘After my hearty commendations, I send you herewith Mr Randolph’s letters, whereby you shall, I doubt not, understand the whole estate of things here. Religion is much feared by the godly and honest, and popery sought to be set up and advanced. The Queen there useth some speech to some, and to others she useth to take them by the hands and offereth to lead them with her to mass, which thing the Earls of Bothwell and Huntley both refused to do. That Home did so, I marvel not a little. The Lord Darnley sometimes would shut up the noblemen in chambers, thereby to bring them to hear mass; but such kind of persuasions takes no place with them. At this great assembly now, at the ambassador’s coming, were ten Earls, whereof the one half went to mass, the other half to the sermon; and so did all the lusty gentlemen and courtiers, triple in number in respect of the others, went to the sermon, notwithstanding the ceremony; so that the Queen, at their return thence, marvelled thereat not a little.’

This letter was written after the exile of Murray, and before the murder of Rizzio had raised an insuperable bar between Mary and her husband. In the following summer, the Earl of Bedford was sent to the Scottish Court, to assist at the baptism of the young Prince, afterwards James I. of England. He was

most graciously received; and an account of the embassy, containing some characteristic features of the times, is published by Mr Wiffen, from a contemporary MS. written by one of the attendants of the Earl. He has also introduced into his narrative several original letters of the same period, one in particular from Queen Elizabeth, strongly marked with her hesitating, ambiguous policy towards Scotland.

Francis, fourth Earl of Bedford, was early engaged in the struggles against prerogative excited by the arbitrary language and proceedings of the two first Princes of the House of Stuart; and at the meeting of the Great Parliament, he was considered one of the principal leaders of the popular party. On the sudden and total discomfiture of the Court faction, application was made to him and to his friends, to accept the administration of affairs,—the only condition required from them being to save the life of the Earl of Strafford. Some particulars of the arrangements proposed, are related by the Earl of Clarendon; but it seems doubtful, whether the condition could have been complied with; and nothing was definitively settled, when the sudden death of the Earl of Bedford put an entire end to the negotiation. The Countess of Carlisle, who gave intelligence to the five members of the King's design to go in person to the House of Commons, and arrest them in the bosom of that assembly, was daughter of the Earl of Bedford. She was told of the plot with exultation by the Queen, who thought it already executed. Lady Carlisle said nothing, but took her leave as soon as possible, and instantly sent a messenger to the House, who arrived just in time to save her friends, and perhaps her country, from destruction.

The life of William, Lord Russell, has been written with such copiousness of information and soundness of judgment by one of his descendants, as to leave nothing to be added by Mr Wiffen. With the just remarks of Lord John Russell, on the state of England, at the time when Lord Russell fell a sacrifice to the tyrannical and arbitrary measures of the Court, we entirely concur. In the temper which then prevailed, there was no hope of rousing the people to successful resistance. This seems to have been the opinion entertained by Lord Russell; and, impressed as he appears to have been with its truth, there is no reason to believe, that he did more than consult with his friends, as to what might be practicable, if there should arise a different spirit in the nation. That Lord Russell was 'wrongfully convicted, attainted, and executed,' is declared in the Act of Parliament reversing his attainder; and, more than a hundred and fifty years after his death, in times unfavourable to the principles he held, the latest commentator on his trial does not hesitate to state, that much in-

admissible evidence was produced, and much unjust prejudice thereby created against him—that the witnesses for the prosecution swore to what was ‘entirely false,’ and might have been shown at the time to have been untrue—and that in the ‘summing up of the Lord Chief Justice, several erroneous statements were made in some important parts, and those of a nature likely to produce very considerable effect on the jury.’ The same author, it is true, denies the assertion in the act of reversal, that the attainder of Lord Russell was obtained by ‘partial and unjust constructions of law;’ and maintains, that ‘in this respect, there is no just cause of complaint against his judges.’ On the course of argument pursued by the learned gentleman, we shall not venture an opinion. But we beg to submit to him, whether the doctrine he has laid down, that consulting to levy war against the King, is in itself, and without other circumstances, to be received as evidence of a traitorous design against his life, does not render vain and illusory the distinction made by the statute of Edward III., between the crime of compassing and imagining the King’s death, and that of levying war against him. If *consulting* to levy even, had been considered by the authors of the statute of treasons, evidence of an intention to take away the King’s life, it is inconceivable that they should have made the *actual* levying of war a distinct offence. But, if this construction was not in the minds of the original makers of the law, it becomes what has been fitly termed ‘Judge-made law.’

Mr Wiffen has attempted a vindication of Russell, Earl of Orford, from the imputations cast on his character, arising out of his clandestine intercourse with James II., after the Revolution. This part of his book is the one of which we least approve: if it be true, as he endeavours to persuade us, that Lord Orford engaged in this intercourse with the knowledge and consent of King William, his loyalty may be justified, but it must be at the expense of his honour. To entice the exiled monarch into declarations injurious to his interests, by false and insidious assurances of support, which he never intended to give, was the part of a vulgar traitor, unbecoming the station of Lord Orford.

Sir Robert Walpole was at the head of affairs when John, fourth Duke of Bedford, entered on public life; and the first exertions of his Grace in Parliament, were in opposition to that minister. On the fall of Walpole, he appears to have been dissatisfied with the use made by Pulteney of his victory; and, while foreign affairs were conducted by Lord Carteret, he distinguished himself by hostility to the German politics, adopted by that rash and presumptuous Minister in compliance with the electoral predilections of George II. In the coalition of parties that threw

the friends of Lord Bath out of office, and secured the preponderance of the Pelhams, the Duke of Bedford was appointed first Lord of the Admiralty; and in the discharge of that duty, he appears to have conducted the naval affairs of his country with ability and success,—introducing many salutary reforms into a branch of the public service which, for several years, had been much neglected. In order to make way for his friend, Lord Sandwich, he accepted, in 1748, the office of Secretary of State; and in that situation he succeeded, after a long and difficult negotiation, in renewing with the Court of Madrid the amicable and commercial relations between England and Spain, which had been interrupted for many years. He remained Secretary of State till the death of Frederic, Prince of Wales, when the jealousy of the Pelhams, which had been hitherto smothered by their timidity, broke out into acts of petty hostility, and drove him, by repeated slights and bad usage, to resign.

From his resignation in 1751, to the conclusion of the Duke of Newcastle's administration, the Duke of Bedford remained out of office, opposing on various occasions the measures proposed by the government, and refusing, from dislike and distrust of the Duke of Newcastle, to accept of any office under him. In the complicated negotiations that followed, he took an active part; and, though dissatisfied with the Duke of Devonshire for submitting to the terms imposed on him by Mr Pitt, he consented, at the solicitation of that nobleman, to accept the office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, which he held till after the accession of George III. But, though connected with Ministers by the post he held throughout the whole of Mr Pitt's splendid administration, he disapproved of the enormous, and, as he thought, useless expense of the German war; and when called to the Cabinet Council by George III., he was the only man there, who dared openly to oppose the warlike measures proposed by that great but dictatorial minister. He was on that account selected by Lord Bute to negotiate the peace of 1763, which exposed him afterwards to much unmerited obloquy and unpopularity. On the death of Lord Egremont, he became President of the Council in the administration of Mr Grenville. In 1765, he was dismissed from office with his colleagues; and, though deeply engaged in the political intrigues that followed, he never accepted afterwards of any public employment. He died in 1771, having some years before lost his only son, a young man of the most amiable and respectable character.

John, Duke of Bedford, appears to have been a man of considerable talents, both for business and debate—frank, but hot in temper—violent and impetuous in conduct—bold and fearless in character—obstinate in determinations once adopted—honest in

intentions, but surrounded by designing, interested persons, who worked on his passions, and moulded him to their purpose—the most ungovernable, it was said, and yet the most governed of mankind.

The times in which he lived were not remarkable for great personages or great events. The contests engendered by the Reformation were at an end, and the political excitations of later times had not begun. It was a period of transition in the political world, as certain rocks and strata are conceived to be in the natural. At its commencement, the Protestant party, though no longer in danger, still talked of looking after and upholding the Protestant interest. At its close, the proceedings against Wilkes had revived those discussions, which still agitate and divide the civilized world. In the reigns of the first two Princes of the House of Brunswick, the violence of political dissension had gradually subsided, under a succession of administrations, more remarkable for their mildness than for their vigour. In this tranquil state of the public mind, there was no internal movement or agitation, that could excite inquietude; the mass of waters was still, and hardly, if at all, disturbed by the light breezes, that from time to time produced a transient ripple on its surface. Arts and manufactures were improved—commerce extended—the boundaries of science enlarged—and knowledge more generally diffused in those classes of society, which had hitherto taken their opinions, as they borrowed their fashions, from their superiors. The new policy adopted by the Court, at the accession of George III., interrupted this state of political languor and tranquillity. Instead of allowing the aristocracy to govern the people, the King determined to govern the aristocracy. Much weakness and disorder followed the experiment; and, when brought to a successful issue, the American war was the bitter fruit of his victory. Checked for a moment, by the union of the aristocracy and people, he was again triumphant by their disunion, and by the unexpected aid of a most extraordinary man, who thenceforward for many years directed, with almost unlimited authority, the entire power of the state. By what course of negligence and mismanagement—by what lavish and reckless expenditure of public money—by what blind inattention to the progress of opinion—by what obstinate adherence to ancient and exploded abuses—by what internal discords and panic fears—the party he had formed and consolidated, fell to pieces, it would be long to rehearse. The combat began in 1760, and, contrary to the intentions both of those who provoked and of those who first sustained the contest, the litigants have quitted the field with a shell a-piece, while the people have entered on their inheritance.

The establishment of the House of Brunswick led to great changes in the character both of Whigs and Tories. The Whigs had originally taken up the Hanover succession as the best security for their civil and religious liberties. But, in the contest they had to maintain, for more than thirty years, in support of the Parliamentary settlement they had made, they seem to have forgotten the end for which alone it was desirable. Without changing or forsaking the principles of their forefathers, they appear to have considered it their first and paramount duty to maintain the House of Brunswick on the throne. In the latter part of the reign of George II., and at the accession of George III., Whig and friend of the Hanover succession were synonymous terms. Retaining their Low Church principles, they were content to protect the Dissenters from outrage and persecution, without repealing the intolerant laws which affixed a stigma on that meritorious body, lest they should exasperate the High Church party, and drive them into more active Jacobitism. They courted popularity by the mildness of their government; but, to gratify and conciliate the Princes they had exalted, they were often induced to sacrifice the real interests of England to the German passions and prejudices of the Kings they had set over her. Opposed to a majority of the nation, who, from various reasons, were adverse to the reigning dynasty, they were compelled to use management and corruption in order to secure a majority in the House of Commons. Means were systematically pursued to reduce all the smaller burghs into dependence on the Whig aristocracy; and as the Tories adopted, in self-defence, a similar plan of operations, a narrow Oligarchy was at length established, which had supreme dominion in the state. The members of this Oligarchy, it is true, were divided, and at first a majority belonged to the Whigs; but, in process of time, the greater part were seduced into an entire subserviency to the Ministers of the day, of whatever party they might be composed. Some remains of popular representation still subsisted; but it was only in times of great and general excitement that it had much influence on affairs.

The more active, intelligent, and ambitious of the Tories, either abjured their former principles, and went over to the ruling party; or, passing into opposition, acquired the language and adopted the opinions of the ancient Whigs. But the great mass of the party remained in sullen retirement, cherishing their antiquated prejudices; priding themselves on their consistency in error; and waiting, in moody sulkiness, till the sunshine of Court favour warmed them, like so many winter grubs, into active existence. When they reappeared at St James's, it was said that they had exchanged nothing but their badge,—the *white rose* for the *white*

horse. So incapable were they of public employments, that it was many years after the first dawning of favour before any of them could be trusted with an office of business. It was not till the administration of Lord North, that they were thoroughly reconciled to the Hanoverian dynasty.

The Whigs, though united in their attachment to the House of Hanover, had no other bond of union, but were divided into clans or parties under separate leaders, jealous of one another, and contending for power and patronage. Of these clans, the most numerous and powerful was attached to the Pelhams, who had laboured for many years, with systematic industry, to strengthen their party and sow disunion among their rivals. A concurrence of circumstances, in 1756, shook their power. The loss of Minorca was imputed to the negligence of the government. The defence of England intrusted to foreign mercenaries, in preference to a national militia, excited a general cry of indignation. Mr Fox, Secretary of State, was unpopular from the favour he enjoyed with the Duke of Cumberland; and, though leader of the House of Commons, he was left destitute of real power, and kept in the dark with respect to the interior management of that Assembly, by the jealousies and suspicions of the Duke of Newcastle. The Attorney-General Murray, a man of the most splendid talents, though ever timid from the consciousness of his early connexion with the Jacobites, insisted on being appointed to the office of Lord Chief Justice, which was then vacant. Such were the materials ready for conflagration, with Leicester House active and busily employed in blowing the coals. It was no wonder that the Duke of Newcastle resigned in a fright, after knocking at every door, and being everywhere refused admittance. One man, and one man only, enjoyed the confidence of the public. Mr Pitt, as haughty as the haughtiest of the aristocracy, made the great Lords truckle to his terms. But, so heavy was the yoke he imposed on them, that within a few weeks after he came into office, they employed Mr Welbore Ellis to solicit the return of Mr Fox from Bath, to which he had retired for the recovery of his health, that they might have some one, in the House of Commons at least, who could make head against their imperious colleague. This is the true explanation of the speedy return of Mr Fox to the political arena he had just quitted, as appears from his correspondence, still extant, with Mr Ellis. Horace Walpole, who had recently betrayed, no longer retained his confidence; and, from ignorance of the truth, and the natural malignity of his disposition, he has given, in his 'Memoirs,' a false and prejudiced account of what passed on this occasion.

In a former number* we entered into a detailed account of the private motives and secret intrigues that ended in the last administration of George II. At the accession of George III. the Ministry then formed was in full vigour. Mr Pitt planned and conducted the war. The Duke of Newcastle had charge of the finances. The war had been glorious beyond example, but it had also been expensive beyond measure. The nation was intoxicated with success, eager for farther conquests, and full of admiration for the Minister, whose commanding genius had revived the ancient and long dormant energies of his country. But there were persons, Lord Hardwicke and the Duke of Bedford in the number, who censured the extravagance of the German war, and thought that, having lowered the pride of France, we should listen to terms of accommodation, and grant to her a moderate and reasonable peace. The young King, under the guidance of his mother and Lord Bute, had imbibed these sentiments; and, in the draft of his first speech to the Council, which, contrary to usage, he had prepared in secret without consulting his Ministers, he characterised the war 'as bloody and expensive,' and expressed his hope of 'obtaining an honourable and lasting peace.' Mr Pitt remonstrated against these expressions, and with much difficulty had the words changed into 'expensive but just and necessary war;' and, after the phrase of honourable peace, had inserted 'in concert with our allies.'

This and other indications, convinced Mr Pitt of an intention in the Court to change the Administration, of which he had been the vivifying and directing spirit. He is said to have communicated his suspicions to the Duke of Newcastle, and to have proposed to his Grace to join with him against Lord Bute, whose influence in the closet was supposed to have instigated these designs. Newcastle, incapable of any steady or direct course of policy, and jealous of the ascendancy Mr Pitt had assumed, is said to have refused his assistance. The favourite was, consequently, allowed to pursue his career without impediment; and the effects very soon became visible. Lord Holderness was removed, and the seals given to Lord Bute; Legge was dismissed for Lord Barrington; and, on the refusal of the Cabinet to resent the haughty and insulting conduct of Spain by an immediate declaration of war, Mr Pitt himself resigned.

In the following Session of Parliament, the German war became the favourite object of attack. Regret was expressed by some that they had supported it so long; and the extravagance

with which it had been conducted, was censured by all. It was in vain that Mr Pitt exhausted his eloquence in defence of the system he had adopted. It was in Germany, he said, and with truth, that he had conquered America. It was the German war, ruinous and disgraceful to France, that had crippled her exertions in every other quarter of the world. Not only did his eloquence pass unheeded, but he was himself assailed with intemperate and premeditated invective, which was not unacceptable at Court. It was in vain that the rupture with Spain justified his foresight and sagacity. It was in vain that the expeditions he had planned, proved successful. It was in vain that the death of the Czarina gave a favourable turn to the Prussian affairs. It was determined to make peace and abandon our ally. The Prussian treaty was allowed to expire, that we might be at liberty to act as we pleased. The Duke of Newcastle, who had chuckled in secret at the fall of Mr Pitt, and even contributed to undermine his power, was himself compelled, by studied neglect and repeated mortifications, to resign the Treasury, which was instantly conferred on Lord Bute.

Renewed overtures for peace having been made from France, through the Sardinian Minister, the Duke of Bedford, who, in the preceding summer had been violently opposed to Mr Pitt's rupture of the negotiations then on foot, was hurried to Paris to settle the preliminaries before Parliament should be assembled. Little difficulty was experienced from France—some delay was occasioned by the obstinacy of Spain—and the capture of the Havana required even from this pacific Ministry some change in the conditions originally proposed. All was at length settled—the preliminaries were signed on the 3d of November, ratified on the 22d; and, on the 25th, Parliament was to meet.

Peace was concluded; but it was necessary to find some one who had courage and capacity to defend it in the House of Commons. Mr Grenville, the new Secretary of State, in the place of Lord Bute, was thought unequal to the task, and compelled, to his great mortification, to exchange the Seals for the Admiralty. Mr Fox, paymaster of the forces, was the person selected for this service; and, instigated by his ancient rivalry to Pitt, and seduced by the blandishments of his new Sovereign, he accepted the office, and by his acceptance, separated himself for ever from his former connexions, and in particular from his early and constant patron, the Duke of Cumberland. It was his last great effort in public, and if his breach with his old friends had been justifiable, his success would have shed lustre on his retreat.

Though the Whig aristocracy, which had placed and maintained the House of Brunswick on the throne, was discarded, all the

subordinate offices of Government continued to be filled by their dependents. To consolidate the new system, it became necessary to descend lower in dismissals than had been practised in former changes of administration. As a prelude to this measure, the Duke of Devonshire, who had lingered in his post of Chamberlain after his friends had been ejected, was deprived of that office, in a sally of real or pretended passion on the part of the King, and his name struck out of the Privy Council. On the approbation of the preliminaries by Parliament, the expulsions from offices became so numerous, that it was said, every one put in by the Duke of Newcastle had been put out, except the King. These severe measures were attributed to Mr Fox, and added in no small degree to his unpopularity. In the midst of this violence, when with courage and perseverance the victory was in his hands, a sudden panic seized the favourite and made him resign, leaving his pupil exposed to all the consequences of his rashness and intemperance. A letter of Lord Bute, to the Duke of Bedford at Paris, announcing his retreat from office, and assigning, as the causes of his resignation, his health, and his love of retirement, is valuable on account of the insight it affords into the policy already adopted by George III., as the rule of his future Government. It was his firm determination, says the letter, in words probably dictated by himself, 'never, upon any account, to suffer those Ministers of the late reign, who have attempted to fetter and enslave him, ever to come into his service, while he lives to hold the sceptre.' From the letter of this resolution, he was more than once compelled to deviate, but from its spirit he never departed. The difficulties in which he was placed, obliged him at different times to admit into his Councils men who had forced themselves into office by their opposition in Parliament to his measures. But he never forgave their attempt to 'fetter and enslave him,' and was ever on the watch to disunite and discard them. In the end he was always successful. No Ministry imposed on him against his inclination, ever lasted more than a year.

The retreat of Lord Bute was a resolution so suddenly adopted, whatever might be pretended to the contrary, that no preparation had been made for a successor. The place of first Minister was offered to Mr Fox, and declined. It was accepted by Mr Grenville—a man of business—skilled in finance—with honest intentions, but narrow views—tedious, but intrepid in debate—with firmness amounting to obstinacy—and as great a stickler for the authority of Parliament, as the hottest Tory had ever been for prerogative. With Mr Grenville were associated Lord Egremont and Lord Halifax, as Secretaries of State.

This administration, originally weak, was virtually dissolved by the death of Lord Egremont. But before that event, mutual disgusts had arisen between the King and his Ministers. They complained of want of countenance and support, and received assurances of confidence which they did not credit. Grenville had not forgiven Lord Bute for the slight he received when put aside for Fox: and his resentment was not lessened by continual hints from his Majesty of the necessity of strengthening his administration, which he imputed to the secret counsels of the Favourite. Before the loss of Lord Egremont, Mr Rigby had been sent, without the knowledge of Ministers, to make private offers to the Duke of Bedford, to which his grace had replied, by advising the King to send for Mr Pitt. Lord Bute concurred in the same advice. Mr Pitt was sent for, and had two audiences of the King. Different reports were propagated, of what passed at these interviews. The negotiation failed, in consequence, as some pretend, of Lord Temple being proposed for the Treasury. Others say, that Mr Pitt insisted on a total change of administration, and exclusion from office of all persons who had been concerned in the treaty of Paris. To the Duke of Bedford it was reported, that Mr Pitt had proscribed him, and all his friends; and in that persuasion he was prevailed on to join the administration, which, with the addition of his numerous connexions, remained in office. But, highly incensed against Lord Bute, who had behaved to him with duplicity and treachery during his negotiations at Paris, he obtained a promise from the King, that his Majesty would exclude that nobleman from his presence, and from all participation in public affairs. How far that promise was kept, is still a mystery. Certain it is, that the vapouring of Lord Bute in his private correspondence, and the favour shown at Court to his relations and ancient dependents, excited the jealousy of Ministers, and prevented any confidence and cordiality between them and the King.

Never was an administration more unpopular or more unfortunate in its consequences than that of Mr Grenville. It began with a multitude of commercial and financial regulations that disturbed the trade of the colonies, and harassed them with all the vexatious interference of custom-house law. While smarting under this grievance, they were subjected to internal taxation by an act of the British legislature, in defiance of a fundamental principle of the British Constitution. The Stamp act was imposed, the first step in the series of aggressions which led to the American war, and to the loss of an empire more extensive than Rome ever possessed in the height of her grandeur. At home, the persecution of a worthless individual was conducted in a spi-

rit of vengeance that destroyed all respect for authority. General warrants, though confessedly illegal, were protected from censure by every artifice that cunning could devise. Military officers of distinction were dismissed from the army, for giving, as members of the House of Commons, a solitary vote against Ministers. The privileges of Parliament were sacrificed, though recognised by the solemn decision of a Court of Justice. But it was not for these offences that this violent and intemperate administration was brought to a close. After repeated provocations from the Court, the Ministers incurred its displeasure, and fell a sacrifice to its resentment.

To show that he was not 'fettered and enslaved' by his servants, the King had made several promotions and appointments without consulting them. Bills, to which they were favourable, had been opposed by the hangers-on of the Court. This conduct was imputed by Ministers to the secret counsels of Lord Bute; but it is doubtful whether that nobleman continued to have access to the royal ear. His lessons were remembered—his instructions had taken root—and though absent, and no longer consulted, his spirit hovered over the palace, and inspired its inmates. Mr Grenville was no favourite at court. He fatigued his royal master by his long and tiresome harangues in the closet; and with an ill-judged economy he had refused the pitiful sum of L.20,000 for the purchase of the ground behind Buckingham House, where so many streets and squares are now erected. In spring 1765, an alarming and mysterious illness of the King suggested the necessity of a Regency bill. The measure originated with his Majesty, and not with his Ministers. It was concocted by him in private without taking their advice, and with more tenderness towards his mother than regard for his Queen. His Ministers prevailed on him to alter some of the original clauses of his bill before it was laid before Parliament, but the great novelty in the measure remained unchanged. Instead of appointing a Regent, the nomination of one was left to the King, to be exercised by a written instrument, under his sign manual, in favour of *the Queen, or of any other person of the royal family, usually resident in England*, with power to alter from time to time his nomination, which was to be kept secret till it became necessary by his demise to inspect the instrument he had executed. Doubts having arisen, whether his mother, for whom all this mystery had been devised, was in law a member of the royal family, the Duke of Richmond moved in the House of Lords, to substitute after *the Queen*, the words, *Her Royal Highness the Princess Dowager, and others descended from the late King, now resident in England.* The motion being opposed by Ministers, was rejected. But next

day, Lord Halifax, Secretary of State, intimating to the Lords that it would be agreeable to his Majesty to have the bill recommitted, his desire was complied with, on which he renewed the Duke of Richmond's motion, *omitting the name of the Princess Dowager*, and thus excluding her absolutely from the regency. The House being satisfied that he spoke from authority, his amendment passed without opposition.

This marked stigma on the Princess Dowager excited the warmest indignation in her royal highness and her friends. On enquiry, it turned out that Lord Halifax had gone to the King immediately before he went down to the House of Lords, and finding his Majesty alone, had represented to him, that if his mother was not excluded, in plain and unequivocal language, from being Regent, words to that effect would be introduced by the House of Commons. Having, by this artifice, obtained his Majesty's consent to the omission of her name, which it was the object of Ministers to secure, in order to prevent the return of Lord Bute to power in case of a demise, he hurried to the House of Lords and moved his amendment. What passed afterwards showed, that in his representation of the dispositions of the House of Commons, he had abused his royal master's confidence. A motion having been made to insert the Princess Dowager's name in the bill, it passed, with a division on the report of 167 to 37. The House of Lords acquiesced, and the Ministers submitted, with protestations that they had meant no offence to her royal highness.

These professions were not credited. The King, offended with the insult to his mother, resolved to change his Ministers; but having prematurely revealed to them his intentions before he had taken measures to find them successors, they instantly tendered their resignation. Application was then made to Mr Pitt, through the Duke of Cumberland, and Mr Pitt condescended at first to enter upon terms, but, at the instigation of Lord Temple, who had taken this opportunity of reconciling himself to his brother, Mr Grenville, he ultimately declined. The King was then forced to submit and take back his Ministers. As the price of reconciliation, they demanded—that his Majesty would renew his promise not to consult Lord Bute, or allow him to interfere in business—that he would dismiss Mr Stuart Mackenzie from the Privy Seal of Scotland, and from the direction of Scottish affairs—and that he would appoint Lord Granby to be Captain-General. With the two first of these conditions, his Majesty complied, though the second was in violation of his solemn promise to Mr Mackenzie. The last he refused, on which the Ministers

substituted for it the removal of Lord Holland from the Pay-Office, which was granted without difficulty.

The Ministers were continued in office, but not restored to confidence or favour. They were frowned on in the closet, and their political enemies countenanced in public. The Duke of Bedford, in a private audience of the King, remonstrated in vain against this usage. His remonstrance had no other effect than that of bringing matters to a crisis. Mr Pitt was again applied to. He had an audience of the King, expressed his satisfaction with the offers made to him, and proposed various arrangements for a new administration, which was on the point of being formed, when all was arrested by the refusal of Lord Temple to accept the Treasury. Mr Pitt was deeply mortified by this rejection. He termed the defection of Lord Temple an amputation, and declared, that had he been younger, or had there been any one to whom he could have intrusted the Treasury, he would have undertaken the government without his assistance. It was in consequence of his haughty temper, and of his savage, solitary life, that he had no connexions in whom he could confide. To avoid being clogged with attendants, he had left himself without friends.

In this dilemma, the Duke of Cumberland again stepped forward to protect his nephew. The Whigs, who had remained connected with the Duke of Newcastle, were prevailed upon to accept office, without the co-operation of Mr Pitt, who, indeed, had never heartily forgiven them for their desertion of his interests at the commencement of the present reign. They were men of high families, great wealth, strict integrity, moderate talents, and little experience. One fault they committed at the beginning of their career, from which they were never able afterwards to recover. They made no terms with the court as to measures, which, to say the least of it, was an act of great indiscretion. After the refusal of Mr Pitt, and the offence given by Mr Grenville, they might have obtained from the King, considering the difficulties in which he had involved himself, any conditions they had thought proper to demand. Lord Rockingham was placed at the head of the Treasury, and the old Duke of Newcastle made Privy Seal. The Duke of Cumberland, under whose auspices they had come into office, and on whose support they relied, died within a few months after the commencement of their administration.

It soon appeared that the new administration was not acceptable at court. The King felt as it were surrounded by the Ministers of his grandfather. The persons were different, but the names and the principles of government were the same. Those who emphatically styled themselves the King's friends, bewailed the return of the aristocracy to power; and no pains were taken by the Ministers

to propitiate that formidable body. The discontents of the American colonies, occasioned by the Stamp act, threatened serious disturbances to the empire. It had become necessary either to remove the grievance, or to chastise the refractory—to renounce the taxes, or to employ an army to enforce them. Having been uniformly of opinion that the Stamp act was an unjust and impolitic measure, the Ministers were inclined to repeal it. The ex-Ministers, the authors of the mischief, contended with remorseless vehemence to maintain and carry it into effect. A third party, favoured by the court, sought to modify, but not entirely to abandon it. Mr Pitt took the earliest opportunity of declaring for a total unreserved repeal. The question was long and ably debated. The household troops, not without encouragement from the court, deserted and went over to the Opposition. But, with the powerful aid of Mr Pitt, assisted by the general clamour of the commercial interest, the Ministers prevailed by a great majority. Their triumph did not, however, consolidate their power. They were no longer necessary at court, and had lost the little favour or confidence they ever enjoyed. The immediate retainers of the palace, encouraged by impunity, continued, on various pretences, to vote against them. Every attempt to extend or strengthen their administration was evaded or rejected. Disunion crept into their ranks. The Duke of Grafton resigned; and the Chancellor, Lord Northington, foreseeing their impending fate, followed his example, and advised the King to send for Mr Pitt, who was understood to be at that time not indisposed to office. His Majesty followed his advice, and, with great unconcern, notified to his Ministers the step he had taken.

The second administration of Mr Pitt was as inglorious as his first had been splendid and successful. Having finally and completely released himself from his connexion with Lord Temple, by his refusal to admit Mr Grenville into the cabinet, he professed his intention of making the late Ministry, with some few changes on the principal parts, the basis of his own. But, if such was his design, it was frustrated by the mysterious haughtiness of his conduct, or rather by his passionate desire to trample upon and humble the aristocracy. Having secured Conway to be Secretary of State and leader of the House of Commons, he offended the rest of that connexion by his reserve and neglect. Conway was a man of integrity and spirit, but wavering and irresolute—not devoid of ambition, but fearful of reproach—more sensitive about his own character than zealous or considerate for his friends. The exclusion of Grenville, which was effected by his acceptance, had been the bait that made him separate from his party. His associate in the seals was Lord Shelburne. Lord Camden was

made Chancellor; the Duke of Grafton, indolent, irritable, changeable, and incapable, was selected for the Treasury; and Charles Townshend appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr Pitt took for himself the Privy Seal, and, by his acceptance of a peerage, divested himself of the power and popularity he had so long enjoyed. Removed from the House of Commons, he was no longer formidable; elevated to the peerage, he ceased to be popular. The great commoner, as he was called, became a peer of ordinary dimensions.

This plan of government gave satisfaction to none. Lord Shelburne was at that time personally obnoxious to the King; and Lord Chatham appeared to the people to have deserted their banner. An address on the change of administration, which had been prepared in the city, was laid aside on the news that their long-cherished idol had accepted a peerage. His plan, if seriously entertained, of retaining the adherents of the late Ministers in the subordinate offices of government, failed of success. Lord John Cavendish set the example of resignation to his friends, and the haughty vagaries of the Minister procured for him, in a very short time, a host of followers. Deprived of this support, Lord Chatham had recourse to the Bedfords; but discovering by his conduct that his intention was not to admit them in a body, but to disunite them and break their connexion, they declined his offers. He was compelled at length to fill up the vacancies with such stragglers as he could find,—taken chiefly from among the courtiers and old adherents of Lord Bute.

A new scene opened. Displeased with the little deference shown to him in the House of Lords, Lord Chatham absented himself from that assembly, and began to seclude himself almost entirely from his colleagues, who were left without guide or compass—without system, concert, or ability—to conduct the affairs of government. Whether from mortified pride, irritability of temper, or some more serious malady, he remained invisible and inaccessible,—directing nothing, and refusing to give instructions even in matters that had been brought before Parliament at his own desire. Retiring at length to Hayes, he withdrew entirely from public business. His colleagues—vacillating, unsteady, and disunited—abandoned by their creator—entangled in disputes with the East India Company—defeated on the Land Tax, and induced by that discomfiture to embark again in the perilous attempt of imposing internal taxes on America—were so reduced in power and consequence as to apply to every party in succession for assistance. Nothing but the disunion and misconduct of the different parties in opposition could have saved them from ruin. Never was there a period when public men appeared to so

little advantage. Talents were not wanting, but extravagant pretensions, ancient and deep-rooted resentments, incorrigible obstinacy, or incurable levity, rendered them useless, and made a junction of parties impracticable. Parties, indeed, founded on public grounds, there were none, except that of the Rockingham Whigs;—unless the pertinacity of Mr Grenville in favour of the Stamp act, and the combination of courtiers in support of prerogative, can be dignified with that appellation. The other connexions were mere confederacies for office and power, which it was thought, by the persons concerned, could be better obtained by acting in a body, than by every man soliciting separately for himself. The Ministers were frequently on the brink of ruin, and as often saved by the mutual jealousies and incompatible claims of their opponents. At length they formed a permanent junction with the Bedfords, or ‘Bloomsbury gang,’ as they were called, who, on that occasion, finally separated from the Grenvilles. The chief parties to this coalition were Lord Sandwich, Lord Gower, Lord Weymouth and Mr Rigby, the Duke himself declining to take office. After two years’ seclusion from affairs, Lord Chatham retired from his nominal administration. He was followed in his resignation by Lord Shelbourne, and, after some interval, by Lord Camden and the Duke of Grafton. Conway withdrew to the Ordnance; and Lord North, who had succeeded, on the death of Charles Townshend, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, was established at the head of affairs. With the elevation of Lord North began that series of Tory administrations, which, with transient interruptions, and the occasional admixture of Whigs, governed the country for the next sixty years.

ART. IV.—1. *Du Système Pénitentiare aux Etats Unis, et de son application en France; suivi d'une Appendice sur les Colonies Pénales, et de Notes statistiques.* Par MM. G. DE BEAUMONT et A. DE TOCQUEVILLE. 8vo. Paris: 1833.

2. *Thoughts on Secondary Punishments, in a Letter to Earl Grey.* By RICHARD WHATELY, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin. 8vo. London: 1833.

3. *Reports from the Select Committee on Secondary Punishments, together with the Minutes of Evidence, and an Appendix of Papers.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed Sept. 1831, and June 1832.

IN looking back to the events which have passed since the termination of the late war, it is impossible not to perceive, that, during the whole of that period, a prolonged contest for political

power between different classes of the community, has caused many subjects of vital importance to be overlooked. Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform, may be regarded as but two successive stages in one great struggle, by which the chief political power in the United Kingdom has been transferred from the hands of a comparatively small number of individuals, to those of the people at large. At the peace, the ascendancy of the oligarchical principle was secured, in Ireland, by religious exclusion, in England and in Scotland, by the manner in which the members of the House of Commons were elected. The Catholic Relief Bill broke up the monopoly of political power in the sister island; and this first victory achieved by the advocates of popular principles, necessarily led the way to their more complete triumph, in effecting a reform in the representative system. A struggle so momentous, and so deeply affecting the interests of the community, could not fail strongly to excite the passions of all concerned in it; and it is therefore by no means surprising that it should have engrossed the attention of public men, to the exclusion of every topic not affecting party interests, and not connected more or less directly with the great question at issue. While it remained undecided to what class the predominating influence in the legislature should belong, there was neither leisure nor calmness enough to consider, with the requisite diligence, what necessity there might be for improvements in the laws;—while one party strove to maintain, and the other to deprive their opponents of the exclusive possession of political power, both forgot to enquire how that power might best be used for the welfare of the whole community. Now that the struggle is over,—or rather, now that the contest for power, which, in a free country, must always be going on, is no longer so much between classes as between individuals,—it is high time that the attention of the legislature, and of the public, should be directed to those practical measures which may be required for promoting the happiness of the great body of the people, or for guarding against impending danger. The most hasty survey must be sufficient to show, that there are evils in our social condition, which, having been overlooked, and allowed to gain head during the heat of party warfare, have thus arrived at a formidable height. Of the evils alluded to, there are none which more strongly demand the application of immediate and effectual remedies, than those which arise out of the present state of the Poor Laws, and of Criminal Justice. These two subjects are intimately connected: in a great part of England the operation of the Poor Laws has been to degrade the labouring classes, to deprive them of the hope of bettering their condition by honest industry, and thus

to increase the temptation to the commission of offences ; while, on the other hand, the defects in the means employed for the repression of crime, and more especially the total inefficiency of the Secondary Punishments now in use, have thrown additional difficulties in the way of those who have endeavoured to improve the administration of the Poor Laws,* and to check the fast encroaching plague of pauperism. The extracts published from the evidence obtained by the Commissioners for enquiring into the Poor Laws, establish in the clearest manner the melancholy conclusion, that under the combined influence of parochial mismanagement, and of a defective system of criminal justice, a rapid deterioration in the moral condition of the people of the southern division of the island is taking place. The first of these two causes is doubtless that to which the larger share of the mischief is to be attributed ; but yet the latter has produced no inconsiderable effect ; and while to those who take an interest in the moral improvement of the people, the first object must be to get rid of pauperism, and to extend the blessings of a really sound system of education, still, with reference to the end they have in view, the enquiry cannot seem unworthy of attention, how the means resorted to for the repression of crimes may be rendered more effectual than they are at present. The latter enquiry has this to recommend it, that it presents difficulties much less numerous and less serious than those by which the question as to the amendment of the Poor Laws is surrounded. The experience gained, and the information collected in this and in other countries, seem to have led to a pretty general concurrence amongst all who have considered this subject, as to the leading principles to be attended to, in any attempt to give increased efficacy to the administration of criminal justice. It is no longer doubted, except perhaps by here and there some inveterate ‘*laudator temporis acti*,’ that an extreme severity in the criminal laws defeats its own object ; inasmuch as the indiscriminate denunciation of the penalty of death for offences not of the deepest dye, instead of deterring, affords direct encouragement to offenders, by practically securing to them, in the great majority of instances, complete impunity ;—it is at length generally, if not universally, agreed, that the effect in vain looked for by our ancestors from an unsparing use of the gallows, is more likely to be attained by the certain and speedy infliction of a minor punishment for all but the most atrocious crimes. Accordingly, within

* See extracts from the information received by the Poor Law Commissioners, p. 245.

the last few years, considerable progress has been made in the mitigation of the criminal code; and if much still remains to be done, the inadequacy of what has already been accomplished, is, we believe, to be attributed much less to any difference of opinion as to the wisdom of adopting, in their full extent, the views first brought under the consideration of Parliament by the late Sir S. Romilly, than to the difficulty which, in attempting to do so, is found to arise from the inefficiency of the secondary punishments now in use.* This is a part of our system of criminal justice, in which there is not less room, or less need for improvement, than there was in that sanguinary code, against which the great lawyer and statesman we have just mentioned, directed his powerful and ultimately successful arguments. Until very recently, however, (although in America the subject has attracted a great deal of attention,) the attempts which in this country have been made to show the defects of the existing mode of punishing criminals not condemned to death, and to ascertain the best means of doing so, have been so few, and so feeble, that little impression has been made on public opinion; and even now, this topic, considering its extreme importance, seems to be regarded with a great degree of indifference. This indifference, we trust, is rather apparent than real; and to be accounted for by the multiplicity of questions which have necessarily occupied the whole attention of the legislature and of the public, during the only Session of Parliament which has yet taken place since the termination of that great political struggle to which we have referred. We are the more disposed to believe that such is the case, because during the years 1831 and 1832 an enquiry was instituted by a Committee of the House of Commons, into the nature and effects of the present system of secondary punishments; the results of which exposed evils so serious and so rapidly increasing, that we think they cannot fail to command universal attention. We conceive, therefore, that we shall be usefully employed in bringing under the notice of our

* This opinion is strongly confirmed by what has occurred with respect to the recent mitigation of the law as to forgery. Notwithstanding the notorious fact that the repugnance of prosecutors, witnesses, and juries, to be the instruments of inflicting capital punishment on individuals guilty of this offence, in general secured to them in the former state of the law complete impunity, the present punishment is found to be so entirely inadequate, that some commercial men have recently expressed a wish for the re-enactment of the penalty of death. The wiser course would be to endeavour to introduce a more effective mode of secondary punishment.

readers the Report of this Committee, and some other publications which have thrown much additional light upon the subject.

With respect to the Report, its chief value, we think, consists in the information which it supplies as to the actual state of things. It does not attempt to trace the manner in which the various defects described in the existing system of secondary punishment have severally operated, in producing an increase of crimes: or to determine the general principles by which, in attempting to introduce a better system, we ought to be guided. We are not disposed to withhold from the Committee the praise of having offered some just observations, and some useful suggestions; but we conceive that the advice they have offered, and the opinions they have advanced, are much less likely to be of service, than the evidence they have collected.

The publication of the Archbishop of Dublin contains that enquiry into the theory of punishment which is wanting in the Report of the Committee: and although we cannot, in all points, concur with the able writer, we think his pamphlet well worthy of attention, as being, upon the whole, a successful attempt to determine the general principles which ought to be kept in view, and to expose the most popular fallacies current upon the subject. The work of MM. de Beaumont and de Tocqueville is one of great interest and importance. These gentlemen were sent out as Commissioners by the French Government, for the purpose of procuring information with respect to the prison discipline adopted in some of the States of the North American Union, and the results of an enquiry, conducted with the advantages afforded by their official character, are given to the world in their publication. The task imposed upon them could not have been intrusted to abler hands. They have not only carefully collected and stated all the facts by which the great experiment tried on the other side of the Atlantic has been illustrated: they have likewise skilfully applied the data thus afforded in investigating the principles on which the efficiency of the penitentiary system depends, and the question of its applicability in Europe.

The modes of secondary punishment now in use in this country are, Imprisonment, with or without hard labour,* the Hulks, and Transportation. Of these different kinds of punishment, as ac-

* We do not mention more particularly the Penitentiary at Milbank, because it would lead us into much too lengthened a discussion were we to attempt to expose all the errors committed in that establishment; and also because being used for the reception of comparatively a very small

tually practised, the following are the opinions expressed by the Committee, in which we think that all who attentively consider the evidence, will concur:—

‘ That imprisonment in a jail is not considered, by hardened offenders, a severe punishment, is abundantly proved by the evidence taken before this Committee, and that recorded in former reports.’—P. 5.

* * * * *

‘ Your Committee find themselves under the painful necessity of expressing their unqualified disapprobation of the whole system pursued with respect to criminals, on board the Hulks. The great principles which the Committee have endeavoured to establish, are the necessity of the separation of criminals, and of a severity of punishment sufficient to make it an object of terror to the evil-doer. In both these respects, the system of management in the Hulks is not only necessarily deficient, it is actually opposed to them.’—P. 12.

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‘ The minutes of evidence furnish ample testimony that the Hulks are not dreaded, that the “ life in them is considered a pretty jolly life,” and that if a criminal can conquer the sense of shame which such degradation is calculated to excite, he is in a better situation than a large portion of the working classes, who have nothing but their daily labour to depend on for subsistence. Indeed, so far is this punishment from operating as a preventive to crime, that the Committee have evidence, that the situation of a convict has been regarded with envy by the free labourers who see him at his daily work; and in the words of Mr Lang, the master shipwright of Woolwich Dockyard, under whose superintendance all the convicts in that yard are placed, “ many labourers would be glad to change places with him, and would be much better off than they were before.”’—P. 14.

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‘ As to the effect produced by the prospect of Transportation, the evidence shows it to depend greatly on the situation of those on whom it is to be inflicted. Agricultural labourers, with families, dread it extremely; while to single men, mechanics, who are sure of receiving high wages, and generally to all those who feel a desire of change, and a vague expectation of pushing their fortunes, it appears to hold out no terrors whatever. Indeed, your Committee have it in evidence, that the accounts sent home from New South Wales and Van Diemen’s Land, are so favourable, that they represent the situation of the convict as so comfortable, and the prospect of his advancement, if he conducts himself with prudence, so sure, as to produce a strong impression that transportation may be considered rather an advantage than a punishment.’—P. 17.

number, arbitrarily selected out of the whole mass of offenders, it can in no degree answer the proper end of punishment—the prevention of crime.

It is impossible to read these opinions, and the evidence by which they are borne out, without surprise, not at the vast increase in the number of crimes, but at its having been found possible, under such a system, to maintain any order whatever, and to prevent society from falling into a state of utter dissolution. We believe that this is only to be accounted for, and the degree of efficiency which still belongs to our criminal law explained, by the ignorance of a large majority of the population as to the real consequences of being detected in the commission of an offence which is not capital. Formerly, both imprisonment and transportation were accompanied with sufferings that might well render them objects of universal terror; and though it is impossible not to rejoice in the adoption of those humane regulations by which criminals are secured from the danger of starving, or of perishing from unwholesome food, and from the torture of breathing the tainted atmosphere of an over-crowded and filthy prison or convict-ship, still it may be doubted, whether either imprisonment or transportation would be regarded with even as much terror as they are, had they always afforded as little real ground for apprehension as at present. This at least is certain, that the fear of both these punishments is rapidly wearing away: transportation, more especially, which ought to be the severest penalty short of death which an offender can endure, is daily becoming less and less formidable. The Committee have stated, that agricultural labourers with families, are the only class upon whom the fear of transportation now produces much effect. Twenty years, nay, ten years ago, this certainly was not the case; transportation was then an object of very general terror; yet it has ceased to be so, except to a class among whom serious crimes are rarely committed. Poaching and petty pilfering are, generally speaking, the only offences to which agricultural labourers with families are disposed; those who live by systematic plunder are almost universally without family connexions;—indeed it is commonly for the purpose of supplying the expenses of profligate habits, hardly compatible with such ties, that depredations upon a large scale are resorted to. If the dread of transportation has been already eradicated amongst those who constitute the great majority of offenders, by the knowledge they have obtained as to the real character of the punishment, are there not strong grounds for the apprehension, that, as this knowledge becomes more generally diffused, transportation will be disarmed of the terrors it still possesses for the great body of the rural population? This seems the more likely to happen, because if the bold and successful London thief has little reason to dread transportation, the hard-working agricultural labourer has infinitely less. To the one, it really is

some punishment, inasmuch as it withdraws him for a time from the life of excitement and of riotous indulgence in which he delights; but to the other, the change is of a very different character. It is stated in the Report, that ‘ ample proof will be found in the ‘ Minutes of Evidence to show, that the sense of degradation ‘ once overcome, the situation assigned to a settler, is, in many ‘ respects, preferable to that of the agricultural labourer of this ‘ country; that his food is more abundant, his clothing better; ‘ and that, to add to his enjoyments, he has the advantage of a fine ‘ climate, with the certainty, if he conducts himself with pro- ‘ priety, of becoming virtually free in a few years, by obtaining a ‘ ticket of leave.’—P. 17.

This is, as far as it goes, a just, but a very inadequate description of the comparative advantages enjoyed by the transported convict over the honest agricultural labourer in this country: it might have been added, that the degradation which is supposed to constitute the principal part of the punishment of the convict is not felt by him, in a country where the majority of the population have, like himself, incurred the sentence of the law; and that the labour required from him is infinitely less severe than that which at home he has been in the habit of performing. Is it possible that this state of things should not gradually become known in even the most retired districts of the country? and, when known, what authority is the law likely to retain? Every agricultural labourer who is transported, probably leaves behind him some friends to whom he is anxious to describe his situation. In doing so, he will most likely exaggerate the advantages he enjoys; for it has been well observed, that those who have been sentenced to punishment for the violation of the law, generally take a pride in representing the consequences of their own misconduct in the most favourable light, and consider it as a sort of triumph over an adverse party, when they can show that they have no reason to regret what they have done. Even, however, if he adheres to truth, his recital will appear any thing but terrible to labourers in England,—least of all to those who, in the southern counties, find themselves, by the operation of the Poor Laws, reduced to a condition but little removed from slavery, and which they have scarcely a hope of improving. Under these circumstances, without questioning the judgment of those witnesses upon whose evidence the Committee have stated, that transportation is still much feared by the generality of agricultural labourers, it may be assumed, that this is not likely to be of long continuance; seeing that the knowledge of the real character of transportation is every day diffused with greater rapidity. The large number of agricultural labourers transported in consequence of the riots in November 1830, is

likely to assist much in spreading that knowledge which must destroy its effect as a punishment. We happen to have seen several letters* written by some of these persons to their families; and in all, the writers dwell on the circumstances which render their situation less disagreeable than they had anticipated. They give, more particularly, a full account of the large allowance of food they receive,—enlarging with evident satisfaction upon the luxury of having butchers'-meat every day in the year; and they generally conclude, by saying, that never before were they so well in every respect, except that of their separation from the individuals to whom they write, whom they urge to use their utmost efforts to obtain the means of joining them. The probable influence on the peasantry of the counties whence these rioters were sent, of such descriptions, will not be thought unimportant, by those who are aware that the state of things in those parts of the kingdom is not greatly altered from what it was when the disturbances broke out, and that the feeling which produced them is by no means extinct. Mr Macqueen,† in his evidence, gives a striking account of the effect produced on the minds of the labourers in a village in Bedfordshire, by hearing of the wealth and prosperity attained, as a consequence of their crimes, by individuals with whose history they were acquainted.

In opposition to this reasoning, it has sometimes been argued that it is a mistake to suppose transportation not to be felt as a severe punishment, since it is proved to be so by the fact, that convicts, when they reach the colonies, invariably express the greatest impatience at the necessity imposed upon them of working without wages, and show the most eager desire to obtain a 'ticket of leave.' A moment's reflection will prove this argument to be fallacious. It is perfectly true that the transported convict receives no money wages; and that if he were his own master, he could turn his labour to much better account than is permitted under the restraint imposed upon him. But though not paid in money, he has supplied to him much more of the necessaries, and even of the luxuries of life, than he could purchase with the wages he received at home; while, from having been without even the hope of rising in the world, he has now the certainty, that nothing but extreme misconduct

* The letters referred to were principally from the Wiltshire convicts. Mr Chadwick, in his Report to the Poor Law Commissioners, states that the letters of the Berkshire rioters were of a similar character.—See *Extracts*, p. 256.

† Page 92, Minutes of 1831.

can prevent his being in a few years in a situation, in which moderate industry will ensure him wealth and independence. What is proved by the impatience of a transported convict for the termination of his servitude is, not that he thinks himself in a worse condition than before he was guilty of any crime, but only, that the improvement is not so great as it might be; and that if we are anxious to give a greater degree of encouragement than we actually do to crime, we have the means of accomplishing our object. Were it necessary, much might be added to what has already been said in proof of the inadequacy of the present system of transportation as a punishment, and of the extreme impolicy of allowing it to continue. But we must refer those who are not satisfied with the conclusion at which we have arrived, to a very able, and, we think, unanswerable argument in its support, which will be found in the first Appendix to the Pamphlet of the Archbishop of Dublin. We proceed, therefore, to consider what is the best mode of remedying an evil, the existence of which we shall assume to be admitted.

The first question which arises is, whether some new punishment should be substituted for transportation; or whether an attempt should be made to render it more effectual, by changes in the discipline to which convicts are subjected on their arrival in the Colonies? To the latter alternative, there are, in our opinion, two insurmountable objections: in the first place, from the same cause which has prevented the efficacy of transportation as a punishment from being as yet entirely destroyed—the length of time required for the general diffusion of the knowledge of what passes at so great a distance—any improvement in the discipline to which transported convicts are subjected, would be a remedy too slow in its operation for an evil which requires an immediate cure. Supposing such an improvement to be effected, we should probably, for years to come, hear of offenders who had been encouraged to violate the law, by mistaken notions as to what would be their fate if detected, formed from the state of things at present. But the decisive objection to this course, is the consideration, that in the actual circumstances of the penal Colonies, it is (as the Committee have well observed) almost impossible to succeed in the attempt to render the discipline to which convicts are there subjected more severe. The difficulty of doing so arises from the high value of labour in these settlements. If, according to the existing practice, the convicts on their arrival are to be assigned as servants to the settlers, it is obvious that the object of the latter will be to get as much labour performed as they can; and that, with this view, they will

endeavour to render the condition of their servants as little irksome as possible. This interest, together with the low price of provisions, will render it impracticable to prevent the convict labourers from continuing to enjoy those indulgences in the way of food, which they now have; and of which the description tends, more than any thing else, to destroy the fear of transportation in the minds of the labouring population* at home. If, on the other hand, the practice of assigning the convicts as servants to the settlers is to be abandoned, for the purpose of retaining them under the immediate control of the Government, buildings for the reception and safe custody of so large a number of criminals must be erected, and proper officers sent out to take charge of them. The expense of creating a vast penal establishment of this kind in these remote colonies, would be infinitely greater than if it were to be formed at home; while there would obviously be much less security for its being well administered, than if placed under the immediate superintendence of the supreme executive authority, and subject to the close and vigilant inspection of public opinion.

These considerations, and the consequent difficulty, not to say impossibility, of effecting such an improvement in the discipline of the penal colonies, as would render transportation a really formidable punishment, have not escaped the attention of the Committee; and they have in consequence recommended, that a considerable proportion of the punishment inflicted under the sentence of transportation, should in future be undergone in this country. We have no hesitation in expressing our concurrence in this suggestion as far as it goes; and we therefore rejoice that it appears to have met with the approbation of Parliament;—the act of last Session for the abolition of capital punishment in certain cases of housebreaking, having provided that those who shall in future be convicted of this offence, shall suffer four years' imprisonment at home, previously to their being transported.

In the views of the Committee with respect to the nature of the punishment to be inflicted in this country, we also in general agree. Imprisonment with hard labour, and with the entire prevention of all communication amongst the prisoners, is, we think, by far the best mode of punishment which has yet been devised. There is none which strikes equal terror into the minds of offenders, whether they have actually experienced it, or know it only

* For many curious circumstances illustrating the effect of *diet* on the minds of the working classes, see the Report of Mr Chadwick already quoted.

by description;* and none which affords so many chances of effecting an improvement in the character of those who are subjected to it, by the opportunity it gives for serious reflection, and for impressing upon them the truths of religion. We much doubt, however, whether, in recommending that prisoners should be allowed to work in company, and yet not be subjected to corporal punishment, the Committee have not advised what would be fatal to the design in contemplation. This at least is certain, that in America it has been deemed impracticable, without the power of inflicting corporal punishment, to enforce amongst criminals who meet together during the hours of labour, that absolute silence which is the very essence of the Penitentiary system. The opinion of the French Commissioners too, though cautiously expressed, seems to coincide with that which they found universal amongst all who were experimentally acquainted with the subject. To us it certainly appears much less extraordinary, that it should be found indispensable, in order to maintain this discipline, to place in the hands of the jailers almost unlimited powers, than that it should be possible, even with such powers, to prevent any communication by word or sign amongst convicts assembled together in large bodies, and brought in the course of their labours almost into contact with each other.

We think it material to point out an error into which the Committee have fallen, on this subject, in the following passage:—‘ Experience in the jails of the United States proves,’ they say, ‘ that solitary confinement, strictly enforced, and amounting to a total seclusion from all society, if continued for any length of time, is attended with the worst consequences; that it destroys the physical, and frequently the mental powers of its victims, and that instances have occurred of their resorting to suicide to escape its horrors.’—(Page 7.) Had this statement been made merely with regard to the effects of solitary confinement, when not relieved by labour, it would have been perfectly accurate. The melancholy details of an experiment tried in the State of New York, by shutting up a number of criminals in solitude and without occupation, will be found in the work of MM. de Beaumont and de Tocqueville. But solitary confinement, when accompanied with hard labour, has not been

* See Evidence of Mr Wakefield, Minutes of 1831, page 99; and the very interesting account given by MM. de Beaumont and de Tocqueville, of their conversations with the inmates of the Penitentiary at Philadelphia.

found to lead to similar results : on the contrary, it has been tried in the Philadelphia Penitentiary, with a success apparently not at all inferior to what has attended the system established in the prisons of Auburn and Sing-Sing, which the Committee erroneously describe as that of all the States of the Union. The truth is, that in those states in which the discipline of the prisons has been reformed, two perfectly distinct systems have been adopted. Both proceed upon the same principle, that of completely isolating criminals, and of subjecting them to hard labour. But in the New York or Auburn system, this isolation is effected, not by the absolute physical separation of the prisoners, but by preventing any sort of intercourse amongst them when they meet during the hours of labour : where this system prevails, the use of the whip is invariably permitted. The Pennsylvanian system, on the other hand, does not admit of corporal punishment ; but, in order that it may be dispensed with, the criminals are consigned to a solitude broken only by the visits of the chaplains and of the jailers, and alleviated by labour, and by reading the religious books which alone are allowed them. In this latter system, idleness is the only fault of which the prisoner can possibly be guilty ; and this is found to be sufficiently checked, by depriving those who will not work with the required steadiness and diligence, of all occupation, and of the enjoyment of light. Of this system, the French Commissioners had the fullest opportunity of judging. In consideration of the mission with which they were intrusted, the rule which rigidly excludes all strangers from the Penitentiary at Philadelphia, was relaxed in their favour ; and they devoted fifteen days to the task of visiting each inmate of that prison in his separate cell. The result of the enquiry was to produce an impression greatly in favour of this system. The Commissioners do not indeed award it the superiority over the rival plan ; but they are certainly quite as far from countenancing the contrary opinion. The prisoners at Philadelphia have not experienced those sufferings, either mental or bodily, which are supposed to be the necessary consequences of a confinement absolutely solitary. On the contrary, the mental sufferings, though undoubtedly great, do not seem to have been more than are advantageous for the purposes of punishment ; and the salutary effect produced by them on the minds of the criminals, is mentioned by the Commissioners as more remarkable than what they witnessed in any other penitentiary. With respect to bodily health, it is true that a suspicion is expressed, that the Pennsylvanian system may perhaps be somewhat less favourable than the opposite one. Nothing, however, has occurred during the short time this system has been under trial, to confirm that suspi-

cion; on the contrary, it is stated that the physician of the penitentiary believes it to be more healthy than the old prisons; nor do we find that an instance is mentioned in which a prisoner complained of any illness occasioned by his confinement, while the health of most of those whose cases are particularized, is described as either 'good' or 'excellent,' though one of these individuals had passed nearly two years in this entire seclusion, another 20 months, and others periods of 18, 14, and 12 months.*

We have thought it important to enter into this detail, because we much doubt the success of the attempt recommended in the report of the Committee of the House of Commons, to establish the Auburn system of discipline, without the means of coercion by which it has been maintained in America. If, therefore, it is impossible to reconcile the public mind in this country to the infliction of corporal punishment on prisoners, at the discretion of the jailer, it would, we think, be expedient, that while a fair trial is given to the Auburn system, modified according to the suggestion of the Committee, the effects of the Pennsylvanian system should also be ascertained by experiment.

It is well remarked by the Archbishop of Dublin, that the most certain mode of arriving at the best system of prison discipline, is to try *all* the different plans which may appear to offer peculiar advantages; and that it is by no means clear that it may not ultimately be found advisable, that more than one of these systems should be permanently retained, in order to have the means of visiting various offences with appropriate penalties. Should this idea be acted upon, it will be important not to lose sight of his observation, that in order to make the adoption of any specific punishment useful for the purpose of experiment, it is necessary that it should be the invariable consequence of particular crimes.

We have not room in this article to enter farther into the subject of prison discipline, which would present many interesting and important heads of enquiry. There is a preliminary question to which, we think, it will be more useful to direct our attention—namely, whether imprisonment should be a *substitute* for transportation, and constitute, in future, the only punishment of criminals?—or whether, on the other hand, as the Committee have recommended, the two punishments should be combined, by subjecting offenders sentenced to transportation, to a preliminary imprisonment at home? The grounds on which a

* See the *Enquête sur le Pénitencier de Philadelphie*, in the Appendix to the work of the French Commissioners, pp. 318-336.

preference has been given to the latter alternative, are thus stated in the Report:—‘Although transportation, as known to the practice of this country, appears inadequate, if inflicted as the sole penalty for crimes of a deeper dye, it may be considered a most valuable ingredient in the system of secondary punishment. Unless there existed some such mode of disposing of criminals whose offences do not merit the penalty of death, but whose morals are so depraved that their reformation can hardly be expected, no alternative would remain between perpetual imprisonment, and the constant infusion into society of malefactors, who, after the term of their punishment had arrived, would again be thrown as outcasts on the world, without friends, without character, and without the means of gaining an honest livelihood.’ (P. 16.) What chiefly strikes us in this passage, is its vagueness. The Committee appear to have had a glimpse only of an important truth, which they have been unable to bring clearly into view, or to separate from some very obvious and palpable errors with which they have allowed it to be mixed up. The opinion is implied, although not distinctly stated, that transportation being no longer dreaded as a punishment, the real advantage derived from it is that of withdrawing those on whom it is inflicted from the influence of circumstances which, if they remained at home, would probably lead them, when restored to liberty, to the commission of new offences. If such be the sense which the Committee meant to convey, although nothing can be more inaccurate than the manner in which it is expressed, or more erroneous than some parts of the statement by which it is accompanied, the opinion itself is, we think, both just and important. In this country, the supply of labour being more than equal to the demand, the difficulty of obtaining employment, which is frequently experienced even by the honest labourer, is almost always insurmountable by him whose character bears the stain of a legal punishment; and it is therefore scarcely possible for those who have once been convicted of any offence, to withdraw from their evil courses, however anxious they may be to do so. In New South Wales and Van Diemen’s Land, on the contrary, the demand for labour so much exceeds the supply, that all who are disposed to be industrious, no matter what their former character, have no difficulty in procuring employment. These considerations seem not entirely to have escaped the attention of the Committee, when they advocate the continuance of the system of transportation, on the ground that it prevents ‘the constant infusion into society of malefactors who, after the term of their punishment had arrived, would again be thrown as outcasts on the world, without friends,

‘ without character, and without the means of gaining an honest ‘ livelihood.’ But though the truth is here pointed at, if it had been distinctly apprehended by the authors of the Report, this observation certainly would not have been particularly, much less exclusively, applied to those criminals ‘ whose morals are so depraved, that their reformation is hardly to be expected.’ It is not this class of offenders who suffer at home from being without the means of obtaining an honest livelihood, (which, if they had, they would not use,) or who, by finding an asylum in the colonies, are likely to be rescued from the necessity of persevering in crime. On the contrary, it is those who are *not* incorrigible—it is those who are inclined to reform, and to maintain themselves by their industry, who may, with the greatest advantage both to themselves and to society, be sent to another hemisphere, in order to escape from the difficulties and temptations which, in their native country, they would be forced to encounter.

It is to a vague perception of the importance of thus facilitating the return of offenders into habits of obedience to the law, that we are inclined to attribute the opinion expressed by the Committee against the abandonment of transportation as a punishment. The majority of transported convicts, when all that in strictness can be termed their punishment is at an end, remain in the colonies; and this is the only substantial advantage arising out of the present system which we are able to detect, or which we can find pointed out in the Report, as a reason for retaining it, notwithstanding its admitted defects. Now, while we agree with the Committee in considering this a very great advantage, we must remark, that it is one entirely of an incidental kind, and which cannot be correctly said to belong to transportation *as a punishment*; since it in no degree promotes the proper end of punishment—namely, the prevention of crimes, by inspiring with a wholesome fear those who are disposed to commit them. It may be good policy to encourage criminals, after punishment, to fix their residence in the colonies; but the encouragement so offered has no tendency to render the consequences of being detected in the violation of the law more formidable; on the contrary, it is manifestly calculated to render the whole punishment less dreaded, if that which is nominally a part of it is found to be a benefit to those who incur it. The truth is, the question as to the best means of disposing of criminals on their release from punishment, is quite distinct from that as to the best mode of punishing them: neither ought to be neglected in legislating on the subject of secondary punishment; but we shall be most likely to form a correct judgment as to the advantages of any scheme which may be proposed, by considering how far it is calculated

to answer the two distinct ends we have in view. This is not the mode of enquiry adopted by the Committee; and hence their error, in advising that transportation should still form a part of the sentence of offenders, although it is acknowledged to be necessary that the 'more exclusively penal part of the sentence' should be inflicted in this country. The scheme thus suggested does not seem well adapted to ensure the accomplishment of either of its objects. Considering it only with a view to the repression of crimes, it is an obvious objection to a change to this extent only, that its tendency would be to increase the actual sufferings of the convict in a much greater degree than it would augment the terrors of the punishment, in the eyes of those whom it is meant to deter from the commission of offences. The advice of the Committee is grounded on the assumption, that the punishment undergone by convicts in the penal colonies is not dreaded; and that imprisonment, under an improved system of prison discipline, would be so to a very great degree. We concur in these views; but the error of the Committee appears to be that they have not followed them out to their legitimate extent. If transportation has really in a great measure lost its terrors, and if it is necessary, to make the law respected, that a more formidable punishment should be substituted in its place, this new mode of punishment cannot be too strikingly different from that which offenders have learnt to brave; and even the name of a punishment which has ceased to be associated with the idea of any severe suffering, ought not to be allowed to continue. So also, if it is to imprisonment that we are to look as deterring those who are disposed to the commission of crimes, the dread of it ought to be brought to bear as directly as possible on their minds; and their attention ought not to be diverted from this, which is meant to be the most painful consequence of guilt, by any other circumstance in the lot of criminals. These considerations have either escaped the attention of the Committee, or have failed to command their assent. Offenders (should their suggestions be exactly followed) would still continue, as at present, to be sentenced to transportation: they would, it is true, remain for a longer or a shorter time in a prison at home, but they would ultimately be sent to the penal colonies, and this would constitute, as it now does, in the eyes of the vulgar, the main part of their punishment. And, as it does not enter into the scheme, that any alteration should be made in the condition of transported convicts, they would, as at present, be found, whilst still nominally in a state of punishment, to be in a much better condition than by honest industry they could possibly have been, had they remained at home. Hence we apprehend it would happen, that

all the old notions as to the nature of the punishment appointed by law for offences not capital, would be suffered to remain in full force;—that the same and similar accounts of the prosperity of transported convicts, which now interfere so materially with the efficiency of the punishment, would continue to be current;—and that, however irksome the previous imprisonment might be to those by whom it might actually be endured, it would make but little impression upon the minds of others. It is now found, that convicts about to be sent to the colonies generally take their notions of their future lot from what they have heard of the condition of ‘ticket-of-leave-men;’ forgetting, or rather studiously diverting their minds from the consideration of the comparative disadvantages, to which, as assigned servants, they must for a considerable period be exposed.* In the same manner it may be anticipated, that were the plan of the Committee adopted, the immediate would be overlooked in the ultimate consequences of the sentence of transportation; and thus the painful nature of the first imprisonment would fail to produce its due effect as an example.

Such are the grounds upon which we rest our conclusion, that in order completely to attain the first and principal object of the Committee, and to render the adoption of an improved system of imprisonment as effectual as it might be in restoring the impaired authority of the law, it is indispensably necessary that transportation, as *a punishment*, should be altogether done away with; and that the only punishment, in name, as in fact, of offenders not condemned to die, should be that which we have reason to expect would be really formidable.

In recommending this deviation from the plan suggested by the Committee, we by no means overlook the advantages which would be derived from the Australian Colonies, as places of refuge for criminals, after having undergone the penalty of their offences. We object to transportation as a punishment, because it has nothing of a penal character, and because we think that much mischief would result from this misapplication of the name. But we think, for the reasons already stated, that the emigration of offenders, on their release from the penal consequences of their guilt, would be equally advantageous to themselves and to society. Such being the case, the enquiry naturally suggests itself, whether means may not be adopted to induce those who have fallen under the lash of the criminal law, *voluntarily* to leave the country, in order to seek an honest maintenance in a

* See evidence of Mr Wakefield. Minutes, p. 101.

distant land. This might without difficulty be accomplished, by adopting the regulation, that a certain fixed proportion of their respective terms of imprisonment should be remitted in favour of such offenders, as should be willing to proceed to one or other of the Australian Colonies. It may be said, that this would be only a nominal change from the plan recommended by the Committee; and that in reality it would be a continuance of the system of penal transportation. Were this true, and could the scheme be justly described as differing in name only, and not in substance, from that suggested in the Report, we should be prepared to contend, that even this difference would not be unimportant; but that which really exists is much more considerable.

The circumstances in which individuals sent to the Colonies would be placed on their arrival, under the two plans, would be totally dissimilar; inasmuch as in the one case they would be sent for the purpose of punishment (which implies at least an attempt to inflict suffering of some kind); in the other they would not. The abridgement of the period of the convict's imprisonment, in consideration of his agreeing to a voluntary exile, is not proposed as a commutation of one kind of punishment for another: it proceeds on a very different principle. Every crime is an injury inflicted upon society; and while we punish the criminal in order to deter others from similar offences, it cannot interfere with the example, if to those offenders who are willing to make amends to society, a certain degree of indulgence is allowed. Now, with respect to by far the most numerous class of offenders, viz. those who are able to labour, and have no other honest resource, it is evident that their emigration would in every point of view be a great advantage to society, and might therefore be considered as some amends for their past misconduct. In consideration, however, of the remission of punishment which we would accord to them, something more might reasonably be demanded, than a mere consent to leave a country to which in general they have little to attach them. We should propose that the condition on which a convict should be entitled to have the duration of his imprisonment abridged, should be his not only consenting to be sent to the Australian Colonies, but his likewise coming under an engagement to repay out of the high wages he would there be able to earn, the whole expense which he may have occasioned. An account should be kept of the cost incurred for his apprehension on the commission of the offence,—for the legal proceedings ending in his conviction,—for his maintenance during the period of his punishment,—and lastly, for his removal to the colony; and the whole should be charged against him as a debt. It may perhaps be thought that this is an obligation which it would be

impossible for a person in such a situation to discharge. Should this, on further enquiry, appear probable, a smaller demand might be made ; but the success which appears to have attended the scheme recently adopted of making advances, repayable by instalments, to poor mechanics, for the purpose of enabling them to reach these colonies,* induces us to think, that a convict emigrating under the circumstances we have supposed, might, in no very long period of time, acquit himself of his engagement ; more especially if taught during his imprisonment some useful trade. Nor would the means of compelling repayment be wanting, supposing an attempt made to evade it. The remission of punishment being accorded on certain conditions, its advantages would of course be forfeited by their non-observance. The emigrating convict,

* The following extracts from a despatch from Colonel Arthur to Lord Goderich, will explain the grounds of this opinion :—

‘ With regard to the L.20 advances, there will be no difficulty whatever in finding means for recovering the payment of that sum. If the emigrants should be unwilling or dishonest enough to refuse the repayment ; and if, as the Commissioners have proposed, the advances be confined to sober and industrious persons, skilled in some of the ordinary mechanical arts, or who are strong useful husbandmen, no apprehension certainly need be entertained of their *capacity* to repay the amount of the advances, until such very large numbers shall have arrived as shall make a most sensible impression upon the present enormous high rate of wages.’

* * * * *

‘ I acknowledge by this opportunity your Lordship’s despatch, directing payment of L.20 to be made to Robert Russell, blacksmith, iron and brass-founder. This man has debarked a family of nine children, and his wife is on the point of being confined of her tenth child. As few more numerous families than this are likely to emigrate, I have looked into R. Russell’s first settlement with much attention ; and the result is, a conviction, that he may not only repay the advance of L.20 within six months, but provide for his family with comfort, and by the same means render great service to the community with whom his lot is cast. Now, my Lord, in this single case what extensive good has been done ! This man could not have maintained his family in Scotland, without considerable relief from his friends ; and it may therefore be adduced not only as a striking proof of the benefit of the measure which his Majesty’s Government has determined upon in a national point of view, but as demonstrative of the immediate relief which parishes may find, if they will heartily co-operate with his Majesty’s Government in raising funds to enable their poor but well-conducted parishioners to remove from a state of poverty to one of comparative affluence and comfort.’—*Parliamentary Paper*, No. 141, Sept. 1833 ; pp. 50–51.

therefore, while any part of his debt remained undischarged, should be subjected to the same control under which 'ticket-of-leave-men' are now placed; and the Governor of the colony should farther be authorized to fix in each case a minimum weekly instalment, which failing to pay, the emigrant should be liable to forced labour in the penal gang. By the expedient now described, we conceive that it would be practicable to make the severe imprisonment which the Committee have proposed, the only punishment of offenders; thus rendering it much more likely to be effectual as an example in deterring those who are disposed to the commission of crimes; while, at the same time, the only real advantage which can be assigned as an argument in favour of transportation, instead of being surrendered, would, unless we are greatly deceived, be carried much farther than it could be by any other means. It might with the utmost confidence be anticipated, that a far larger proportion of all the criminals who are brought to justice than can possibly be transported, would, if encouraged to do so, after punishment, voluntarily proceed to the Colonies; and that, too, under circumstances much more likely to conduce to their own welfare, and to the benefit of society, than those in which, according to the existing practice, they would be placed. Exile, though in general far from being felt by criminals as any great punishment, occasionally is so: there are individuals to whom death itself is scarcely more terrible. The degree of suffering, too, which it occasions, depends upon varieties in the temper and dispositions, as well as in the situations and circumstances of those condemned to it, which cannot be judged of beforehand. Whilst, therefore, the expatriation of convicts takes place, not voluntarily, but as a part of their punishment, it is impossible that it should apply to those who have been guilty of only trivial offences. For this reason it is, that of those sentenced to only seven years' transportation few have hitherto been actually transported; and there are yearly a great number of individuals convicted of offences of a yet lighter character, whose penal removal from their native country the law does not, and ought not to sanction. But though it would be in the highest degree unjust to inflict, what may in some cases be so severe a punishment as banishment, on offenders of this class, they are precisely those to whom the refuge afforded by the Australian Colonies would, as we have shown above, be of the greatest value. We will venture to say, that there is hardly any one acquainted with the practical working of our criminal law, who could not mention instances of persons driven into criminal courses, by the impossibility of gaining an honest livelihood, through the loss of character incurred by a short imprisonment for some petty theft. We have no doubt,

that in a majority of such cases, the culprits, if given the option of being turned out of prison, destitute and friendless, or of being removed to the Colonies, would adopt the latter alternative ; even although they might not obtain that remission of punishment which we have suggested. By the combined effect of this inducement, and of a punishment at once extremely irksome and favourable to serious reflection, we feel confident that they might in almost every instance be led to accept, as the greatest favour, the offer of being allowed to emigrate, on the terms we have described. The Australian colonies would thus become more useful than they have hitherto been, as places of refuge for those whose prospects are blighted by their having been detected in the commission of crime ; and, which is hardly less important, offenders so induced to emigrate would be placed in circumstances greatly more favourable to their moral improvement, than those in which the transported convict finds himself. According to the present practice, the convict, on his arrival in New South Wales or Van Diemen's Land, becomes the assigned servant,—that is, in fact, the slave, of some settler ; a condition in which, as we know, from the experience of all ages, a good disposition is much more likely to be corrupted, than a vicious one to be reformed. The fruits of slavery in this remote part of the world have not been different from those which it has borne elsewhere. All accounts concur in the statement, that the assigned convicts are addicted to pilfering ; that the difficulty of procuring the means of indulgence alone checks their propensity to drunkenness and to most other vices ; and that their idleness is so extreme, that two convicts will hardly get through as much labour in a day as one able-bodied and industrious labourer at home. When, at the expiration of a certain number of years, the convict obtains a ticket of leave, his conduct may perhaps, in particular instances, be improved, but such certainly is not usually the case. The 'ticket-of-leave-man' may, indeed, for two or three days in the week labour more diligently than he did before, because he works upon his own account ; but, in general, the bad habits acquired or strengthened during his servitude are not shaken off ; his earnings during the irregular periods of his industry are spent in rum, and the greater part of his time is passed in idleness and intoxication. According to our plan, the emigrating, like the transported convict, would for a time be forced to submit to labour, of which the fruits would in a great measure be withheld from him. But an important difference in the effects of this constraint would arise from the different manner in which it would be imposed. The assigned servant is in a state of degradation which renders him insensible to some of the most powerful of those moral restraints by which, in a sound

state of society, the evil passions and inclinations of men are curbed. He is, in fact, a slave, bound for a given number of years to labour for the benefit of another; and no activity or good behaviour can shorten the period of his bondage:* he may lengthen it by gross misconduct, or by idleness carried beyond a certain point, but avoiding this, he has nothing to gain by merit, or to lose by the faults he may commit. The situation of the convict voluntarily emigrating under an engagement to repay the expense he had occasioned, would in every respect be the reverse. The necessity of making a weekly payment towards the discharge of his debt, might leave him no more, perhaps less of the produce of his labour than is usually allowed to the assigned servant; but so long as he did not fail to make the required payment, he would have all the independence of a free labourer; and he would have the strongest stimulus to industry and economy, in the knowledge that the more he exerted himself and the more he saved, the earlier would arrive the period of his complete release, and of his restoration to that place in society which he had forfeited by his misconduct. It is no exaggeration to say, that while at present the convict is placed in circumstances which can hardly fail to teach him idleness, and to destroy whatever self-respect he may have left, he would, on the contrary, by the above means, be subjected to the sort of training most likely to give him habits of industry, and to foster whatever good feelings might not have been destroyed by the circumstances which led him into crime.

There is one circumstance, in particular, which must not be lost sight of in estimating the comparative advantage, with a view to the reformation of criminals, of making their removal to the Colonies an indulgence to be granted to them at their own desire, instead of, as the Committee have proposed, a part of their punishment. In the latter case, it is quite impossible that the families of convicts should be suffered to accompany them. Their separation from their wives and children is the single circumstance, as we have already observed, in which the condition of the agricultural labourers who were three years ago transported for the riots in the south of England, has not, by their own account, been greatly changed for the better. Were it, then, to become the practice that when a man is transported his family should accompany him, there would be no end to the crimes which would be committed for the purpose of obtaining, what the half-starved pauper would justly consider an inestimable advantage,—a free passage to a

* Such is the effect of the present regulations; a different practice formerly prevailed, but was found to lead to much abuse.

country where comfort and independence are within the reach of all who are able and willing to labour. Now, although the violent separation of the ties which bind a man to his wife and children is no doubt a severe punishment, it requires no argument to prove that there is none which is in every respect so objectionable. By the worst and most numerous class of offenders, who, living a life of profligacy, have formed no family connexions, it is altogether unfelt. Where it does apply, it generally affects the innocent wife, even more severely than the guilty husband; while it exposes both to temptations likely to corrupt the one, and to prevent the moral reformation of the other. His affection for his wife and family, and his desire to promote their welfare, are frequently the last remaining traces of his better nature in the heart of the criminal;—the lurking seeds of good which ought to be carefully tended and cultivated, not heedlessly trampled down or eradicated. It would be difficult to estimate the mischief which has in this respect resulted from the present system of transportation: unfortunately no doubt can exist, that while this rending apart of the ties of nature has greatly demoralized the convict population in our penal Colonies, it also has led to much suffering, and frequent deviations from the paths of virtue, among those left at home, friendless and destitute, by the banishment of their protectors.

It may be anticipated that the expense of building prisons capable of containing, in separate cells, the large number of criminals whom it is in this country necessary to punish, will be urged as an objection to the plan we have recommended, and almost equally to that suggested by the Committee. In reply, we might argue, that as the protection of person and property is the great object for which civil society is instituted, no expense really necessary for that purpose ought to be refused; and no considerations of economy should be permitted to interfere with our adopting the most effectual means which can be devised, for restraining the inclination to violence or plunder, wherever it may exist. But, passing this argument, we deny that, even in respect to economy, any advantage can be shown to belong to the existing system of punishment, over that proposed in lieu of it. Nor, in maintaining this position, however strongly we are persuaded that, to a considerable extent, the attempt to obtain from offenders the repayment of the expense they may have occasioned would succeed, do we mean to argue on that assumption. Throwing out of view any saving which might so be effected, we think it may be shown, that from the establishment of penitentiaries, there would result a reduction of current expenditure, amply sufficient to make up for the original cost of their con-

struction. Some light will be thrown on this point by a comparison of the expense now incurred on account of convicts under punishment at home and in the Colonies.

It has been found that the gross annual expense of the hulks amounts to L.20, 11s. 10d. for each convict; and that, deducting the value of the labour performed, the net expense to the public is at the rate of L.6, 11s. 5d. per man.* The expense incurred on account of transported convicts, cannot be ascertained with equal accuracy, since there are no means of determining what proportion of the various public establishments in the Colonies is rendered necessary by their being used as places of punishment. The lowest calculation, however, of this expense, (we have reason to believe it to be greatly under the truth,) is that made by the French Commissioners† from the papers laid before Parliament; which gives L.12 for the sum annually expended on account of each convict in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land,—the passage alone (the only part of the expense it is possible to obtain correctly) costing, for male convicts, L.25, 15s., and for females, L.27, 12s.

Hence it appears that the net annual expense of each convict in the hulks, is L.5, 8s. 7d. less than that which he would have occasioned if transported. But the cost of supporting well-regulated penitentiaries is by no means to be taken as equal to that incurred in the hulks, where the repairs constantly required by these floating prisons, cost annually a large sum; and where a system prevails radically vicious, and utterly incompatible with economy. We must refer to the Report of the Committee for the details of this system: it is sufficient to mention, that fewer hours of labour are required from the criminals ‡ than free labourers are in the habit of performing; and that while in the Manchester County Prison, § the weekly allowance of food for the prisoners under sentence of hard labour, costs only 1s. 9d. a-head, the convicts on board the hulks are maintained at the rate of 3s. 2d½. || a-week, and are actually better fed than the soldiers ¶ by whom they are guarded. Looking to these facts, we have no hesitation in saying, that in well-managed penitentiaries, the

* See Evidence of Mr Capper, Minutes of 1831.

† Page 294.

‡ Report of Select Committee, p. 14.

§ Appendix to the Report, p. 137.

|| Evidence of Mr Capper, Minutes of 1831.

¶ Extracts from the information obtained by the Poor Law Commissioners, p. 243.

gross amount of current expenditure ought to be considerably less than on board the hulks; and the labour of the prisoners more productive. In some of the American States, the penitentiaries, instead of being a source of expense, have been made to yield a surplus revenue to the public treasury; and though under the combined disadvantage of a lower value of labour, and a higher price of provisions, we cannot hope to arrive at the same result, yet in what has there been accomplished, we have the example of much in the way of improvement, that would be equally practicable here.

Taking, however, the least favourable calculation, and assuming that under the penitentiary system, the maintenance of convicts would cost within a trifle as much as it now does in the hulks, we may safely reckon that the net annual expense would not be at the rate of more than L.6 a-head; or precisely half of that occasioned by transportation, at the lowest estimate. Nor is this all; not only would the expense incurred on account of each convict be greatly reduced, but the number to be so maintained would also be much diminished. It is one of the advantages which have been found in America to result from the introduction of a good system of prison discipline, that it has thereby been rendered practicable materially to abridge the periods of punishment appointed by law for the various descriptions of crimes. There can be no question but that a similar course might here be adopted with advantage; and we have little doubt that if instead of the hulks for four years, (the usual meaning of the sentence of seven years' transportation,) we were to substitute imprisonment for only two, in well-regulated penitentiaries, with the option of emigration at the end of one, the punishment would be still much more dreaded than it is at present. The periods for which criminals of a worse description are sentenced, might be shortened in a similar proportion; and therefore, even should the proposed change of system fail to diminish the number of crimes committed, it would nevertheless reduce the number of criminals who would at once be subject to punishment.

We trust that the foregoing statements will be considered satisfactorily to establish the conclusion, that as a set-off to the outlay occasioned, in the first instance, by the adoption of the penitentiary system, we have a right to reckon upon a very considerable diminution resulting from it in the subsequent annual expense for the punishment of criminals. The amount, too, of the original outlay might, we believe, by judicious management, be reduced much below what it is commonly imagined would be necessary. We have not space to enter into the calculation of the sum which would be required, but we may mention, that in America peni-

tentiaries have actually been built at the rate of L.30 for each cell they contain; and that one very competent judge* has expressed an opinion, that by avoiding the errors which have hitherto been committed to a greater or less extent, the expense might be brought down as low as L.17 a-cell. In this country, the cost of such buildings ought to be even lower than in America; for if some of the materials used in their construction are dearer here, others are cheaper, and labour, by far the heaviest item, very much so. Much, too, of the expense that would otherwise be required, would be rendered unnecessary, by the fortunate circumstance, that a great part of the buildings which would be wanted in the first instance are already in existence. Papers † were laid before the Committee, by which it appears that the *Depôt* on Dartmoor, built during the last war for the reception of French and American prisoners, (which is now unoccupied,) might, at a very small expense, be made capable of containing 2000 prisoners in separate cells, and of affording sufficient accommodation for the necessary keepers and the guard. The situation unites every advantage which could be desired. Here, therefore, the new mode of punishment might at once be brought into operation; and the additional buildings required for its complete establishment, might gradually be erected by the labour of the convicts themselves, as has been done at Sing Sing, the great penitentiary of the State of New York.

Although some other topics connected with the important enquiry in which we have been engaged, might here be discussed, we must conclude for the present; trusting that we have, at any rate, said enough to attract to the subject the attention it so well deserves.

* Mr Willis. See his letter to the French Commissioners, in the Appendix to their work, p. 342.

† See Appendix to the Report, pp. 136 and 137.

ART. V.—*Travels and Researches in Caffraria: describing the Character, Customs, and Moral Condition, of the Tribes inhabiting that portion of Southern Africa: With historical and topographical Remarks, illustrative of the State and Prospects of the British Settlement on its Borders, the Introduction of Christianity, and the Progress of Civilisation.* By STEPHEN KAY, Corresponding Member of the South African Institution. 12mo. London: 1833.

EVER since the appearance of Mr Barrow's well-known work on Southern Africa, at the commencement of the present century, an increasing interest has been felt in Europe in regard to the native tribes of that country. Mr Barrow had the merit of first bringing under our observation, by clear and graphic description, freed from the exaggerations of credulity and romance, the distinguishing characteristics of the two remarkable races known to Europeans by the appellations of Hottentots and Caffers.* The Swedish travellers Thunberg and Sparrman, indeed, had previously furnished some authentic notices of the tribes within the limits of the Cape Colony; but these respectable writers were too exclusively devoted to the cultivation of

* It is a singular circumstance that both those appellations are *nick-names*. Mr Barrow, speaking of the Hottentots, says, 'The name even that has been given to this people is a fabrication. *Hottentot* is a word that has no place nor meaning in their language; and they take to themselves the name, under the idea of its being a Dutch word. Whence it has its derivation, or by whom it was first given, I have not been able to trace. When the country was first discovered, and when they were spread over the southern angle of Africa, as an independent people, each horde had its particular name; but that by which the collective body of the nation was distinguished, and which at this moment they bear among themselves in every part of the country, is *Quaiquæ*.'—*Travels*, vol. i. p. 100.

In the same manner, the word *Caffer*, *Kaffer*, or *Caffre*, was originally a term of contumely, (being the Arabic *Cafir*, liar, infidel,) employed by the Moorish and Arabic inhabitants of the north-eastern coast to designate all the tribes of south-eastern Africa who had not embraced the Mohammedan faith; and from them the term was adopted by the early European navigators. Lichtenstein, when describing the tribe who border on the Cape Colony, the *Koosas*, as he terms them (more properly *Amakosa*), remarks, that 'These people are exceedingly offended at being called *Caffers*, and have the more reason to object to it, since in their language *f* is a sound that occurs but seldom—*ff* and *r*, never.'—Vol. i. p. 250.

natural history, (then rendered popular in Europe by the genius of their countryman Linnæus,) to spare more than a few desultory remarks on the character and condition of the human inhabitants of that region. The lively and amusing travels of Vaillant, on the other hand, were too much alloyed with egotistical frivolity and romance to secure the confidence, or satisfy the judgment, of sensible men—even when, as in many particulars, he adhered pretty closely to truth and nature.

Mr Barrow sketched these tribes with a more forcible and manly hand; and he held up to the indignation of the civilized world, with an energy which did him honour, the oppressions to which those within and around the colony had been subjected by the Dutch-African settlers. He was, moreover, the first European traveller of any eminence who penetrated into the country of the Caffers, and had an opportunity of delineating that people as they appeared in their own pastoral hamlets. His excursion into Caffraria was a hurried one; and his description of the inhabitants has proved to be in some points inaccurate; but still, as a graphic outline of the peculiar features of the race, it is a picture not less true to nature than it is ably executed.

A few years subsequent to Barrow, Professor Lichtenstein, the German traveller, published a more detailed account of the frontier Caffers, which, on the whole, strongly corroborated the favourable report of the former. Lichtenstein, moreover, extending his researches farther to the north, brought us acquainted with the Bechuana branch of the same great family; and showed the strong probability that this race would be found to extend over a large portion of the almost unknown regions of Southern Africa.

Subsequent discoveries have fully confirmed the truth of this surmise. The researches of Burchell and Thompson, of the Missionary travellers, Campbell, Philip, Moffat, Kay, and others, and some cursory notices in the recent work of Captain Owen, all combine to render it manifest, that the interior of the continent, from the country of the Hottentots northward to the tropic, and possibly far beyond it, is occupied by cognate tribes of the same race; who 'all adhere so constantly to the construction and elements of a common language, as to be mutually intelligible to each other, notwithstanding the variety of their dialects.'

It is not, however, our purpose, on the present occasion, to enter upon the wide field of geographical and ethnographical investigation, to which this topic would naturally lead us. We may find, perhaps, ere long, a more appropriate text-book than the present work to engage us in discussions of this nature—which, as respects the interior of Africa, are not less interesting

than they are difficult. At present we mean to confine ourselves to narrower limits.

Mr Kay, who is a Missionary of the Wesleyan Methodist Society, entitles his work, 'Travels and Researches in Caffraria;' not omitting, however, to notice in his preface, the vagueness of the term, *Caffraria*; and stating that the tribes to whom his observations more directly refer 'lie along the eastern coast 'from our colonial boundary, in 33 degrees south lat. *northwards*.' This indication is itself sufficiently vague; but we discover in the sequel that the author comprises under it the eastern coast as far as Delagoa Bay, and the interior of the continent as far as the territory of the Murutzi tribe, which approaches the tropic. The fact is, the terms Caffer and Caffraria are altogether arbitrary and conventional, and are restricted or extended according to the caprice or peculiar notions of travellers and geographers; while, by the Cape colonists, Cafferland, or Caffraria, is usually employed to denote exclusively the territory occupied by the frontier clans of Amakosa. But Mr Kay's observations refer almost exclusively to the three contiguous tribes of Amakosa, Amatembu, and Amaponda, with the exception of a few cursory remarks on the Zoolu and Bechuana nations. The three first mentioned tribes occupy the country from the eastern frontier of the Colony to the vicinity of Port Natal. Though divided into several independent clans, they are clearly the same people. Their language, manners, and customs, are so exactly similar, that scarcely a shade of difference can be detected between them. Mr Kay resided among them, at the different stations lately planted by his Society, for several years; and it is the character and condition of these three tribes, designated under the general name of Caffers, that form the special object of his 'Researches.'

This author concurs with former travellers in describing the Caffers as a very fine race of men. They are tall, robust, and generally well proportioned. Their heads are handsomely formed, and their countenances bear a much greater resemblance to those of Europeans than either to the Hottentot race, or to the Negroes of Western Africa. Their colour is a clear dark brown; their hair is black, but decidedly woolly, and resembling that of the Hottentots. Their address is frank, cheerful, and unembarrassed; and 'they have a firmness of courage and an open manly demeanour, altogether free from that apparent consciousness of fear and of suspicion which generally characterises uncivilized nations.'

The females are not so handsome as the men. They are rather low in stature, strong-limbed, and muscular. Their features, however, are generally pleasing, and sometimes beautiful; they

have remarkably fine teeth ; and they are for the most part exceedingly good-humoured and cheerful, excepting when enfeebled by age or sickness, or depressed by some calamity. There is a natural sprightliness, activity, and vivacity about them, which greatly distinguishes them from the Hottentot females, and from those of most nations that are but little advanced in civilisation.

The clothing of both sexes consists entirely of the skins of beasts, curried and prepared in such a manner as to preserve the hair or fur, and at the same time render them perfectly soft and pliable. The *ingubo* or mantle, is formed of the dressed hide of an ox, or heifer, cut into a particular shape ; it hangs loose from the shoulders, and is the ordinary dress of all classes. The chieftains have robes of leopards' or panthers' skins, which they wear on all occasions of state or ceremony ; but it is usual for them to have these borne by a retainer, while the chief himself goes about in an ordinary cloak of ox hide. The *ingubo* is the only raiment worn by the men ; and being quite open in front, and often thrown entirely aside when they are engaged in any active occupation, it can scarcely be said to serve any purpose of decency. The men have in fact no sense of indecorum in entire nudity, and appear to consider the use of any covering round the loins as unmanly. Mr Kay says, he has ' been told by the old men, that their ancestors ' were accustomed to wear a small apron when occasion required ' them to throw off the *ingubo* or cloak ; and that it is but of late ' years, comparatively, that this relic of decency has been entirely ' laid aside. The custom seems to have been abolished under ' the idea of its being too feminine, and incompatible with that ' fierce and barbarian boldness, which, in their view, constitutes ' magnanimity.' The more inland and northern tribes, he adds, all wear the waist covering, and regard the southern Caffer as a ' tiger' for abandoning it.

The dress of the females is much more modest and becoming. Besides the *ingubo*, which only differs from that of the men by having a long flap dependent from the collar behind, ornamented with rows of buttons, they wear a leather kilt or apron (*kio*), and also a covering of finer leather (*imbeka*) over the bosom. Except in cases of old age, childhood, or females giving suck, it is considered extremely unbecoming for a woman to have the bosom uncovered. A head-dress is also always worn before strangers. This consists of a sort of cap or turban, formed of the skin of a small blue antelope, called *iputi*. It is ornamented with a large quantity of variegated beads, arranged according to a regular pattern, white and light blue being the prevailing colours ; and the author remarks, that the contrast with the bronze counte-

nance of the wearer, is far from disagreeable ; though he thinks the shape of the turban too masculine and helmet-like to accord with European ideas of feminine softness.

Although there are no changes in the form or texture of the dress, and each female carries her entire wardrobe about her person by day, and has no other bed-clothes at night, yet here, as in every other quarter of the world, female vanity and love of ornament find an appropriate mode of display. The quantity and costliness of personal decorations form the great marks of distinction in the Caffrarian world of fashion. Bracelets of native ivory ; rings of iron and copper for the arms and ankles ; ear-drops of glass beads or copper ; festoons of small *cyprea* shells ; strings of beads, sometimes to the number of 100 or 150, hung round the neck, and stitched upon the turban, the *imbeka*, and the *kio*, constitute the grand distinctions of female quality, and consideration. In other respects, there appears to be but little difference of condition or privilege of rank among the females of these tribes. Like the women of almost all barbarous nations, they are regarded and treated as drudges. From the wife of the king or chieftain, to the meanest retainer, it is considered their peculiar duty to cultivate the ground—to dig, sow, plant, and reap ; to manufacture rush-mats, baskets, and earthen pots for cooking ; and to aid the pack-oxen in conveying their provisions and household gear on occasions of removal, while the men devote themselves to the more dignified pursuits of war, hunting, and the care of their cattle.

The houses or huts of the Southern Caffers are of very rude construction, and far inferior to those of the Bechuanas and other interior tribes. They are framed of branches or saplings planted in the ground, bent together in the form of a bee-hive, thatched with grass or rushes, and plastered inside with a mixture of sand and cow dung. The size of this cabin (*inhlu*) varies from six to ten or fifteen feet in diameter : it has neither window nor chimney. The height is seldom sufficient to enable a tall man to stand upright in it. The pastoral and migratory habits of the people induce them to pay little regard to the comfort or convenience of their habitations ; and ‘ the climate,’ says Mr Kay, ‘ is so fine and warm in general, that the day is usually spent in ‘ the open air ; it is only the night-shade, bad weather, or sickness, that will induce them to remain much within doors ; and ‘ when the last of these causes operates as the occasion of their ‘ confinement, the scene is melancholy indeed !’ Their huts are generally associated in clusters of six, ten, or a dozen, which, with a common cattle-fold or two, form a hamlet or village (*umzi*). The favourable position of the cattle-fold (*ubuhlanti*), which is also the usual place of public assembly, is considered of far more

importance, than either beauty of situation, or contiguity to their cultivated grounds.

‘The wealth of the Amakosa,’ says Mr Kay, ‘and other tribes inhabiting this part of Africa, consists not in abundance of gold, silver, or precious stones; to them these things, so eagerly pursued by the civilized nations of the earth, would be mere dross. Neither do magnificent houses, nor splendid furniture, as we have already observed, constitute objects of glory here. Large herds of cattle are accounted the greatest and most valuable riches that man can possess; and the increase of his stock, together with the various means by which that increase may be most fully ensured, is the subject of daily study with every native from the time that he is at all capable of engaging in the affairs of life, to the very last moment of his earthly career. This, in short, is the end of all his exertions, and the grand object of all his arts. His very heart and soul are in his herd; every head is as familiar to his eye as the very countenances of his children. He is scarcely ever seen shedding tears, excepting when the chief lays violent hands upon some part of his horned family; this pierces him to the heart, and produces more real grief than would be evinced over the loss either of wife or child.

‘Beads, brass wire, and gilt buttons, rank next in point of value. These, in fact, answer the two grand purposes to which gold and silver are applied in Europe, viz., trade and aggrandisement. They constitute the bullion of the country, and the sole medium of exchange, with the exception of a spear, which is occasionally given in part of payment. In former days the returns consisted of cattle only; but since the door has been thrown open for export to the colony, ivory and hides also have become staple commodities. For the elephant’s tusk they had formerly no other use than that of cutting it up into rings for bracelets; but, now that they have a regular market, that class of ornaments has in a great measure disappeared. As we have already remarked respecting their ruling propensity, the grand end in every thing seems to be the augmentation of their stock: hence they will seldom receive any article, however valuable in our estimation, for their staple commodities, that will not in some way or other enable them to make an accession to their herd.

‘Sheep, goats, and horses, have but recently been introduced into the country; until lately, therefore, the pack-ox constituted the only beast of burden with which they were at all acquainted. Now, indeed, we meet with a small flock of goats here and there, particularly amongst the Amatambu, which have from time to time been imported from the colony. Horses also are to be seen scattered over the country, some of which have doubtless been stolen from the colonists, and others left on the field as cast-aways in the different expeditions made by the latter against the bordering clans. Many of the young chiefs are becoming real Bedouins in their fondness for these animals; and some of them now possess very fine studs, which they are annually increasing. They have been much encouraged and assisted within the last four or five years by travellers and military gentlemen, who have presented them with horses of a superior description. The principal use, however, which they make of those serviceable creatures, is that of the chase, in which they are quite as merci-

less as the wildest Arabs we are acquainted with. I was much amused with the manner in which the old chief one day tauntingly upbraided his sons with not being able to use their legs since they had got *amahashi* (horses) to carry them. "This," said he, "was not the case when S'Lhambi was young; we then thought it no task to journey on foot, or try the strength of our limbs in hunting. But things are altered now!"

‘ Their manner of life is truly patriarchal, and their general diet extremely simple. This ordinarily consists of milk, which, like the Arabs and Foulah nation of Western Africa, they invariably use in a sour curdled state. It is called *amaaz*, and rendered thus thick and acidulous by being kept in leathern sacks or bottles, the appearance of which, to the eye of a stranger, is exceedingly disgusting. Those vessels are replenished with fresh milk from the cow, morning and evening; this is generally poured in an hour or two before they draw off that designed for family use. It is sometimes kept in calabashes (gourd shells); but in these it often contracts a peculiar and disagreeable taste. New milk is seldom used, excepting by children; nor does it ever undergo any other preparation than that already mentioned. This forms the Kaffers' standing dish; and, next to this, a bowl of boiled corn. The grain most commonly cultivated by the tribes of Southern Africa is a species of millet, or guinea corn, *holcus sorghum*, called *amazimba* by the Kaffer, and *mabali* by the Bechuana. It is used in different ways; but most commonly in a boiled state. When thus prepared, it is served up in small baskets, out of which each helps himself, making his hands serve as a succedaneum for spoons. Seasoning of any kind is seldom used: excepting when mixed with a little milk, the bare grain constitutes the sole ingredient of the mess. It is sometimes pounded between two stones with the hand (corn-mills being altogether unknown in Caffraria), and made into a kind of pottage; and at other times formed into thick cakes, which are always baked on the hearth, amidst hot embers, after the manner of the ancients. Indian corn also is cultivated, but not so extensively; pumpkins likewise, together with a few other esculent plants. But of the latter they seldom lay up any store; consequently they are only useful while the season lasts: and this is in a great measure the case with maize also; for while it continues in season, both young and old are seen parching and eating it at all hours of the day. A species of sugar-cane, called *imfe*, is grown in great abundance: of this the natives are remarkably fond, on account of its sweet and succulent quality. A decoction of it, as likewise of the Indian corn-stalk, is sometimes made for the purpose of sweetening their mess of millet. Add to the above an occasional feast of animal food, and we have the diet complete of a strong and able-bodied people. They seldom sit down to more than one good meal a-day; and that is in the evening, about an hour before bed-time; an occasional draught of milk is generally all they take beside. Few indeed are the wants of nature, whilst the appetite remains unenthralled by the vitiating influence of luxury. The spontaneous productions of the vegetable kingdom constitute their chief dependence, as it regards subsistence, in all cases of emergency.’—P. 119.

They have some peculiar prejudices regarding certain sorts of food. Pork, fish, poultry, and eggs, they consider unclean; nor will they eat the flesh of the elephant. They appear to reject all meats considered unclean by the Arabs.

‘ Being almost entire strangers to the nature and use of spirituous liquors, they are in a great measure free from many of those disorders which are so dreadfully destructive in other countries. There is indeed a sort of metheglin which they make when wild honey is plentiful: of this they sometimes drink to excess.

‘ The most prominent trait in the character of the Kaffer is decidedly that of the herdsman, rather than the warrior; for, as already intimated, he is never so happy as when engaged in something that is calculated either to increase the numbers or improve the appearance of his cattle. Such is his daily attention to these, that one out of a thousand would be immediately missed. His perfect acquaintance with every little spot on the hide, turn of the horns, or other peculiarity, after having seen an animal once or twice, is indeed astonishing, and says much for his powers of observation.

‘ Although he may have numerous servants or vassals at his command, it is accounted no disparagement for an *Incos enkulu* (great Captain or Chief) to be seen tending his own herds. The numerous and fantastical shapes into which they twist the horns of many of their oxen, give them a singular and often an unnatural appearance. This is of course done while the horn is flexible, and capable of being bended any way without difficulty to the operator or injury to the beast. Their expert management and perfect command of oxen is such as often furnishes demonstrative evidence of the knowledge these creatures possess of their respective owners, whose singular manœuvres as well as language might seem to be instantly comprehended by them. One of their most favourite amusements is that of racing young cattle, which are sometimes made to go at an astonishing rate: on these occasions, a native, on horseback and at full gallop, frequently leads the van. The winning ox is lauded to the very skies, and the praises of the multitude pronounced upon it in the most vociferous manner.’—Pp. 127-9.

‘ Some of the natives are by no means contemptible artisans. Had they but proper tools, and a little instruction as to the use of them, their *abakandi* (smiths) would in all probability soon excel. The remoter tribes are far in advance of the Kaffer, as it regards the smelting of iron. Nevertheless, when it comes into his hand in a malleable state, the latter is able to shape it to his purpose with great ingenuity. Their hammer, as well as anvil, seldom consists of any thing more than a common hard stone, with which, however, they manage to give a neat finish to spears of different forms, metallic beads and small chains; bracelets also, both of iron and brass, are frequently manufactured by these self-taught mechanics with considerable taste. Much genius and clever workmanship are sometimes displayed in the blade of the assagai, (*umkonto*), which constitutes their principal weapon, offensive and defensive. In addition to this, the smith (*umkandi*) makes a small descrip-

tion of hatchets, which, although very inefficient in the estimation of a European, serve every purpose for which the natives want them.

‘The various wars that have taken place within the last few years among the tribes higher up the coast, and in the interior, have been the means of throwing amongst the southern clans numbers of poor destitute exiles, who, from their being acquainted with the art of smelting metallic ores, are likely to prove very useful, both to the Amakosa and Amatembu.’—P. 133.

The arms of the Caffers are the assagai or javelin, a short club, and a shield. The first is a slender spear from six to seven feet in length, with an iron blade at the thickest end, from a foot to eighteen inches long, and from one to two inches broad. It is thrown by the hand alone; and the principal art in launching it is to give the shaft a sort of tremulous motion, which greatly increases its velocity. At the distance of from fifty to seventy paces, a Caffer warrior can hit a large object, such as a man or an antelope, with considerable certainty, and with such force as to strike the weapon quite through the body. Every warrior or hunter carries a bundle of six or eight of these spears. The club is a short knob-stick, which is used by way of bludgeon when they come to close fighting. They also use it as a weapon of defence in aid of the shield, to strike aside an assagai by a sudden side-blow. The shield is a large oval buckler of hardened bullock's hide, fixed on two cross sticks, which serve as a handle to grasp it. It is about four feet long, by two and a half broad, and is well fitted to protect these naked warriors against their slender missiles, but it is of little avail against fire-arms. Some of the tribes in the interior, who come in contact with the Portuguese, have smaller round shields of rhinoceros hide, which are capable of turning a musket ball. Their mode of fighting is to range themselves in opposing lines, and to throw their spears from a distance. When exhibited in a sham fight (a pastime they frequently exercise themselves with), the spectacle of these fine, athletic, naked warriors, springing hither and thither with loud cries, changing their place every instant to avoid the missiles of their opponents, throwing themselves on the ground, and then quickly rising, to take their aim anew, is exceedingly striking. The wars between the contiguous clans of the southern Caffers are seldom very bloody. They commonly arise from grievances connected with the invasion of each other's pasture-grounds, or the stealing of cattle; and are usually decided by a skirmish or two with missiles, without coming to close quarters. The devastating ravages of the Zoolu and Mantatee tribes, described by Mr Thompson, and briefly noticed by Mr Kay, are, however, of a different and far more ferocious character; these tribes

rushing on to combat in dense masses with the stabbing-spear, the war-club, and the battle-axe, and destroying the hordes overwhelmed by them root and branch.

The Caffers are passionately fond of hunting, and pursue with ardour, not only the antelopes which inhabit their woods and mountains, but also the buffalo, the lion, the rhinoceros, the hippopotamus, and the elephant. The latter animal they sometimes assail for several days before they can destroy him.

The system of government among these tribes is of a very simple patriarchal character; resembling, in many points, that of our Highland clans in ancient times. The chieftainship is hereditary, though the succession does not always follow in a regular course, according to the European laws of primogeniture. The chief usually names his successor from among the children of his principal wife, who is always a female of high lineage, and generally taken from another tribe. The principal wives of the Amakosa chiefs, for instance, are mostly of the noble blood of Amatembu and Amaponda. The great chiefs are considered absolute sovereigns in their respective clans; but their arbitrary power is practically restrained, in all at least that relates to public affairs; nothing of importance is decided upon without the council of the leading men of the tribe, and captains of villages, who are selected generally from the wealthiest, the wisest, or the bravest of the horde. These men are termed *amapagati*, *i. e.* elders or counsellors. In all great questions of peace or war, a public council is held, at which all the warriors attend, and where the leading men deliver their sentiments with great freedom and animation. But on more ordinary occasions, such as disputes between individuals, or the trial of offenders, the Chief, assisted by a certain number of his *amapagati*, sits as judge, the counsellors forming a species of rude jury. The traditional usages and customs of the nation form their code of laws. Of these African courts of justice, the following account has been given by the intelligent Missionary, Mr Brownlee, whose notes on the Amakosa Caffers are appended to Mr Thompson's Travels:—
 ‘ fences are committed, or disputes occur, and the matter cannot
 ‘ be settled by the interference of friends, it is brought by the
 ‘ aggrieved party before his chieftain's court. Those concerned
 ‘ are immediately summoned to appear before a public meeting
 ‘ of the tribe or clan. The place where the meetings are con-
 ‘ vened, is usually the cattle kraal of the horde or village; but
 ‘ if the weather be very warm, they sometimes assemble under
 ‘ the shade of the trees in some neighbouring wood. The parties
 ‘ concerned sit at the entrance of the kraal or place of assembly;
 ‘ the rest take their station in a circle within; but women are not

‘ allowed to enter, and only a few of the oldest and most respectable persons speak. When the matter is of great importance, the most profound attention is paid. The speakers rise in succession with the greatest decorum, and make long and animated harangues, until all sides of the subject have been fully considered and discussed. After this, the chief, who acts as president of the court, gives his opinion, and refers it to the consideration of the assembly, who either concur in his opinion, or assign their reasons for dissent. Sometimes an important cause is kept pending for several days; but this is not generally the case,—for, as there are no fees for the advocates, the length of the process does not increase the costs.’—(Vol. ii. p. 349.) Mr Kay, on the same subject, makes the following observations:—

‘ The Caffer chiefs are in all cases both legislators and judges, whilst “ the old men ” and favourite courtiers form a kind of jury and council too. The parties appear personally, plead their own cause, and produce their witnesses and proofs.’—‘ In their public harangues, a man is seldom interrupted, although his speech be continued for hours together; but during this time his antagonist is all attention: when he rises to reply, every argument that has been adduced is taken up in the exact order in which it was delivered, and with as much precision as if answered at the very moment. Memory is their only note-book; and although apparently put, on many occasions, to the severest test, they seldom seem to labour under any material difficulty in bringing up all the details of the subject by the astonishing powers of recollection. Their language, on those occasions, is generally strong and nervous, and their manner exceedingly manly and dignified. Even the children, when about to reply to the most simple questions, step forward, throw back the head, and extend the arm; and give to their words a full, slow, and clear enunciation.’—P. 154.

It is curious to remark, that Major Laing, in describing the judicial customs of the Soolimas of north-western Africa, gives an account almost exactly corresponding with the above descriptions furnished by these two Caffer Missionaries. Nor is this the only point of resemblance between the usages of these widely separated tribes.

Murder or manslaughter, theft, adultery, and most other offences between private persons, are usually punished by a fine fixed by the court; varying, according to circumstances, from a single cow to the whole property of the offender. In aggravated cases, or when the offence is committed against powerful chiefs, the criminal is sometimes punished with death.

On the subject of their religious notions, Mr Kay has not furnished much additional information. Nothing like a regular system of idolatry exists among them; but we find some traces of

a belief in a Supreme Being, and sundry superstitious usages, which look like the shattered wrecks of ancient religious institutions and higher civilisation. Among the Amakosa, the Supreme Being, the 'ruler of the stars and the thunder,' is sometimes spoken of with a vague sort of awe, under the name of *Uhlanga*, or *Udali*; but, since the missionaries settled among them, the term *Utiko* (which is employed to denote the true God) has generally superseded the native terms. This word (*Utiko*) is derived from the ancient Hottentot term *Tiko*, the name of the Supreme Spirit, and which is said literally to signify 'The Beautiful.' Among the Bechuana tribes, 'the wielder of the thunder' is worshipped, with propitiatory rites, under the title of *Moreemo* or *Booreemo*,—but rather as a destructive than a beneficent power. Among the Amapondas, Mr Kay found traces of a belief both in a Supreme Creator, and also in inferior evil spirits, not unlike some of the notions of our own ancestors concerning demons and goblins:

'While conversing with these people upon religious subjects, I could not but remark that the word *Utiko*, generally used among the frontier clans for God, is here seldom or never heard; a fact which, coupled with the *click* attached to that word, very considerably strengthens the opinion of its being, like many others now embodied in the Caffer language, one of Hottentot origin. The proper names of Deity, used by the Amaponda, are *Udali* (Maker or Creator), and *Umenzi*, which signifies "Worker," and which, when used in a sacred sense, is fully understood as referring to that Being by whom the great works of nature were produced—the heavens, the earth, and the sea, &c. *Tikaloski* also is much more frequently and familiarly talked about than among the more southern tribes. This is an appellation that seems to be given to some invisible and indescribable being, whom they sometimes personify as a little ugly malignant demon, capable of doing them much harm, of inflicting pain, and of effecting their ruin. They likewise imagine that he is able to disturb their happiness by a kind of amorous intercourse with their women, by inducing them to play the harlot and the husband to go astray. The men, I was told, sometimes pretend to wage war with him, and after storming the hut in which he is supposed to be carrying on his mal-practices, loudly boast of victory.'—P. 339.

Mr Kay mentions having witnessed the sacrifice of a young heifer, by direction of a sorceress, to propitiate the *Shulugu* (ghost) of the ancestor of a child, the daughter of an Amaponda chief. The whole of the flesh, however, of the sacrifice, was devoured by the witch, and the chief worshippers, and only the bones left to the hungry *Shulugu*.

Besides these faint fragments of religious belief, the Caffer tribes observe with great strictness certain traditionary customs

and usages, which, as before mentioned, appear to indicate their derivation, at some remote period, from a people much more advanced in civilisation than they themselves are now. The rite of circumcision is universally practised among them, unaccompanied by any vestige of Islamism. They do not appear to regard it as an act of religion, but as an indispensable festal ceremony, by which the youth, on arriving at the age of puberty, are admitted to the rank of manhood. On this occasion the circumcised band of youths are painted white, arrayed in a fantastic dress of palm leaves, and are kept separate for three months from the rest of the tribe; after which they are formally admitted, at a public meeting, to rank with men and warriors. A ceremony, somewhat analogous, is observed with regard to the young females, on their attaining the age of womanhood.

Still more remarkable are the funeral rites attending the sepulture of their chiefs, and the consignment of the dead bodies of all of inferior rank to the beasts of prey. The chiefs and their wives are usually interred under the hedge of the cattle-fold, and all their arms, accoutrements, and ornaments, are deposited in the grave beside them. These cemeteries are thenceforth held sacred; and among some of the tribes persons are appointed to take charge of them, who subsist on the produce of the consecrated cattle which are kept in these hallowed folds, and which are always allowed to die of old age. The abandonment of the dead bodies of the other classes to the hyenas has an appearance exceedingly savage and unnatural; and is attended with circumstances of a very revolting and deplorable character. It is evident that this barbarous practice has originated in their ancient superstitions, connected with defilement from the touch or presence of the dead. When they think that death is inevitably approaching, they carry out the sick person into some adjoining wood or thicket, and leave him to expire alone; for they have an inexpressible dread of being near or touching a corpse, and imagine that death brings misfortune on the living when it occurs in a hut or hamlet. Owing to this savage superstition, they are so anxious to get rid of the dying, that it sometimes happens, says Mr Brownlee, that persons of the privileged class are actually interred while yet alive. Cases also occasionally occur when those who have been carried out to the woods recover, and return to their relations; but this is very rare. The raiment of the deceased is considered as unclean, and must be destroyed; and the hut which he inhabited is shut: no person ever enters it again; it is called 'the house of the dead;' no one dares even touch the materials of which it is constructed, and they are left gradually to crumble into dust.

Mr Kay remarks, that many circumstances connected with these funeral rites, and also with childbirth, leprosy, &c., bear a striking affinity to some of the observances enjoined by the Levitical Code. For instance, whoever touches the dead body of a man is unclean for seven days, and is banished 'without the camp,' or kraal, till he be purified. After the death of a chief, all the people are purified on the third day in running water.

'When death has occurred in a village, all its inhabitants fast, abstaining even from a draught of milk the whole of that day, and sometimes longer. A man who has lost his wife, is required by custom to fast for several days, and to withdraw himself from society for the space of two or three weeks; during which he wanders about in some solitary and desert spot, without either comfort or companions. He not only keeps at a distance from the dwellings of men, but casts away his only garment, which is henceforth accounted unclean. His daily subsistence is derived entirely from a precarious supply of roots or wild fruits, &c.

'The widow's lot is harder still. On the death of her husband, she, in like manner, retires to the forest or the wilderness, where she is obliged to remain for a much longer period than custom requires of the man. Her means of subsistence are equally precarious; a little water from the brook, and a few bulbous or gramineous roots, generally constitute the whole of her supply of food. After wandering about in solitude for two or three days, she throws away her upper garment, which, as mentioned above, is henceforth deemed impure. She is now, of course, entirely exposed, without covering by day or shelter at night. Having spent a few days more in this state, she cuts and lacerates different parts of her body with sharp stones, until the blood flows in streams. The numerous scars left by wounds made on those occasions have, in several instances, been repeatedly shown to me. The hut in which she dwelt with her deceased husband is then burnt; consequently, she is obliged to erect a new habitation, or be dependent upon her friends for accommodation. When the days of her mourning are over, and the subsequent new moon makes its appearance, a number of cows or oxen, (if the husband had any,) proportioned to the number of wives that he had, are slaughtered, and new garments made for each from the hides of them. And this appears to be the only portion of his property that is awarded to them by law.'—Pp. 199-201.

But the most mischievous of all their superstitions, is the belief in sorcery. Mr Kay has given a most frightful picture of its deplorable effects. Almost every disease and misfortune is ascribed to the practice of witchcraft; magicians or wizards are consulted to discover the supposed criminal; incantations are practised till the multitude are wrought up to demoniac fury; and then some unhappy wretch is accused, and subjected to a variety of tortures—such as scorching with hot stones, stinging with black-ants, and the like—till a confession of the imaginary crime is extorted. Con-

viction being thus obtained, the culprit is either condemned to some cruel death, to corporal punishment, or to confiscation of his cattle. Some of the chiefs render this delusion an engine of terrible oppression. When they wish to seize the property of a rich subject, or to destroy any one who has offended them, they bribe the magician or witch-doctor to accuse him of sorcery; and then if he escapes with only the loss of all his property he is fortunate. The scenes of this nature, described by the present writer, are exceedingly revolting, and tend to lower not a little the favourable estimate of the simple happiness of these tribes, as depicted by some former travellers. Mr Kay, indeed, represents those pleasing accounts as altogether illusory; as well as the flattering delineations, given by Barrow and Lichtenstein, of their pastoral simplicity and innocence of manners. But while he proves clearly enough that these intelligent travellers have considerably underrated the extent of misery and moral evil prevalent in these 'dark places of the earth,' the worthy Missionary, we cannot help thinking, shows, however unconsciously, a strong disposition to exaggerate even the darkness of paganism, and to paint the Ethiopian a shade blacker than the truth. We are led to draw this deduction, partly from a variety of circumstances stated by Mr Kay himself, and partly from the fact of several other late writers, of the highest respectability, with the best opportunities for accurate observation, having concurred in giving a more favourable estimate of the Caffer character. It is, moreover, evident that Mr Kay, notwithstanding his residence in Caffraria, is but very slightly acquainted with the language of these tribes; and that almost all his information respecting their manners and customs, except when they fell under his own personal observation, must have been acquired through the precarious medium of native interpreters. The specimens he has given of their very interesting and beautiful language, are, with the exception of a few words and phrases, copied verbatim from the publications of Mr Pringle and Mr Thompson.

In regard to the progress of Christianity and civilisation, the information furnished by Mr Kay is interesting, though by no means so ample as we should have expected. After adverting to the strange opposition, which, under the most absurd prettexts, was given to the extension of Christian missions in Caffraria, both by the Dutch and English Colonial Governments, up to a very recent period, Mr Kay gives a pleasing though cursory statement of what has been effected during the last ten or twelve years. Four Societies, the London, the Glasgow, the Wesleyan, and the Moravian, have, within that period, entered, in Christian com-

petition, on this wide and interesting field ; and their stations are now planted among most of the principal tribes, from the Cape frontier to the coast of Natal, and from the south-eastern sources of the Orange river to Kurrichane, the chief town of the Murootzi tribe.* 'On every station,' says Mr Kay, 'the Mission plough is 'busily engaged, and bids fair for ultimately putting down the field 'labour of the women altogether.' A variety of fruit-trees are now flourishing luxuriantly in many of the Mission gardens. Potatoes, parsnips, beet root, and other valuable esculents, have been introduced, and in some instances are beginning to be adopted by the native cultivators. Soothsayers, wizards, rain-makers, and sorceresses, are unable to maintain their ground, or sustain their reputation in the vicinity of 'the light that came from heaven.' Schools have been established ; and, notwithstanding the difficulties arising from the want of books, numbers are now able to read the gospel in their mother tongue. The difficulties of an unwritten and unorganized language have been mastered ; and grammars, dictionaries, and scripture translations, are now printed in the cognate Amakosa and Sichuana dialects. Comparatively few decided converts, indeed, have as yet been gained from among the adult Caffers ; but two or three respectable chiefs of secondary rank have entered the pale of the Christian church ; and, renouncing polygamy and other pagan customs to which their class are strongly wedded, have exhibited an example, which there is reason to hope will ere long be extensively followed.

The author gives an interesting account of a Missionary Meeting, held in the Amakosa territory on the 21st of March, 1832, at which seven native chiefs, together with a number of civil and military officers from the colony, were present. On this occasion all the chiefs spoke with ardour and eloquence in favour of the Christian religion—the 'Great Word,' as they emphatically call it—and expressed their full conviction that the labours of the Missionaries, independently of their spiritual benefits, had tended greatly to promote the peace and prosperity of their country. Their speeches, of which Mr Kay has inserted a translation, furnished by a brother Missionary, are striking and curious ; but we cannot make room for a specimen.

The accounts which Mr Kay gives of the system of Military

* All the maps of Southern Africa which we have examined, are extremely defective and inaccurate, in regard to the designations and positions of the Native Tribes, and of the Missionary settlements among them, with the exception of one just published by Mr J. Arrowsmith.

Reprisals, which has long been maintained by the colonial authorities, in their relations with the frontier tribes, affords a humiliating picture of European policy and humanity. This is not a novel topic: from the time of Sparrman to the present, almost every writer on the Cape has denounced the revolting injustice and barbarous impolicy of what is locally termed the 'Commando System.' Mr Barrow exposed its iniquity and cruelty in the strongest terms, as exercised, at the period of his visit, more especially against the miserable race of Bushmen. Many details of its atrocities on the northern frontier were published by Mr Thompson in 1827.* Dr Philip has given the rise and progress of this system from the earliest records of the colony down to 1828, when his valuable work appeared;† and several subsequent writers on South Africa—Bannister,‡ Rose,§ Pringle, &c., not to mention the printed reports of His Majesty's Commissioners of Enquiry||—have furnished lamentable and unanswerable evidence, that the same shortsighted and barbarous policy is still continued with but a very slight and inefficient modification. 'I do not consider,' says Lieutenant Rose, 'the Caffers a cruel or vindictive people. The policy adopted towards them has been severe: for when did Europeans respect the rights of the savage? By the Dutch Border-farmers, over whom their government had little control, they are said to have been slaughtered without mercy—to have been destroyed as they destroyed the wolf. At no period, I believe, since the English have been in possession, has *wanton cruelty* been committed; but the natives have at different times been driven back from boundary to boundary, and military posts

* *Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa*. Second Edition. Vol. i., pp. 392-7.

† *Researches in South Africa; illustrating the Civil, Moral, and Religious Condition of the Native Tribes*. By the Rev. J. Philip, D.D.

‡ *Humane Policy; or Justice to the Aborigines of New Settlements essential to a due expenditure of British Money, and to the best Interests of the Settlers. With Suggestions how to civilize the Natives by an improved administration of existing means*. By S. Bannister, late Attorney-General in New South Wales. London, 1830.—This work, which has not received attention at all adequate to the importance of its contents, contains some valuable details respecting the Cape frontier system, well deserving the serious consideration of the Colonial Department.

§ *Four Years in Southern Africa*. By Cowper Rose, Royal Engineers. London, 1829.—See pp. 74-77, 94.

|| Reports of the Commissioners of Enquiry upon the Administration of the Government at the Cape of Good Hope. Dated 6th Sept. 1826. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 1st May, 1827.—See p. 23.

‘ have been established in the country from which we have expelled them. Orders, too, have been issued that all Caffers appearing within the proclaimed line should be shot.’—‘ In 1810, the Great Fish River was proclaimed the eastern limit of the Colony. In 1820, Gaika, a powerful chief *whom we had aided in his wars*, was obliged to evacuate a rich extent of land lying between that river and the Kirskamma. On this occasion he is said to have remarked, “ that though indebted to the English for his existence as a Chief, yet when he looked upon the fine country taken from him, he could not but think *his benefactors oppressive.*”’—‘ It is not strange that the savages should be unable to see the justice of all this; that they should be troublesome neighbours to the settlers in a country of which they had been dispossessed. They were so : such instances were exaggerated, and a *Commando* (an inroad of military and boors) was the frequent consequence. The crimes were *individual*, but the punishment was *general*; the duty of the *Commando* was to destroy, to burn the habitations, and to seize the cattle; and they *did their duty.*’—‘ I hate the policy that turns the English soldier into the cold-blooded butcher of the unresisting native; I hate it even when, by the calculator, it might be considered expedient; but here it is as stupid as it is cruel.’ (Rose's *Four Years in South Africa*, p. 74-6.)

Such is the account of our Caffer frontier policy, given by an officer for some time stationed on the Caffer frontier, and officially cognizant of the transactions he thus characterises. Let us now turn to Mr Kay. In noticing (p. 88) the extreme alarm spread among the natives by the rumour of a *Commando* having entered their country from the colony, he remarks, that ‘ the barbarously indiscriminate manner in which military expeditions have sometimes rushed upon the tribes, spreading desolation and death on account of robberies committed by *individuals* unknown, has naturally rendered the very sound of such expeditions dreadful throughout the land.’ An entire chapter (pp. 241-266) is occupied with the history of the treatment experienced by the Amakosa clans from the Colonial Governments, Dutch and English, from an early period down to 1820. We cannot find room for any of the details, but many of them are such as to excite reflections of the most painful character. The authenticity of the principal facts cannot, we fear, be questioned: they rest not only on the testimony of travellers, but on official documents, and on the statements of the local government in its official Gazette. Some of these atrocities rival any thing we have read of the conduct of certain States of North America towards the native Indians.

While such has been the treatment of neighbouring tribes, and of recognised *allies*, (as in the above case of Gaika,) more distant hordes have, it appears, been occasionally assaulted with even less ceremony. Mr Kay gives us the following example (p. 330): In June, 1828, rumours reached the colony that the warlike Zoolu Chief, Chaka, had invaded the Amaponda territory; and as this Chief had lately sent two of his principal captains on a friendly embassy to the Colonial Government, an officer was very properly despatched with an armed escort of about forty men, with the view of obtaining an amicable conference with this African Cæsar, and mediating a peace. On reaching the Amaponda territory, however, the party found that the Zoolu invaders had retreated; but being solicited by an Amatembu Chief to assist him with their fire-arms in an attack upon another horde, they altered the direction and object of their expedition. This was the Amanwana or Ficani, a tribe who had been driven from their own territory by the devastating career of the Zoolus, and who were now pressing upon the Amatembu territory from the north. The English party, unhappily, so far forgot their character of mediators as to become parties in these intestine broils. They made a charge on this Amanwana horde, and captured 20,000 head of cattle, which were given to their new ally the Amatembu King. This was rather an unfortunate close to amicable designs. It might, however, possibly have arisen from sudden impulse or misapprehension; but what shall we say for the sequel? We give, without comment, Mr Kay's statement:—‘ About a month after the above-mentioned skirmish, a strong military force, together with several hundred armed colonists, were hurried into the interior, to the distance of nearly three hundred miles from the colonial boundary, where they were immediately joined by an immense host of Kaffers, who proved themselves to be Kaffers indeed! Flushed with the hope of conquest and abundant spoil, having got an ally so powerful in their van, the natives hastened onward to the combat, pointing out exactly the site whereon was erected the temporary huts of the Amanwana. On the Sunday evening, the troops arrived within a few hours' march of the spot, and, after halting for an hour or two, again proceeded, with a view of taking them by surprise ere dawn of day the following morning. In this they succeeded; so that while the greater part of the people were still fast asleep, the rushing of horses, the clashing of spears, and the horrid roar of musketry, poured in upon them* on every side. Who can con-

* ‘ It has indeed been said, that a parley was attempted; and for the honour of our countrymen, we cannot but wish that this could have been

‘ ceive of a situation more awful? The thought makes one’s very
 ‘ blood run cold. If we had not heard the details of this sanguin-
 ‘ ary affair confirmed by more than fifty eyewitnesses, we could
 ‘ not possibly have given credence to it; so strange was the plan,
 ‘ and so barbarous its results! A respectable British officer, whom
 ‘ duty required to be on the spot, candidly declared to the author,
 ‘ that it was “*one of the most disgraceful and cold-blooded acts to
 ‘ which the English soldier had ever been rendered accessory.*”

‘ The moment our troops arrived on the summit of the eminence
 ‘ that overlooked the vale in which the Matuwana and his men
 ‘ were lying, orders were given for all to gallop down amongst
 ‘ the houses. Their affrighted occupants then poured out in
 ‘ droves, and a dreadfully destructive fire was forthwith opened
 ‘ upon them. Very few seconds elapsed ere every hut was vacated,
 ‘ and thousands seen scampering off in every direction. Numbers,
 ‘ gaunt and emaciated by hunger and age, crawled out of their
 ‘ miserable sheds, but with pitiable apathy sat or laid down again,
 ‘ as if heedless of their fate. Many of the females cast away their
 ‘ little ones, the more readily to effect their own escape; whilst
 ‘ others actually plunged into the deepest parts of the river with
 ‘ infants upon their backs. In this situation some were drowned,
 ‘ others speared, and many stoned to death by the savage throng;
 ‘ insomuch that the water was at length literally dyed with
 ‘ blood.’

This is an appalling statement; and brought forward as it is
 by a respectable man, then resident in the Caffer territory, and
 who appeals to the authority of British officers, and ‘ the unani-
 ‘ mous testimony of numbers who were present during the whole
 ‘ affray,’ it will not fail, we trust, to attract due attention in the
 proper quarter, and lead forthwith to that thorough investigation
 which appears to be imperatively required for the purposes of jus-
 tice, as well as for the vindication of the national character.

In the concluding chapter, Mr Kay gives a statement of the
 circumstances attending the seizure (or *cession*, as it is termed)
 of a tract of country extending to eighteen hundred square miles,
 eastward of the old Colonial boundary, and the forcible expulsion
 from it of the Caffer inhabitants. The facts, as here stated, (and a
 report of the Commissioners of Enquiry is referred to as one of his
 chief vouchers,) are of a character that again remind us most
 forcibly of the treatment of the Creek and Cherokee Indians, as

‘ proved. Unhappily, however, the unanimous testimony of numbers who
 ‘ were personally present during the whole affray, is altogether against
 ‘ this assertion, showing too clearly, that time was not allowed for any
 ‘ thing of the kind.’

detailed by Mr Stuart in his late valuable work on the United States.* If correctly represented, they may well make us blush for the honour of our country. 'When did Europeans,' exclaims Mr Rose, 'respect the rights of the savage?' But though past iniquities cannot be recalled, nor perhaps to any great extent redressed, surely our present Government will promptly adopt effective precautions to prevent the repetition of outrages not less disgraceful to the British name, than detrimental to the progress of civilisation and Christianity among these interesting tribes. 'It is of vital importance,' says Mr Kay, 'to the peace of the frontier, and the civilisation of our neighbours, that such measures be adopted, as shall in future protect (their rights), and prevent all further encroachment upon them. As already shown, much good feeling has of late been manifested towards the tribes in many different ways: but we have not as yet by any means extended to them that protection which they reasonably demand at our hands, and which our increased intercourse renders absolutely necessary. Hence numbers are at this moment suffering most grievously from their rights being shamefully trampled under foot, and their clannish feuds materially promoted by lawless colonists, English as well as Dutch, who, when once beyond colonial precincts, seem to laugh both at law and legislators, scrupling not to commit acts of aggression and cruelty quite equal to those of former years.' After relating a recent case of a very revolting description, in which a Cape trader (an Englishman) and a Caffer Chief were parties, and where the terms 'civilized and savage,' appear to have changed sides, Mr Kay emphatically remarks, that 'the astonishing supineness with which deeds of this horrid character are treated, would really seem to confirm a doctrine that has again and again been gravely argued, namely, that "crimes committed without the Colony are not cognizable within."—Pp. 498, 500.

'The unprotected state of the tribes on the northern frontier,' he adds, 'is, if possible, still more distressing. There, numbers of Dutch Boors, despite both of right and remonstrance, are continually trespassing upon the lands of the Aborigines, and treating them in a manner the most oppressive.'—'It is an incontrovertible fact, that these tribes are molested, that they are seriously injured, and that in many different ways. The game, upon which some of them (the Bushman hordes) have entirely to depend for subsistence, is by these Nimrods destroyed, the scanty pasturage of their fields consumed, and their children

* See Stuart's *Three Years in North America*, vol. ii. p. 166.

‘often reduced to a state of complete vassalage.’—‘Barrow records that the Boors used to obtain slaves from beyond the boundaries westward; and certain it is, that the evils of slavery are at this moment increasing on our north-eastern borders, where it is not sufficiently checked by the established authorities. The daily encroachments of Dutch farmers upon lands beyond these frontiers greatly facilitate the practice.’—‘Such,’ in conclusion he observes, ‘are some of the evils, under which, notwithstanding all our boasted benevolence and good feeling towards the long-oppressed African, we are still leaving him to perish, and that on our very threshold. With wiser men we now leave the case, that they may devise a remedy. Devised some remedy must be, and that speedily, if we wish to maintain the honour of our character either as Britons or as Christians. In 1826 his Majesty’s Commissioners of Inquiry declared, that they could only hope for a reduction of the heavy expense, now incurred in maintaining the defence of the frontier, by the progressive extension of more amicable relations with the tribes;’ adding, moreover, that ‘it is at once consolatory and satisfactory to reflect, that any measures tending to preserve the tranquillity of the frontier on the side of Caffraria, will in the same degree contribute to the prosperity and commercial enterprise of the colony.’—Pp. 502, 504, 506.

Connected with this painful topic is that of the lamentable deterioration of character, in the case both of the civilized man and the savage, which appears to have, in this quarter, resulted from their intercourse. ‘It did not strike me,’ says Lieut. Rose, ‘that the savage tribes are improved by their intercourse with us.’—‘Gaika, the neighbouring chief, dressed in an old regimental jacket, was in the fort with his retinue of twenty-five wives; and it was not without interest that I looked on one of whom Barrow had prognosticated so highly. He was then nineteen, he is now fifty; and melancholy has been the change that has taken place in the interval. The English have given him their protection, and with it their vices; and he is a sunk and degraded being—a wretched savage, despised and suspected by his tribe, continually intoxicated, and ever ready to sell his wives for brandy.—Such are the fruits of our protection! such have ever been the effects on the savage, of the kindness of the civilized. If we find them simple and trusting, we leave them treacherous; if we find them temperate, we leave them drunkards; and in after-years, a plea for their destruction is founded on the very vices they have learned from us!’—(P. 94.)

²² This is one side of the picture: Mr Kay gives us the other. He is speaking of some Europeans, partly Englishmen, who, owing

to desperate fortunes, or impatience of the restraints of civilized life, have domiciled themselves among the native tribes. 'In such a situation,' he remarks, 'men soon become deaf to the checks of better principles. Fancied insult arouses revengeful feelings; unrestrained passions speedily generate incredible licentiousness, whilst avarice and self-interest prompt to acts the most iniquitous. There is a significant phrase frequently used on the coast of Guinea, that such a man is "grown black." It does not mean an alteration of temper, but of disposition.' 'And, incredible as it may appear, there are now in Caffraria, also, Englishmen whose daily garb differs little from the beast-hide covering of their savage neighbours; whose proper colour can scarcely be identified from the filth that covers them; and whose domestic circles, like those of the native Chieftains themselves, embrace from eight to ten black wives or concubines.'—(P. 400.)

There are several other topics we could have wished to have noticed, but we can only, at present, briefly advert to one or two of them. The author's observations upon the Bechuana and Zoolu (or Amazulu) tribes, do not require any particular remarks, as he has added little to the information collected by Burchell and Thompson. There is, however, a valuable chapter on the frontier trade, of which we regret that we cannot give a summary. From his remarks on this topic, and on the British settlement of Albany generally, we are glad to find that this district, the distresses of whose new inhabitants, a dozen years ago, made an impression in England so unfavourable to the capabilities of South Africa, is now decidedly the most prosperous part of the whole Cape Colony. Of this improvement, the prohibition from employing slaves is generally acknowledged to have been the leading cause. This restriction was rendered effectual by a judicious clause in the grants of land to the British settlers.

A still more remarkable and unexpected proof of the advantages of freedom and free labour over servitude and coercion, was witnessed by Mr Kay, on visiting a colony of emancipated Hottentots, who, in the year 1829, were planted in a wild valley on the new Caffier frontier, called the Kat River. Under the old system, this class of people were reduced to a more degraded and hopeless condition than even the negro slaves themselves. They were more despised and worse treated; and their indolence, improvidence, and drunkenness were proverbial. By the exertions, however, of a few friends of humanity, the British Government was prevailed upon to order the immediate total and unconditional emancipation of this race of men. The execution of this decree, by which 30,000 souls were in one day released from thralldom, was accompanied by a great clamour throughout the colony. The

ruin of the community, and more especially of the Hottentots themselves, was predicted as the inevitable result. Five years have since elapsed; and every account that has been published, proves the effects of rational freedom in elevating the human character. The improvement of the Hottentot nation during these years has been surprising. But above all, surprising has been the effect of new and higher stimulants upon a portion of this race, from four to five thousand in number, who were placed by Captain Stockenstrom, (the intelligent officer who first suggested this measure,) in the valley of the Kat River, in 1829. We cannot make room for the full details, but must content ourselves with extracting the following interesting facts from Mr Kay's account:—

‘ Their numbers in the settlement are about five thousand. They came from different parts of this immense Colony. No assistance was promised or given to them, except fire-arms for self-defence; no preparations were made for their reception; no rations, no implements, no sums of money. The Boors showed no kindness to *them*. But to these negations I have to add that there have been no strifes, divisions, or discontents among them; no peculiar sufferings. *No case of crime has come from the Kat River before the Circuit Court.* Their success has been equal to their industry and good conduct, and neither have ever been surpassed. By patient and judicious labour, with manly moderation and Christian temperance, they have converted the desert into a fruitful field. “ Hitherto,” says the *Graham's Town Journal*, (a paper generally unfriendly to the native race,) “ great activity has been displayed, and the incipient marks of civilisation are observable in every direction. During the last season, 1831, were produced on the settlement 450 muids of wheat, 1500 muids of barley, and 400 muids of Indian corn, besides large quantities of caffer-corn, potatoes, pumpkins, sweet cane, and many other provisions. Independently of the labour required in the cultivation of the soil, instances of uncommon exertion are manifested in the construction of canals which convey water to irrigate their fields and gardens. In some places these have been carried through the solid rock; in others it has been necessary to cut to the depth of twelve feet to preserve the level; while their entire length throughout all the locations is upwards of 20,000 yards.”—(*Graham's Town Journal*, June, 1832.) The Hottentot, escaped from bonds, stood erect on his new territory; and the feeling of being restored to the level of humanity and the simple rights of nature, softened and enlarged his heart, and diffused vigour through every limb. He is no longer the timid wretch, submitting to the violence, and yielding to the injustice of the proud, with apparent insensibility.’—P. 490.

In conclusion, we thank Mr Kay for his ‘ *Researches*,’ and hope many of his brother Missionaries will follow the example that has been set in the present work, and in the publications of Dr Philip and Mr Ellis, in communicating information respecting the tribes among whom they have been resident. We cannot,

however, place Mr Kay's book on a level with the two we have just mentioned. It contains a good deal of valuable information, but it is ill-digested and confusedly arranged. A large portion of the work is mere repetition. Whole chapters consist almost entirely of extracts from recent and well-known publications on the Cape; and what is more reprehensible, many of the quotations are not duly acknowledged. Should a second edition be required, the author ought to revise the whole work carefully; to introduce a stricter uniformity and correctness in proper names; and to trench and condense what he has borrowed from others.

ART. VI.—*Considerations on the Law of Libel as relating to Publications on the subject of Religion.* By JOHN SEARCH. 8vo. London: 1833.

WHO 'John Search' is, we know not; but the above pamphlet published under that name is well deserving of attention, as an exceedingly acute and cogent piece of reasoning on an important branch of the Law of Libel, which seems directly at variance with the rights of reason and the liberty of discussion, as well as with the higher interests of the religion it would support. 'By the existing law of the land,' says this author, 'so far as relates to the publication of religious opinions, any writing whatever, which shall tend to impeach the evidences of the Christian faith, or in any manner to impugn Christianity as a whole, is indictable as a blasphemous libel, and punishable as such by fine and imprisonment, or other infamous corporal punishment.' The object proposed for enquiry is, 'how far such a law can be deemed either consonant with equity or reason, or called for by any sufficient necessity of the case.'

Before entering upon this investigation, the author makes some observations, with a view to show, that 'it is no easy matter to get sight of this piece of law, frankly and simply propounded, whether from the Bench or in written treatises; there being apparently, among lawyers of all grades, some extraordinary shyness of coming straight to the point in this matter.' The shyness here alluded to, is amply evinced by the citation of many cases which the author has inserted in his Appendix. In all the more recent trials, the Judge and the prosecutor have found it expedient to refer, with as little distinctness as possible, to the naked offence itself, of impugning the truth of Christianity. They seem to have carried in their minds a suspicion, either that the law

was in itself indefensible, or that at least it was not likely, if fairly stated, to meet with general approbation. Accordingly, they have shown great anxiety to shelter it from public observation: they do not venture to state with simplicity the particular law which has been violated, but they dwell upon every other circumstance afforded by the case they are trying,—resting the validity of the prosecution not upon the law, but upon such feelings as they may succeed in awakening against the libeller in the minds of the jury.

In all ordinary trials, the Judge seems conscious how entirely his functions differ from those of the advocate. He feels it to be his duty to submit the case to the jury stripped of all those circumstances which might tend to excite a dislike of the culprit. They are directed simply to try whether a fact, denounced by the law as a crime, has been committed or not. All other circumstances are brushed away by the Judge with the same skill with which he sets aside the poetic ornaments of the pleader. But in the case of religious libel the procedure is different. The jury are just suffered to take a glimpse of the law, and they are urged to convict the offender, not because he has violated it, but because the violation is accompanied with some contingent aggravations. This, we think, is proved in the Appendix—a portion of the pamphlet which will be read with interest, not merely from the importance of the subject-matter, but because it cannot fail to be regarded as furnishing one of the best and most entertaining exercises in true logic. We cannot conveniently give quotations from it; but we shall advert to the purposes for which this part of the work is mainly designed by the author. From their shyness in propounding the law with clearness, he argues, either that the Judges are ashamed of it themselves, or are conscious that it is not favourably regarded by the public. We are convinced he is right in both suppositions. The Judge would not think it necessary to praise toleration, unless he felt, in some degree, that toleration was a virtue. He becomes ashamed of the existing law, both with reference to the civil power, and the true interests of religion. He does not like to confess that the civil power has stepped beyond its proper province in the vain and discreditable attempt to enforce the adoption of particular opinions; and he feels that the law injures the interests of Christianity, by leaving it in the power of the sceptic to assert, that this religion is supported not by its truth, but by the same kind of authority by which Mahometanism has been supported. Whatever may be the feeling of the Judges, we have in their conduct positive testimony, that this law is so much disliked, as to render it unwise or inexpedient to seek a conviction founded simply upon its violation.

We shall now present our readers with such an analysis of that

part of our author's reasoning which relates to the inexpediency of the law itself, as will enable them to comprehend the force of the passages which we shall quote; warning them, however, that the whole pamphlet is written with so much continuity of argument, that an adequate conception of its ability cannot be conveyed by partial quotations.

'Loaded with the heavy disadvantage *in limine*, of leading to the suspicion that the evidences of Christianity are thought unfit to endure the test of investigation, the law in question ought to have some very urgent and pressing plea to recommend it.'

'And first, there might be at least some *consistency* in the procedure, if its avowed principle were *this*: That our legislators and rulers, having fully satisfied *themselves* of the truth of the Christian religion, considered that this ought to suffice for the satisfaction of the nation at large; and that any contrary view of the question, being necessarily founded in error, ought, for the public benefit, to be coerced by the strong arm of the law.'

But even if we were justified in 'taking their word' for it, without personal investigation of a subject in which a heartless assent is admitted to be totally nugatory, still 'it might be objected, that the civil authorities, though never so infallible in their theology, were yet stepping a little beyond their province; since men unite in civil society, not for the salvation of their souls, but for the protection of their persons and property from mutual aggression.'

'Secondly, there might be some consistency in the course pursued, if the state religion had been adopted, not from conviction of its truth, but with a view only to its political uses.' We are afraid the ascription of such a motive would not be in many cases unjust: those, however, who really maintain the truth of Christianity will indignantly disavow it. But although the system was not in the first instance constructed for state uses, it may be said, that 'the Christian religion is established in this kingdom, and hence has become so vitally united with the constitution, as to involve in its own stability that of the civil government also. It must therefore be protected, not from invasion only of its established rights, but from *censure* no less; because censure might make it disesteemed, and disesteem impair its stability, and thereby that of the government with it.' This is still but a state plea, totally independent of the truth of religion. Such a plea is, however, frequently resorted to. 'Thus, *e. g.*, Lord Raymond says, on Woolston's trial,—"The Christian religion is established in this kingdom; and therefore they (the

‘ Court) would not allow any books to be written which should ‘ *tend to alter* that establishment.’ ”

Such language would assuredly imply, that the same protection only is claimed for religion, that is claimed for other ‘ established ’ things. Yet it is not so. In all other matters a distinction is drawn between resisting the authority of an established law, and discussing its wisdom. The Legislature will, as a matter of course, enforce obedience to its own enactments ; but at the same time, it will permit their wisdom to be canvassed from one end of the kingdom to the other. There are many subjects relating to the interests of a country, as to which the members of the Legislature, as such, can form more correct estimates than any others, because it is in their power to obtain information beyond the reach of society at large. It might not be altogether absurd, therefore, to shut out all free enquiry into such subjects, and to proclaim dogmatically, ‘ You must take our word.’ But we cannot concede that religion could, in any case, be viewed as in this predicament. It might be put to the vote to ascertain whether the majority of members agreed in a system of religious opinions, but their vote would not constitute the system true or false. And any person who received it on such a ground, could not be said to indicate faith, in the Christian use of the term ; because this implies that the system is believed to be true, on the authority of God. A human law which seeks to coerce religious opinions, may be said, therefore, as far as it is successful, to destroy the foundation upon which religion rests. In point of fact, however, no government has ever attempted to decide what is truth in religion ; but finding certain opinions prevalent in society, the governors have skilfully interwoven those opinions into their political system, or at least have determined that these opinions should continue to be received, lest change might possibly produce political inconvenience. ‘ A principle like this is indeed common enough, and proper enough, in many matters *purely temporal* ; as, *e. g.*, a statesman might argue without dishonour, “ The title of the reigning King may indeed—(suppose the case)—be questionable, or even indefensible ; but, being king *de facto*, the law must forbid all question concerning it, since an error in the succession is at last a less evil than a civil war ; ” but to say the like in a case which involves the relation of immortal creatures to their God and their eternal destination—to say of the established RELIGION, It may be true, or it may not ; but being *de facto* the *State* religion, its truth must not now be questioned,—*for fear of the political inconvenience*—would be a maxim which could only entail dishonour on him who should be *distinctly understood* to advance it.’

The plea of ‘establishment,’ the author remarks, is made to assume another and still obscurer shape, when veiled in the mystic *dictum*, that Christianity is ‘part and parcel of the law’—an expression which, he justly observes, is attended with this considerable advantage, that ‘having no determinate sense, one inference from it is near about as good as another; nor can the puzzled hearer say with certainty of *any one* that it is not fairly deducible; but, hearing it authoritatively propounded, is led to suppose there *is* a meaning, and a connexion, though *he* cannot perceive it.’

It seems strange that it should be necessary to prove, that the Christian religion, as such, cannot form the subject-matter of legislation. It is not within the power of human rulers to enforce the reception of a system of belief. A law compelling the profession of opinions, is in fact nothing more than a declaration, that it is required of us at least to be hypocrites—that is, some are compelled to violate the whole spirit of the Christian religion in the very grossest manner, in order that the faith of others should not be disturbed by learning that there are any unbelievers. It is very true, that some precepts of Christianity are the same in substance as human laws: these, however, relate merely to external conduct. Nor are they enforced by human law, on account of their being sanctioned by Divine authority, but simply, because they are necessary for the very existence of society. If the case were otherwise, the Legislature should punish avarice or gluttony, as well as theft or murder. This sameness of precept, to a certain extent, has no doubt contributed to give a meaning to the assertion that Christianity is ‘part and parcel of the law.’ But instead of enlarging further upon this want of meaning in the *dictum* itself, we shall leave our author to refute that application of it against which he is contending. ‘The Christian religion, in common with sundry things of meaner sort, has been a *subject-matter* of legislation; and the existing LAWS *upon* that subject, whether derived from statute or precedent, form collectively a part or parcel of the general body of our laws,—in other words, a part or parcel of *the law*. In like manner *hares* and *pheasants* have been a *subject-matter* of legislation; and the existing enactments on *that* subject are *also* part or parcel of the law of England. Whether, or under what restrictions the evidences of Christianity may be discussed, or a hare or pheasant shot, are questions which can be solved by one test only, viz. by reference specifically to the said laws so existing on either subject; but to say summarily of the Christian religion, that its truth must not be questioned, because *it* (*the Christian religion*) is *part of the law of the land*,—is, I allege, an abuse of

‘ terms precisely similar to that of saying that hares and pheasants must not, in such and such cases, be shot at, because they (hares and pheasants) are part of the law of England. In each case alike you confound the idea of a *subject-matter* of legislation with that of the *law* or *laws* which may exist thereon.’

There is, certainly, a specific law which makes it penal to impugn the truth of the Christian religion. It is very true, therefore, that it cannot be impugned without a violation of law. The question, however, is, whether this law should remain in our statute-books. Now, if its propriety were not strongly suspected, the Judge who has to try offences against it, would refer to it fully and distinctly, and make it known as the ground of conviction; instead of driving at the same result indirectly, by the help of a phrase, which, to say the least of it, is not very luminous in its meaning. Our author remarks, that it requires much management of diction to extract the desired inference, though but in semblance, out of the given materials.

‘ First (as we have seen), the idea of a *subject* of legislation is confounded with that of the *law* relating to it, and *Christianity itself* is termed a *part of the law*: and then again, by a second equivocation, this “part” is suddenly transmuted into the entire mass or body of the laws. Thus Judge Hale says—“Christianity is *part of the laws* of England;” [misnomer 1,] ‘and therefore to reproach the Christian religion is to speak in subversion of the *law* [i. e. or *laws collectively*:—misnomer 2.]

‘ So again Lord Raymond—“They [the Court] observed too, that as the Christian religion was [by misnomer] *part of the law*, whatever derided Christianity, derided *THE law* [or *laws collectively*,] and consequently must be an offence against *THE law*: for the *laws* [collectively still] are the only means to preserve the peace and order of every government; and therefore whatever exposes [‘*exposes*’] *THEM* strikes at the root of the peace and order of the government.’”

These political pleas involved in the language of the State lawyer, are never plainly and openly avowed by the advocates of coercion, as their justification of the penalties which they uphold and eulogize. ‘Where then,’ (our author asks,) ‘will they take their abiding stand? I believe, most commonly on the plea that, *if* free discussion were permitted—if Christianity might be impeached at all—the *poor and ignorant* would of necessity be *misled*: Christianity would be impeached, not only falsely,—but sophistically, licentiously, contumeliously, abusively; with calumny and fraud, with scoffing and insult, with ribaldry and coarse invective; and so be wrongfully degraded in the minds of the simple and ignorant.—So far as any plea *is* adhered to at all, I believe it is this.’

It is properly observed, ‘that we here have the old demand

‘afresh—“You must take our word for the truth of the State ‘religion.”’ We shall, however, pass over this, and proceed to enquire with our author, whether a law prohibiting all enquiry into the truth of the Christian religion really serves the cause which it is intended to uphold?

Now, it is quite obvious that such a law leaves it in the power of every unbeliever to assert, that Christianity is received generally, not because its evidences are felt to be satisfactory, but because the government forbids the exposure of its falsehood. This however, is not the greatest evil. The fact is, the evidences themselves are weakened by the existence of such a law. This, we think, will become obvious to every one who reflects upon their nature. Originally, the truth of the Christian religion was attested by sensible miracles. Had it been received, on its first promulgation, with such favour as to lead to the enactment of a law prohibiting all enquiry into its truth, which of us now would believe it to be true? We would feel that we could not trust to the report of miracles, the reality of which none were permitted to examine. We need not remind our readers that it triumphed, not only independently of human aid, but even in despite of the most rancorous opposition. Because we know that it had to encounter not merely the dislike which the human heart has to admit the truth of any thing which opposes its sensual desires, but because also it overturned systems supported by laws prohibiting all enquiry into their truth, therefore we conclude, that its early disciples must certainly have witnessed and believed the miracles which they have recorded. Were these facts otherwise, what now could form the ground of our belief? Let us suppose that the whole Jewish nation had been induced to receive their promised Messiah in consequence of miracles really worked by him, and that in their zeal they made it penal for any one openly to reject his claims, we see at once, that, while their belief would still be rational and just, yet that we at this distance of time could not know it to have been so.

Let it not be said that it is utterly impossible for any one individual to examine for himself all the various points which are necessary to be examined in investigating the truth of the Christian religion. It will be readily admitted that Paley’s work on this subject does not err on the side of prolixity; he has not introduced more topics of enquiry than were actually necessary for his argument. Yet he does not pretend that he had investigated each of them for himself;—he states to his readers the results which were reported by various distinct enquirers. It may be objected, therefore, that, after all, he was himself trusting only to the statements of prejudiced persons, whose statements

may be intentionally dishonest, or at least wholly incorrect. Were the law which we are now impugning rigidly enforced to the utmost letter, we would be at a loss to answer this objection; and we must admit, that, so far as it has been enforced, our answer has been deprived of a portion of its strength. We receive those statements as correct, not because they are reported by the friends of Christianity, but because they are not denied by its enemies. This reason for belief is not peculiar to the Christian religion. Upon precisely similar grounds the generality of persons admit the truth of the Copernican system. They do not examine for themselves the truth of the facts upon which it is built, nor do they trust implicitly to the report of those who have written in its defence—but they are aware that there are many who would come forward and deny the truth of the alleged facts, if they were not correctly stated. A law prohibiting this would undoubtedly tend to destroy all confidence in the truth of the system; and we cannot discover why a similar law is not capable of producing a similar effect in reference to Christianity.

‘The ever repeated exhortations to the scholar to be ready armed with answers and refutations to the gainsayer, plainly imply a free field and a free opponent. The perpetual reference to the evidences of Christianity as irrefragable, irresistible, overwhelming,—deriving only new clearness from scrutiny, and augmented strength from each attempt to shake them,—sounds surely like a free challenge to a free antagonist. The triumphant appeals to the “test of ages,” and to the ever-baffled attacks of scepticism, suggest any idea rather than that of secular penalties for the “protection” of Christianity against its impugners. The oft-repeated complaint and protest against *insidious* warfare, would surely imply the lawfulness of an *open* one: as, *e. g.*, the sharp censures so commonly pronounced on the covert reasoning of Gibbon, are tantamount to saying that he *might* have *spoken out* if he had chosen. While meantime, all modes and shapes of scornful allusion are freely resorted to in regard to the sceptic and his reasonings;—he being held up, not to abhorrence only, as the perverse and malignant enemy to truth, but to scorn and derision also, as the baffled artificer of shallow sophisms, and unblushing reassertor of oft-refuted cavils. Can the Church fail to perceive how disadvantageously she presents herself, while, secure from attack or reply under the broad shield of the law, like Teucer under that of Ajax, she thus launches forth expressions of scorn, triumph, and defiance, against a foe who is not permitted to encounter her?’

We do not hesitate to say that the Church (we mean the cause of Christianity) is encumbered and pressed down, in this as well

as in many other instances, by the armour in which political expediency has sheathed her. She dares the unbeliever to the field, but the law declares that he must not advance to the battle. It is very true, that some sceptical writings have escaped into existence. But our author has anticipated and properly exposed this apparent objection to his reasoning. ‘It is in vain to say, —“Scepticism *has already* done her utmost: *there* you have her ‘cavils, as put forth at their worst and strongest, in the writings ‘of Bolingbroke, Collins, Gibbon, Paine, and the rest,—what ‘would you have more?” This argues nothing: no refutations ‘of those sceptical cavils, however multiplied, can ever put their ‘merits fairly to the test, *while freedom of rejoinder is precluded*. ‘A train of argument may be substantially sound, and yet require to be exhibited in fresh points of view, according to each ‘particular mode in which it may be from time to time assailed: ‘nor can the ablest pen state it once for all, with such completeness as to provide against all the varieties of approach by which ‘a reply, though irrelevant or inadequate, might *seem* to shake ‘its force.’

Still it may be said, in defence of the law, that it is never, in point of fact, directed against the adversary who confines himself within the bounds of sober argumentation, but is solely employed to repress and restrain brutal invective, or malignant ridicule. At least, then, let the law be so expressed, and let us hear no more of ‘part and parcelship.’ The Legislature need not put into the hands of its officers, a sword longer than is required for use. The Judges, in some of the later trials, have held forth promises of toleration to all fair argument. But ‘those ‘same Judges,’ says the author, ‘on those same occasions, are ‘also reported as using *other* expressions, abundantly indicating, ‘as I think, that no such toleration was sincerely contemplated. ‘They seem to me to have played at “fast and loose” in this ‘matter, in such sort as might enable the future Judge to quote ‘the tolerant or the intolerant side of their doctrine, as might ‘prove convenient: and while seemingly disavowing all interference with fair discussion, you might see them still keeping a ‘wary hold of the precedents of Hale and Raymond, and of the ‘great *arcanum* of “part and parcel:”

“Semi-animesque micant digiti, ferrumque retractant.”

We trust the Legislature will see the wisdom of a total abrogation of this law. We do not hesitate to say, that its existence increases the evil which it is designed to prevent. The very circumstance of publication in spite of the law, gives to every wretched scribbler something of the character of heroism

in vulgar estimation. Blasphemy, by itself, is disgusting to the generality of minds; but when it is accompanied by a bold defiance of an unpopular Attorney-General, it becomes attractive. It would be far more wise to trust the cause of the Christian religion to its own inherent truth. ‘How long it may be ere this grievance be formally redressed, as eventually it must, *by statute*,—by a statute somewhat nearer to reason, equity, and common sense, and less disparaging to the native evidences of Christianity, than is that of 9 and 10 Will. III. c. 32,—it may not be easy to anticipate: but of this we may safely assure ourselves, that—be the progress of opinion what it may, in regard to Christianity itself; whether it ever lose any portion of its vantage-ground, or go on, as is predicted of it, extending and confirming its triumphs to the end of time—the day must arrive, when common sense shall so far prevail, as that men shall look back with scorn and pity on the miserable expedients which it had once been thought fit to resort to, in aid of its native evidences. If *they* be indeed what they are affirmed to be, then is this wretched outwork of pains and penalties like a buttress of straw or reeds to the firm-set tower on the rock,—betokening imbecile alarm, yet adding nought to its stability.’

If it were not probable that this pamphlet must obtain considerable circulation, we should feel that it would be unnecessary for us to notice one or two passages, which we think objectionable, and which might be removed without injury to the general argument.

The author properly states, that an examination into the truth of the Christian religion involves an enquiry into the truth of certain alleged facts, namely, the recorded miracles. He is not, however, justified in asserting that there was ‘a solemn denial of their truth by the major half of the Jewish nation in the first instance, and by their posterity ever since.’ It is very true, that the larger portion of the Jewish nation rejected Him whom we believe to have been their promised Messiah. But it by no means follows from hence that they denied his miracles. The Gospel account is, that they admitted the reality of the miracles, but ascribed them to demoniacal influence and magic arts. Such a persuasion would adequately account for their rejection of him, notwithstanding a full admission that the miracles themselves were performed. And there is much to confirm the statement of the Gospels. We have, in fact, no opposite statement; and it is scarcely conceivable that Josephus would not have furnished it, had it been possible for him to do so. Had he regarded Christ as an impostor, who pretended to work miracles, which

were detected, and known to be unreal, he would have as freely exposed his pretensions, as he has exposed the pretensions of others who assumed to be the Messiah. But if Josephus believed the miracles themselves, and at the same time ascribed them to demoniacal influence, he would probably dislike to subject this state of mind to the ridicule of the Romans. He would prefer taking refuge in silence; and such is the fact, for we cannot but suspect the genuineness of the passage in which he alludes to Christ. His very silence seems therefore to corroborate the statement which the Gospels make concerning the belief of the Jews.

We would submit another remark to the consideration of the author. In his appendix, he quotes a passage from a work by the Rev. Samuel Hinds,* designed to show, that the whole evidences of the Christian religion can never be fully examined by each individual believer, but that even the most learned are necessarily compelled to rest much on the assertion of others who have examined subjects to which their attention could not possibly have extended. 'Mr Hinds and myself,' says he, 'refer to this feature 'in the evidence, with views not indeed alike, yet not entirely 'opposite; he, with the view of insisting that assertion may become good proof, when backed by unlimited challenge of refutation; and I, for the purpose of suggesting that it can *never* 'OTHERWISE be entitled to confidence. *He* seems to think that 'a *free field* is given *with* the supposed challenge; and *there* indeed we differ widely.'

The author is perfectly correct in maintaining that this argument cannot be said to apply with entire force, as long as full and free enquiry into religious subjects is in any respect restrained. Still we maintain, that even under the existing law, no one has been prevented from examining, in the most searching manner, those portions of the evidence to which the argument is applied by Mr Hinds. The genuineness of the New Testament, for instance, is inferred by Christian advocates from the concurrence of ancient copies, and the quotations found in a series of writings, from the early ages. Now, the sceptic has never been prohibited from attempts to invalidate this proof. And as it has not been invalidated, although it is notorious that there have been persons willing and sufficiently learned to expose the assertion, if it were false, the unlearned Christian may feel perfectly satisfied that the representation is correct. The same observation would apply to many other portions of what is termed the collective evidences of

* *An Enquiry into the Proofs, &c., of Inspiration.*

the Christian religion, and certainly to every portion of it to which Mr Hinds has applied his argument.

We cannot part with our author, without expressing our satisfaction at perceiving that he fully comprehends the ground upon which alone Christianity ought to be maintained. We think that he understates the obstacles with which it has to contend, because he does not allude to the most formidable of all—the disinclination amongst human beings to have their sinful propensities restrained; and we are satisfied also, that he far overstates its human supports, when he speaks of the multitude of tracts which are disseminated on the subject; for many of these are, from their want of wisdom, even more pernicious than infidel publications. We are fully satisfied, however, that he has done a service to the Christian cause, by distinctly pointing out to its supporters that it should be maintained by them on the ground of its truth exclusively.

ART. VII.—*Memoirs of the Court of Charles I.* By LUCY AIKIN. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1833.

MISS AIKIN's present work, and her previous *Memoirs of the Courts of Elizabeth, and of James I.*, are very acceptable additions to our literature. They are works of a species agreeable in itself, and in which English literature, rich as it is in other respects, has hitherto been remarkably deficient. Compared with what France can offer, we have few good *Memoirs*; and it is a deficiency the more to be regretted, because it can in no great measure be repaired. We may have *Histories* which shall supersede all we now possess; but we can have no *Memoirs*, however ingeniously and ably constructed from scattered records, after a lapse of two centuries, which can compensate for the absence of those true and forcible yet homely sketches, which only the pen of the contemporary could supply.

Even the dulness of a writer who lived in those bygone times which he describes, is preferable to the eloquence of a modern. His views may be partial, his statements may be untrue, but for us they have still a value. Of all that he can transmit to us, scarcely any thing will be less intrinsically valuable than false gossip—yet even the false gossip of a distant age is not wholly worthless; for, false as it is, it may contain in it a germ of truth which may be wholly wanting in the plausible speculations of a modern disquisition. A lie that passed current must have ‘*lied*

‘like truth.’ It will be in some sort a criterion of what the public was then willing to believe. As such it may assist us in composing an estimate of the state of opinion; even as by the extravagance of a lying legend we may, with some deduction, measure the gross superstition of those to whose credulity it was addressed.

Though the modern memoir, constructed from miscellaneous gleanings among the scattered materials which time has left us, may be much less valuable than the less able work of the contemporary memorialist, we are still very thankful for such a substitute, especially when executed with the grace and ability which characterise the productions of Miss Aikin. Her style is fluent and agreeable—sometimes almost eloquent—never ponderous or stilted—and pursuing, for the most part, that even tenor of easy narration which is most attractive to the general reader, and most suitable to the mixed character of the work. She is, we think, on the whole, one of the most successful writers in this difficult species of composition—a species of which the difficulties are, by the generality, probably underrated. It is a difficult task to fill adequately that wide and ill-defined place which the memoir ought to occupy—a place intermediate between political history and historical romance. It should have the truth and authority of the former—the detail and lively interest of the latter. It should convey to us the graphic exhibition of those characteristic trifles which the gravity of history will not stoop to notice. It should aim at rendering us intimately acquainted with the most eminent characters of the period it embraces, and make us live in former times. To attain this object successfully, demands more address, and a more careful selection of diversified materials, than is required by the narrator of political events. But this success is still unattained in our literature; and though we can award much praise to Miss Aikin, we cannot say that she has fulfilled our idea of a complete and satisfactory Memoir. Her work is, in several respects, deficient and meagre: it has not enough of such information as affords an insight into characters, manners and opinions,—the state of society, and the civilisation and condition of the people at large. We do not mean to say that Miss Aikin has neglected these important topics; but she has not given them their due prominence; while she has been diffuse in the narration of well-known events, not remarkably illustrative either of the Court of Charles I., or of the spirit of the age, and which may be met with in the page of every historian who has recorded the annals of that period. She has introduced a good deal of miscellaneous information which is

by no means trite, and a little which we do not remember to have read in other works; but she has not availed herself as extensively as could have been desired of the mass of curious and valuable materials, still unpublished, which lie in our public repositories; nor has she even made as profitable a use, as a little more pains would have enabled her to make, of some printed collections, which afford much illustrative information, and throw much light upon the internal state of the country.

There is, perhaps, no period of our history as to which we may, with more reason, desire to be fully informed of all that is implied in that comprehensive expression, 'the condition of the 'country,' than during the thirty or forty years which preceded the Great Rebellion. There is a disposition to look for the causes of political convulsions rather in insulated and remarkable events, than in the unobtrusive chain of minute circumstances, and the gradual progress of public opinion. That which is merely instrumental, is often regarded as the sole originating cause; and with as much justice as if an explosion in a mine were to be attributed solely to the miner's torch, without taking into consideration the inflammable vapour which had been slowly and imperceptibly accumulated. With a view to correct this common error, and to obtain a more accurate and intimate knowledge of the complex chain of cause and effect, it is peculiarly instructive to examine the internal condition of a country during the period which has preceded a political convulsion. Let us then apply this species of enquiry to England previous to the commencement of the civil war, and briefly examine the nature and sources of its prosperity, and the concomitant causes of discontent.

That a country should, at the same time, be prosperous and discontented, may, at the first hearing, seem strange and paradoxical. But it is easily explained. A country may become convulsed through beggary; but wealth and prosperity may also lead to political convulsion. The situation of a country in which the growth of intelligence and wealth is not attended with a corresponding relaxation of oppressive restrictions, may be compared to that of the boiler of an engine, in which, while the steam is rapidly increasing, no care is taken to diminish the weight which has been placed upon the safety-valve. There is an expansive power in intelligence and wealth, which enable them to break those shackles which could safely be imposed on an ignorant and impoverished people. Let us not then marvel at the prosperity of England in the times preceding the civil war, as if that prosperity were something unaccountable and inconsistent with the result; but let us rather regard it as one of the causes of the convulsion that ensued.

It may be asked by some, how prosperity could advance in a country that was misgoverned and oppressed? To this we may answer, that the advance of prosperity is not incompatible with partial oppression; that an impulse may be given by circumstances, independent of the state of the laws or the acts of the governing power; and that the happy influence of such impulse may be stronger than the counteracting influence of misgovernment. In England, previous to the civil war, this happy influence is mainly attributable to many years of uninterrupted peace, and the extension of commercial enterprise.

An adventurous spirit of colonization, and a zeal in the pursuit of maritime discovery, had never, perhaps, prevailed more strongly in this country, than during the last years of the sixteenth century, and the early part of the seventeenth. The wise policy of Elizabeth, our naval triumphs, and the successes of Drake and Hawkins, were among the chief incentives; and much had already been effected before that splendid reign had reached its close. Hackluyt, in the 'Epistle Dedicatorie' to his collection of Voyages, thus proudly enumerates its glories:—'Which of the Kings of this land, before her Majesty, had their banners ever seen in the Caspian Sea? Which of them hath ever dealt with the Emperor of Persia as her Majesty hath done, and obtained for her merchants large and loving privileges? Who ever saw, before this regiment, an English lieger in the stately porch of the Grand Seigneur of Constantinople? Who ever found English consuls and agents at Tripolis in Syria, at Aleppo, at Babylon, at Bassora, and, which is more, who ever heard of Englishmen at Goa before now? What English ships did heretofore ever anchor in the mighty river of Plate, pass and repass the impassable (in former opinion) Strait of Magellan, range along the coast of Chili, Peru, and all the back of Nova Hispania, further than any Christian ever passed, traverse the mighty breadth of the South Sea, land upon the Luzones in despite of the enemy, enter into alliance, amity, and traffic with the Prince of the Moluccas and the Isle of Java, double the famous Cape of Bona Speranza, arrive at the Isle of Santa Helena, and, last of all, return home most richly laden with the commodities of China, as the subjects of this now flourishing monarchy have done?' This was said in no spirit of idle boastfulness. It was truly an age of enterprise, and deserved to be so extolled. Enterprises were undertaken, which, when we consider the imperfect state of the art of shipbuilding and the science of navigation, fill us with admiration. The discovery of a north-west passage to China, was attempted three times by Hudson; and the same attempt was

made by Baffin, and again, about 1635, by Fox. James I. did much to damp the spirit he should have fostered, and persecuted its most accomplished champion, Raleigh. But the seed was too well sown, and in too good a soil, to perish. Twenty-two years of peace afforded leisure and facilities, such as the weakness and folly of the learned monarch could not neutralize; enterprise and discovery advanced; and colonization and commerce followed in rapid succession. At the commencement of the seventeenth century we had no foreign settlements; ere its first forty years had elapsed, we had many. The state did little; but private enterprise,—incited partly by the love of glory, still more by hope of gain, and, in some instances, by the want of religious freedom in the mother country,—soon laid the foundations of many colonies, some of which have since swelled into wealth, power, and independence. Governor Grey formed a settlement in Newfoundland; Lord Delaware in Virginia; a congregation of Independents formed the colony of New Plymouth; and some Puritans established themselves in New Hampshire. Maryland and Massachusetts, (of which the latter was incorporated by Charles I.,) Nova Scotia and Canada, were also colonized. The Bermudas were colonized in 1612. The settlement of Guiana, where Raleigh had failed, was attempted a second time in 1628. Those important possessions, the West India Islands, were first acquired in this century; and, among them, the islands of Antigua, St Christopher, St Lucia, Nevis, and Montserrat, became English colonies during the reign of Charles I. Of all this, much was achieved by individual enterprise, and in spite of both direct and indirect discouragement during the reign of James. The navy was in a depressed and inefficient state. The privateers of Dunkirk swept our coasts; Barbary corsairs captured our vessels within sight of English ground; and for the protection of our commerce in the Mediterranean, we were reduced to conclude a discreditable treaty with the Dey of Algiers. But a spirit of enterprise was abroad, which throve in spite of difficulty and discouragement. Great trading companies arose. The East India Company, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, commenced its slow and silent march towards the acquisition of a powerful empire. The Levant Company was incorporated in 1605, and soon opened a profitable commerce in the East, by which our woollen manufactures found a ready vent. An African Company—a company of merchant adventurers—and one or two fishing companies, were also incorporated. By a statement quoted by Anderson in his ‘History of Commerce,’ it appears that the shipping employed during the latter part of the reign of

James I. had been as follows:—In trade with Naples, Genoa, Leghorn, Marseilles, Malaga, &c. about 50 sail; with Portugal, about 20, bringing wines, sugar, and West India produce; with Bourdeaux, 60; with Hamburgh and Middleburgh, 35; with Dantzic, &c., 30. The Newcastle coal trade employed 400 sail; the Iceland fishery, 120; the Greenland whale fishery, 14; the Newfoundland fishery, 150. In addition to all this, a carrying trade was maintained on the coast of Coromandel, sufficient to excite the jealousy of the Portuguese. Hence we may gather some idea of the state of our trade in the reign of James, little promoted by the wisdom or liberality of the state, and due chiefly to the national spirit and the fostering influence of peace.

Under the same happy influence, so much did it increase in the following reign, that the customs are stated, between 1635 and 1640, to have become more than double what they were when James was on the throne. A more successful activity displayed itself in various branches of manufacture, some of which have since risen into vast importance. The silk manufacture was much increased between the beginning of the seventeenth century and the meeting of the Long Parliament. In 1629 it had become so important, that the silk-throwers were incorporated; and shortly afterwards we find silk stockings named among the articles exported to India. It seems that a project had been entertained for producing raw silk in England, as would appear by a grant to Walter Lord Aston, of the keeping of the garden, mulberry-trees, and silk-worms, near St James's. The woollen manufacture was, however, at this time far more thriving. In 1614, an improvement was made in it which tended, in a great measure, to make us less dependent on foreigners for our supply. Our manufacturers obtained the art of making what is called 'medley cloth,' mixed and partly coloured with various patterns. Before that time no piece was made of more than one colour. We exported woollen cloth in considerable abundance to India, as well as to the Levant; but the exportation of wool unmanufactured, or in the shape of yarn, was in the reign of Charles prohibited—such exportation being, according to the proclamation, declared to be injurious to the woollen manufacture. Among the prohibitions of importation during the reign of Charles, which had for their object the protection of trade and manufacture, were those of glass, hats, iron-wire, alum, 'foreign purles, cut works, or bone laces, or any commodities laced or edged therewith,' fish caught by foreigners, and tobacco not the growth of Virginia or the Bermudas. Such prohibitions as that of the importation of foreign gunpowder, or of French wines, for a specified period, on the plea of the large stock in hand, were mere jobs, intended

only to favour some of the too numerous monopolies which were then encouraged, to the detriment of commerce, and to the injury of the public at large. With increase of commerce came increase of internal communication. In 1629, the inland carriage of goods had become so much greater, and the roads were so much worse in consequence, that the Council, preferring the beauty and neatness of the public ways to the convenience of the public, for whom these roads were made, thought fit in its wisdom to issue a proclamation, prohibiting all carts from having more than two wheels, or carrying a load of more than a ton, or being drawn by more than five horses.

The conveyance of letters became now of sufficient importance to engage the attention of the State, to be subjected to regulation, and to be rendered a source of revenue. In 1635, posts were established from London to Edinburgh, to Holyhead, and to Plymouth. The postage charged for letters was moderate—2d. for a single letter, carried less than 80 miles, 4d. for between 80 and 140 miles, 6d. for more than 140 miles, and 8d. from London into Scotland. In order that the Government post might become more lucrative, private letter-carriers were prohibited by proclamation in the following year. Before this time, private individuals were frequently at the expense of special messengers to convey their letters. The universities and principal towns had also posts of their own, employing trusty persons, who, without transferring their charge to others, performed the whole of their allotted journey, and returned with the letters collected on the route. People now desired to facilitate the conveyance of their persons, (especially in the metropolis,) as well as of their goods and letters. In 1634, Sir Sanders Duncombe obtained a patent for sedan chairs. Nine years earlier, hackney coaches, at fixed rates, established by a Captain Bailey, had first begun to ply in London; at which time, as we are told by Rushworth, there were not above twenty coaches to be had for hire in and about the capital, and 'the grave judges of the law constantly rid on horseback in all weathers 'to Westminster.' The number of these vehicles appears to have increased with surprising rapidity. We are told, that ere long that number had mounted to 1900, and that they were then deemed to require reduction and reform—not on account of being dear or unsafe—but for this curious reason, that they were drawn by 'base lean jades, unworthy to be seen in so brave a city, or 'to stand about a King's court.' In 1637, we find that licenses were granted to 50 hackney-coach-keepers, allowing them to keep 12 horses each and no more—a regulation which stunted the metropolis to something less than 300 coaches.

Luxury made great advances, and numerous and various were

the outward demonstrations of augmented wealth. While London was increasing in splendour and size; and proclamations were issued to check the ever-growing accumulation of new buildings within its suburbs, numerous fine mansions were springing up in the country. From no period, perhaps, do we derive finer specimens of the architectural magnificence of individuals, than are exhibited in the country-houses of our nobility and gentry during the early part of the 17th century. Entertainments were splendid and expensive. Lord Newcastle entertained Charles and his Queen at Bolsover and at Welbeck, at a cost of between L.14,000 and L.15,000; and he spent L.1500 upon the reception of the Elector Palatine and Prince Rupert. But amongst costly festivals, none perhaps is more remarkable than the Masque given to the King and Queen by the Inns of Court in 1634, and which—the pageant of a few hours—cost L.21,000,—a sum, which, considering the value of money and the rate of prices, is more than equal to the expense of the coronation of William IV., which, not including the medals struck at the mint, and the charge for keeping open the theatres, amounted to L.35,797. Whitelocke, who was one of the managers, tells us, in his minute description of this pageant, ‘how 100 gentlemen of the Inns of Court rode through the streets to Whitehall in very rich clothes, scarce any thing but gold and silver lace to be seen of them,’ each attended by a page and two lacqueys—how sixteen ‘grand masquers,’ being ‘four gentlemen of each Inn of Court, most suitable for their persons, dancing, and garb,’ wearing ‘habits, doublets, trunk-hose, and caps of most rich cloths of tissue, and wrought as thick with silver spangles as they could be placed—large white silk stockings up to their trunk-hose, and with sprigs in their caps, themselves proper and beautiful young gentlemen,’ were selected to lead the revels—and how they went by four and four in chariots and six—and how difficult it was to settle first the precedence of the chariots, and next the precedence of those who sat in them, till the former grave point was decided by lot, and the latter, by the happy idea of having the carriages made ‘like the Roman triumphal chariots of an oval form, so that there is no precedence in them.’ Bassompierre, the French ambassador, no mean authority on such a point, speaks with admiration of the splendour of the English Court, the entertainments which were given to him by various persons of rank, and one, in particular, given by Buckingham to the King and Queen, which he declares to have been the most magnificent he ever witnessed. The example of Buckingham made splendour fashionable, especially in entertainments and apparel. The wardrobe constituted a very large portion of every one’s expense. A

single court dress of this sumptuous personage, is said to have been valued at L.80,000. James I. had encouraged this taste for dress, which continued long after his death and that of Buckingham. The luxury and prodigality of the Court in this respect, was remarked with surprise by the secretary of the French ambassador in 1641. But expensive tastes of a more refined and elevated kind fortunately prevailed at the same time. ‘The accession of Charles I.,’ says Walpole truly, ‘was the first æra of real taste in England.’ Charles, immediately on his accession, began to form a collection of pictures—bought the whole gallery of the Duke of Mantua, then considered the best in Europe—invited hither eminent artists, and diffused a taste for art among his subjects. The Duke of Buckingham in imitation of the King, and the Earl of Arundel from genuine taste, became collectors. The latter, through the exertions of an enterprising agent, obtained more than 200 pieces of sculpture in Greece, Syria, and Asia Minor. The former procured numerous statues and coins through the instrumentality of Sir Thomas Roe, our ambassador to the Porte; as did the Earl of Arundel also.

Tapestry-weaving was naturalized in this country; and a thriving manufactory was established by Sir Francis Crane at Mortlake, where beautiful and costly designs were wrought; and from whence was procured a single piece by Archbishop Williams, which cost not less than L.2500. Much money was tastefully expended in the embellishment of houses. Eminent foreign artists were employed to enrich walls and ceilings with fresco paintings—carving and gilding were lavishly exhibited;—the silks and carpets of the East—gold and silver stuffs—the damasks of Italy—ebony, and silver plate, were frequently used in the furnishing of our mansions.

Great progress was made in social refinement from the commencement of the reign of Charles.

‘Every thing fierce or boisterous,’ says Miss Aikin, ‘was now banished from the diversions of the Court. These chiefly consisted of plays, masques, revels, and balls, followed by splendid banquets. Something of a romantic spirit they still retained, a last memory of chivalry, but pomp and luxury were their principal characteristics. The cruel combats of the cock-pit, prohibited by Elizabeth, were indeed revived and diligently frequented by her successor; but the ruder, if not more inhuman sports of the bear-garden, appear to have been no longer patronized by the Court, nor *often* witnessed by ladies. Even the chase, though passionately followed by James himself, and by most of the rural gentry, was no longer an object of paramount or universal interest to the highest class of society, which now comprised many individuals whose manners were refined, and their leisure occupied by literature and the elegant

arts; many also whose attention was largely shared by the pursuits of politics and the pleasures of the town.'

An account of England, quoted by Miss Aikin, written by the Secretary to the French Ambassador, Ferté-Imbaud, under the title of '*Voyage d'Angleterre fait en l'an 1641,*' satisfactorily corroborates other testimony, both as to the progress of refinement, and the general appearance of prosperity and wealth. He speaks admiringly of London; and, though jealous for the honour of Paris, confesses that our metropolis greatly surpassed it in 'cleanliness, elegance, and safety to strangers,—since every one 'may walk about at the dead of night with his pipe and his 'purse in his hand, and fear neither filth or assassin;' and adds, that our capital may justly boast 'not only of her excellent 'ports, and her abundance of all kinds of merchandise, but of 'possessing the longest street, the most splendid taverns, and 'the greatest number of shops, of any city in Europe.' In proof of the excellence of the port, he states that he counted 850 vessels in the river between London and Rochester; and he admits that he was struck with the fertility of the country, and the universal air of riches and comfort, strongly contrasted with the appearance of France, then desolated by a long course of civil war. Agriculture had prospered—rents had risen—large tracts were taken into cultivation; and population was rapidly advancing. In short, in the general condition of the country there was much that justified Lord Clarendon's statement, that, in 1640, for above twelve years, England had 'enjoyed the 'greatest calm, and the fullest measure of felicity, that any people, 'or any age, for so long a time together have been blessed with.' 'And many,' says his political adversary, the sagacious May, 'looking no farther than their present safety and prosperity, and 'the yet undisturbed peace of the nation, whilst other kingdoms 'were embroiled in calamities, and Germany sorely wasted by 'a sharp war, did nothing but applaud the happiness of Eng- 'land.'

Why, then, it may be asked, was England discontented? As a step towards the solution of this question, let us enquire what during this period was the degree of liberty which the subject possessed—what was his security in the enjoyment of those blessings by which he seemed to be surrounded. Let us see in what manner the hand of power pressed heavily upon various classes of the community, and in the exhibition of individual instances let us view the insecurity of all.

Among the chief instruments of infringement upon liberty were royal proclamations. It had been resolved by the Judges in the reign of James I., that the King's proclamation could not

make that an offence which was not one before; nor, if an offence were not punishable by the Star-Chamber, could proclamation make it so. Nevertheless, in the reign of Charles I., proclamations were frequently issued, forbidding acts previously permitted, and rendering them offences punishable by the Star-Chamber. Under this power arose a monstrous system of vexatious interferences. Proclamations were issued, prohibiting importations—regulating manufactures—fixing prices—preventing the exercise of trades, except under specified conditions—meddling in many other respects with the ordinary business of life—curtailing the liberty of the subject—checking the healthy current of industry and enterprise—and spreading panic and distress among the humbler ranks, to an extent of which a simple enumeration of the modes of interference would convey a very inadequate idea. Let us begin with a case of mild oppression—but of an oppression which fell on thousands. A tradesman, foreseeing a scarcity and a rise of price in some article in which he deals, has providently enabled himself, though at considerable risk, to satisfy the expected demand. But when his warehouses are filled, a proclamation comes out which prohibits him from selling at a remunerating price. He must, therefore, choose between two losses. He may allow his goods to lie valueless in his warehouses, or he may sell them at a price which will not repay him. The price of coals was thus arbitrarily fixed; and in 1634, even provisions were subjected to a similar regulation. The consequence was, that the London market was no longer well supplied. In spite of the proclamation, scarcity eventually produced high prices; and thus was much injury done to trade, without benefit to any party. But it was not always safe even to refuse to sell. In 1631, during a season of scarcity, a farmer was fined and set in the pillory for refusing to sell the corn he had grown on his own land, except at such a price as was deemed more than sufficient by the overseer of the poor. The liberty of becoming a tradesman was vexatiously restricted. It was all at once declared by proclamation, that the King had incorporated all tradesmen and artificers within London, and three miles round it; and within these limits no person might set up any trade, unless he were admitted into such corporation, and had served a seven years' apprenticeship. The incorporation of maltsters and brewers was extended by proclamation throughout all England; and without admission into their corporation, no person in the kingdom might exercise such trade. It was declared (for what reason it is difficult to conceive) that no butcher might exercise the trade of grazier. All tavern-keepers in London were at one time pro-

hibited from dressing meat in their houses; for no better reason than because they had refused to pay a tax, arbitrarily and illegally imposed, on wine; and Gerrard, the correspondent of Strafford, tells him, 'It is said they will give L.6000 to the King ' to have the interdict removed.'

The liberty of choosing a place of abode was not enjoyed in this reign. All persons who had residences in the country were at one time enjoined by proclamation to quit the capital and repair to them; and informations were exhibited in the Star-Chamber against 167 persons, for having either remained in London in defiance of this command, or returned thither after what was judged too short an absence. The rights of property were not respected. The Privy Council, in order that the cathedral of St Paul's might be better seen, directed that the owners of houses in its vicinity should cause them to be demolished,—receiving only such satisfaction as the Privy Council chose to assign; and, on their refusal to demolish their houses, the sheriff was directed to see them pulled down. By another mandate of the Privy Council, all tradesmen, except goldsmiths in Cheapside and Lombard Street, were commanded to close their shops, lest the exposure of their merchandise should impair the splendour of the approach to St Paul's. A proclamation against building houses in London had been issued in the preceding reign; and had been as little regarded as it deserved to be. Many houses were built; and the buildings proceeded without remonstrance. In the following reign, after a considerable lapse of time, notice is taken of the disobedience now sanctioned by many years of uninterrupted permission. A proprietor is fined L.1000 on account of 42 buildings, and is ordered to pull them all down before Easter, on pain of a fine of L.1000 more. He did not comply; and after Easter, writs were issued to the sheriff to pull them down, and to levy on the owner a fine of L.2000 for not having done it himself. This severity was rendered an instrument of extortion. Buildings were suffered to remain, upon paying three years' rent, and 'some little rent to the King.' 'It is ' confidently spoken,' says Gerrard, in a letter to Wentworth, 'that ' there are above L.100,000 rents upon this string about Lon- ' don. I speak much within compass: for St Giles, St Martin's ' Lane, Drury Lane, Covent Garden, Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, Hol- ' born, and beyond the Tower, from Wapping to Blackwall, all ' come in, and are liable to fining for annoyances, and being built ' contrary to proclamation, *though they have had licenses granted ' to do so.* My Lord of Bedford's license in this case, as it is ' said, will not avail him.'

Let us now pass to another of the many forms which extortion

assumed. It is agreed by the Privy Council to demand a loan from all such of the King's subjects as, in the opinion of the Council, are able to lend; and from each, according to his supposed means, is required an allotted share of the contribution. An individual, unable to satisfy the arbitrary demand, refuses to lend. What is the consequence? The comforts of his home are violated by the intrusion of an insolent soldiery, whom he is compelled to receive and lodge within his doors; and who, knowing that their presence is inflicted as a punishment, conceive that they are only serving the interests of their employers by the most unbridled license, and by conduct the most annoying to their ill-fated host. When we hear of the billeting of soldiers, we do not immediately entertain an adequate notion of the oppressive severity of this infliction, and its long train of concomitant evils. But hear the words of one who witnessed them:—'The soldiers,' says Rushworth, 'brake out in great disorders. They mastered the people, 'disturbed the peace of families, and the civil government of 'the land. There were frequent robberies, burglaries, rapes, 'rapines, murders, and barbarous cruelties. Unto some places 'they were sent for a punishment; and wherever they came 'there was a general outcry. The highways were dangerous, 'and the markets unfrequented. They were a terror to all, and 'undoing to many.' Such was the nature of that infliction which an individual might incur by the refusal to lend money, to which the State had no lawful claim. The infliction is grievous; but he still resists. He is then summoned before a commissioner appointed to levy the loan, and by him privately examined on oath. He is required to tell whether he had been 'dealt withal' and induced to refuse; and if so, by whom, and what had been said to him for that purpose. He is required to betray the counsels of his friend to men charged with the inquisitorial office of discovering 'whether any, publicly or underhand, be workers and per- 'suaders of others;' and 'to certify to the Privy Council, in 'writing, the names, qualities, and dwelling-places of such refrac- 'tory persons.' But the consequences of refusing to lend money, illegally demanded by the King, on his own authority, without consent of Parliament, stopped not here. Perhaps the person refusing was visited with the terrors of impressment—perhaps he was sent into the army—perhaps he was forced on board of ship—perhaps imprisonment was preferred as a mode of coercion; and he was immured in the common gaol, there to languish amidst felons till the money was lent; and if he seeks the protection of the violated law, a subservient judge, removable by the Crown at pleasure, shall be found to declare the legality of these oppressions.

The exorbitance of fines was as monstrous as the trivialness of the cases in which they were inflicted was remarkable. A man was fined L.5000 for having dissuaded a friend from compounding for knighthood. Another was heard to say that a certain nobleman was 'a base lord:' he was fined to the amount of L.8000. Another was fined L.10,000 for having horsewhipped an insolent huntsman in the service of a nobleman, and for having said, that if the nobleman justified his servant's insolence, he would serve him in the same way. A tradesman was compelled to forego his just demands for having said that he was 'as good a man' as his debtor, who was a person of gentle blood, and from whom he had in vain endeavoured to obtain the payment of a debt. A citizen of London, in a dispute with a waterman about his fare, called the swan on his badge 'a goose.' The waterman was a nobleman's servant—the swan was the nobleman's crest—and for 'dishonouring' this crest, the citizen was punished by fine and imprisonment. A merchant whose goods had been seized in consequence of his refusal to pay more than the legal duty for a bale of silks, was summoned before the Privy Council; and in the course of his examination, stung with a sense of injury, exclaimed, 'that in no part of the world were merchants so screwed up as in England: in Turkey they had more encouragement.' For these words—words not publicly divulged—only uttered before the Council, he was sentenced to pay a fine of L.2000; and further required to sign a paper, expressing submission and acknowledgment of his fault. Refusing to make this acknowledgment, he is immediately committed to prison, where, ruined in fortune, he languishes six years. Such was the case of Richard Chambers. The recorder of a cathedral town, by direction of a vestry, and in obedience to existing statutes and canons, takes down from the window of his parish church a degrading representation of the Deity. The Primate orders that he be prosecuted for this *legal* act; and he is sentenced to pay L.500, to lose his office, and to make two public acknowledgments of his offence. To this degree was it unsafe for a humble functionary to execute the law, in opposition to the wishes of a powerful minister! It was the case of Sherfield, the recorder of Salisbury.

A tract, entitled 'A Proposition to Bridle the Impertinency of Parliaments,' which, like Machiavel's 'Prince,' was supposed to be ironical, and designed only to render tyranny more odious, is handed about in manuscript. It is seen by the King; and its supposed irony excites his indignation. It is proved to have been borrowed from the library of a distinguished antiquary, but without the owner's knowledge. Proceedings are nevertheless commenced against the owner and the other circulators; but it is soon

ascertained that the tract, which was considered ironical and insidious, from the very extravagance of its tyrannical suggestions, was of old date, and had the merit of being sincere. The proceedings are quashed, and the defendants dismissed; yet, though acknowledged to be innocent, one of them must still be punished. An order had been issued that the house of the distinguished antiquary should be entered and searched; and that the searchers should note all such books or papers as ought to belong to the Crown. On this plea, his whole collection of books, records, and papers, was taken from him. Proceedings had been quashed, yet the collection was retained. The declining years of this eminent man were embittered by this privation; and, broken in spirit, he went to his grave ere the injustice was repaired. This injured antiquary was Sir Robert Cotton. The most celebrated of our lawyers was lying on his deathbed when his house was entered, under an order of the Council, to search for dangerous or seditious papers. The manuscripts of those works which have signalized his name, and numerous other papers, one of which was his will, were illegally carried away. None of these were restored to the heir till after a lapse of seven years; and several, including the will, were never heard of more. This aggrieved and insulted veteran of the law was Sir Edward Coke.

Let us see what Ministerial vengeance could then effect even against men in an exalted station. A Bishop was exposed to the enmity of the Primate. After a series of frivolous legal persecutions, and while lying in prison under a charge of tampering with witnesses, an offence not punishable by English law, his steward and secretary are induced to betray him; his papers are ransacked; and two letters are found addressed to him by the master of one of the public schools, in which opprobrious epithets were applied to the Primate. It was not proved that these letters had been answered. It was not proved that they had ever been divulged. It was proved only that they had been received; and this and the concealment of them were held to constitute a high misdemeanour; and were punished by a fine of L.8000. Nor did vengeance stop here. The Bishop was also committed to close prison—submission was required—further interrogatories administered; and the required apology not being made, he lay more than three years in prison. Such was the case of Bishop Williams.

Members of three learned professions, a clergyman, a lawyer, and a physician, are severally indicted for libels. The clergyman having, for two sermons which he had preached, been suspended and committed until he should recant, had, in his pretended recantation, called upon the people to resist the innovations intro-

duced by the Primate. The physician had written against Episcopacy, vehemently, it is true, but in a tone of quaint invective, almost too ludicrous for serious notice. The lawyer had previously written a ponderous work against the stage, in which he had spoken disrespectfully of female performers, some months previous to the Queen's appearance in a theatrical character at a Court masque. Nevertheless, the work was considered libellous and disloyal, by anticipation; and the writer was fined, pilloried, and lost his ears; and since that time had lain in prison, where he wrote a pamphlet against the Primate. They are all indicted for these offences, and ordered to put in answers, which must be signed by two counsel. Such was the timidity and subjection of the bar, that no counsel could be found to put their names to these answers; they were, consequently, rejected by the Court; the charge, for default of answer, presumed to be admitted; and the prisoners brought up for judgment. After this mockery of justice, let us hear the atrocious sentence. They were to be fined each L.5000, to be placed in the pillory, and their ears to be cut off—one of them to be branded on the cheek with the letters S. L., and all to be imprisoned for life. The lawyer having undergone the pillory and mutilation before, the Court had ordered his hair to be turned back; and finding that some remnants of the truncated ears remained, and that they had not been cut off close to the head, expressed displeasure that the former sentence should have been executed with so little severity. The barbarous sentence of pillory and mutilation was mercilessly inflicted in the presence of an indignant and sympathizing crowd. They were then transported from their dungeons in the metropolis to distant prisons at Lancaster and Carnarvon, pitied and admired by assembled thousands, and receiving many tokens of sympathy on their route, which called down reprehension from their oppressors. The Sheriff of Chester gave one of them some coarse hangings to render less comfortless his dismantled chamber. The Sheriff was summoned by a pursuivant. One of them received compassionate visits at Coventry, and, among others, from the wife of the Mayor. The Mayor and six members of the corporation were consequently summoned to London; and the Attorney-General was directed to assail their chartered privileges by a *quo warranto*. The same prisoner had many compassionate visitors at Chester. The names of these good Samaritans were ordered to be denounced in the churches; and the clergy were instructed to preach against the persecuted man whom they had ventured to visit. Nay, more, they were seized by the pursuivants of the High Commission; and for having visited the prisoner (an act which was not an offence punishable by the law of England) they were

fined, bound in recognisances for their good behaviour, and required to make public acknowledgment of their fault. But tyranny had not yet wreaked its utmost vengeance on the three sufferers. It was not enough that they should even be imprisoned for life, if it were in a land where sympathy could reach them. They were soon removed to other dungeons in the isles of Scilly, Jersey, and Guernsey. Their wives and children (for two of them were married) were not permitted to approach them. They might neither write nor receive letters; none might speak to them during their journey to these distant dungeons; and if their wives should pass into those islands, in the hope of once more seeing their imprisoned husbands, with whom all communication by letter was forbidden—if they braved the perils of the sea, and the violence of man, in obedience to the voice of natural affection, and in a spirit of devoted fidelity to those ties which had been sanctioned before God and man,—this heroic self-devotion was to be counted to them as a crime, and they were to be imprisoned for the attempt. These were the cruelties exercised on Burton, Prynne, and Bastwick. Such were the things done in England, during the reign of that King of whom it is written in a form of prayer, appointed ‘to be used yearly on the 30th of ‘January’—‘Let his memory, Lord, be ever blessed among us, ‘that we may follow the example of his courage and constancy, ‘his meekness and patience, and great charity.’

The instances we have cited are sufficient to show that the liberties of the people, in the reign of Charles I., were grievously infringed, and of very frail and doubtful tenure. We could have cited many more, but it is needless. Had there been no other instances, the above would have sufficed. Liberty is security—it is exemption from the possible occurrence of such oppressive acts as have been related. Liberty is wounded by a single instance of permitted tyranny. It is not necessary that oppression should be shown to have been frequent. Let it only be possible, and the public have a right to require protection.

The prosperity which preceded the civil war has been tauntingly adduced as a decisive proof that resistance to the King was ingratitude on the part of the people; as if their prosperity had been a boon from his hands, and they were bound to submit to injury as long as it did not outweigh the balance of good. This inference could not have been just even if all their prosperity had been the gift of the sovereign; for it was the duty of his office, not merely to maintain a nicely-adjusted balance of benefits and oppressions, but, without any admixture of oppression, to govern with a sole regard to the welfare of the people committed to his

charge. But it cannot be said that the prosperity of the people was at all owing to the King. To no measure emanating directly from royal authority, can we trace any beneficial influence upon the prosperity of the country, while it would be easy to cite many which were highly prejudicial. The country was mainly indebted for its prosperity to the influence of peace, and to the national spirit of industry and enterprise. Neither ought it to be cause for wonder, that a people so prosperous should at the same time be discontented. We have seen, that in the manifold violations of liberty there was ample ground for discontent. Let it also be remembered, that, by a people not crouching in penury under the yoke of a bond-master, but raised by affluence into self-respect, will such infringements be most warmly resisted. It is the pampered steed that is most impatient of the whip and curb. It is the thriving subject who will rebel most fiercely against oppression and injustice.

Among the various causes of the Great Rebellion, our present limits will allow us to advert only to another—the character of the King. On a subject so important, which so thoroughly merited the fullest investigation, and which lay so especially within the scope of Miss Aikin's design, we could have been well pleased if she had bestowed a larger share of her attention. Her work does not give so full a view of the character of Charles as we hoped to have obtained; and we are not by any means satisfied in being told, that, 'to present a summary of his character at the conclusion of an extensive work, chiefly dedicated to the relation of his words and actions, might be thought to argue a distrust of the reader's discernment.'

Some of those writers who most loudly arrogate to themselves the credit of defending monarchical institutions, have pursued a course of argument neither logical nor politic in their defence of the character of Charles. If it could be proved that he was faultless in his capacity of king, the deduction from such proof would be diametrically opposite to that which these apologists are anxious to establish. If Charles was indeed a model for kings, and yet his performance of the duties of that office led to his death upon the scaffold, and to the temporary suppression of monarchy itself, what could we infer but that there was inherent in monarchy, as it then existed, something which rendered it, even when administered by the best of men, essentially unsuitable to the people of this country? Monarchy, like every other form of government, must rely on public opinion for its ultimate support. If suited to the people, it must and will be popular. It will be supported, if not always by a numerical majority, at least by property and intelligence, by which the numerical majority will be

eventually directed. Now, from the commencement to the close of the great struggle between King and Parliament, the cause of the Parliament was, with scarcely any variation, more popular than that of the King; and although the judicial murder of Charles I. was contrary to the wish of all save a small, compact, and resolute minority, the majority throughout had concurred in opposing him. What then rendered him thus unpopular? Was he odious in his private or in his public capacity? If not obnoxious as a man, he must have been obnoxious as a monarch; and if he did not unduly exercise his monarchical powers, then there must have been, even in the due and legitimate exercise of the functions of monarchy, something sufficiently uncongenial with the spirit of the English people to entail odium and persecution, even unto death, upon the head of a virtuous and unoffending man. To this conclusion we should be led by many of the apologists of Charles I., if we were willing to accept their premises. But to these we cannot assent; and though the character of Charles may be lowered, we rejoice in an opposite opinion. Let one man be condemned, not many: let the individual fall, and not the institution.

In fact, monarchy was not unpopular. The people loved it, and clung to it. The ease with which Cromwell assumed and transmitted a pseudo-monarchy, and the enthusiasm with which the rightful heir, with nought but his hereditary rights to recommend him, was soon restored to his father's throne, were proofs how strongly an affection for royalty was inherent in the hearts of the people. Twenty years of national degradation under the misrule of that prodigal son, and the sullen tyranny that ended in the expulsion of his bigoted brother, produced no aversion to the kingly office. A foreigner was admitted to that high station; and the phlegmatic, unpopular, anti-English habits of William III., and of the first George, could not perceptibly abate the public love and reverence for the authority with which those individuals were invested. Never can it be said that the majority of those who opposed the pretensions of Charles I. were deficient in attachment to monarchy. Whatever they hated, it was not the office.

We concede to the apologists of Charles, that, as a man, he had many commendable qualities. In his youth, he exhibited great diligence in the acquisition of knowledge; and his tastes and pursuits were respectable and refined. He was addicted to no vicious excess. He was moderate in his expenses, decorous in his conduct, and regular in his devotions. He was a kind relative, an attached husband, and a good father. His accomplishments were numerous. Lilly, who was not disposed to

flatter, says, 'He had many excellent parts in nature; was an excellent horseman, would shoot well at a mark, had singular skill in limning, was a good judge of pictures, a good mathematician, not unskilful in music, well read in divinity, excellently in history and law; he spoke several languages, and writ well,—good language and style.' His letters bear testimony to the truth of these concluding words. Perinchief also commemorates the universality of his acquirements; and, in addition to what had been asserted by Lilly, tells us that he was an antiquarian, a judge of medals, and understood fortification, gunnery, and naval architecture. He 'delighted to talk with all kinds of artists; and with so great a facility did apprehend the mysteries of their professions, that he did sometimes say "he thought he could get his living, if necessitated, by any trade he knew of but making of hangings," although of these he understood much.' Clarendon evidently respected his capacity, and declared that he was indefatigable in business. The reports of conferences show that he was acute and ready in discussion. Whitelocke, who, together with Hollis, was mastered by the King's superior address, commemorates 'his great abilities, strength of reason, quickness of apprehension, with much patience in hearing what was objected against him; wherein he allowed all freedom, and would himself sum up the arguments and give a most clear judgment upon them.' Yet, partly from moral defects, partly from peculiarities of temperament and manner, he was ill qualified to play the part which had devolved upon him. In the art which James I., who could not practise it, called 'kingcraft,' he was eminently deficient. His disposition was probably more amiable than that of Queen Elizabeth; but he had not the address by which that Princess, who so frequently merited the hatred of her subjects, was able to inspire them with affection and respect. He wanted the talent to be popular—a talent so useful to every ruler, and so dangerous in a bad one. He knew not, like that wise princess, how to float with the current of national feeling: it was a navigation in which he was unskilled. He could not excite the enthusiasm of his people—and knew not the road to their hearts. Those who, in their disapprobation of Charles, would assign as the cause of his fall, the badness of his character, appear to view him erroneously. Had he been either a worse or a better man, he would probably have been successful. It was the peculiar and incongruous mixture of good and bad qualities which wrought his ruin, rather than the preponderance of the latter. His duplicity was of that ill-starred kind which proceeded rather from timidity than from cunning; and the demon which would have stoutly served a

fiendlike temper, betrayed its vacillating and half-virtuous master. We fear that a tyrant of consummate hypocrisy,—a Borgias or a Louis XI.,—might too effectually have succeeded. The long-sighted dexterity of Henry VII. might have sapped the foundations of Parliamentary influence. The strong firm hand of Henry VIII. might have stifled the growing spirit of resistance. The gay and gallant bearing of a Henry IV. of France—the imposing magnificence of a Louis XIV.—and less than the dazzling genius of a Napoleon, might, we fear, have varnished over, and rendered comely in the eyes of the English people—a people little given to be deluded—a greater amount of tyrannical rule than is justly attributable to Charles. But Charles had none of these attractive qualities. ‘He was,’ says Carte, ‘stiff and formal, and received people with such an air of coldness that it looked like contempt. He was ungracious even in conferring favours upon those whom he loved, and intended most to oblige. Few persons, with all the vices in nature in their composition, have ever created to themselves so many personal enemies as King Charles, with all the graces of a man, and all the graces of a Christian, raised to himself through the coldness of his reception of persons, and the harshness of his behaviour to them on particular occasions.’ These are the words of a friendly writer, of one who calls him ‘the worthiest person, the best man in all relations of life, and the best Christian that the age produced; truly zealous for the honour of the nation, and the good of his subjects; so great a lover of justice, that he would not have done a wrong to any one to have made himself monarch of the universe.’ Sir Philip Warwick’s laboured eulogy of Charles tends, both in its assertions and omissions, to confirm the unfavourable representations of Carte; and similar testimony is given by another eulogist, Sir Richard Bulstrode. Lilly, the astrologer, in his memoir—that singular medley of absurdity and acuteness—mentions many unpopular qualities of the King—as that ‘he had much of *self-ends* in all that he did; and a most difficult thing it was to hold him close to his own promise or word. The more humbly any made their addresses unto him, by so much the more was he imperious, lofty, and at a distance with them.’

Without a record of particular instances, it may easily be conceived how much of lukewarmness—how much even of positive hatred may have resulted from such a demeanour. Sights obvious only to the persons slighted, or offered only to undistinguished persons, have had no memorialist to narrate them; but it is recorded that Charles personally affronted individuals who were among those most instrumental in effecting his downfall. Alexander Leslie, who had served with distinction under Gustavus Adolphus,

returning from that service so honourable and popular in the eyes of Englishmen and Protestants, presented himself at Court, in the full assurance of a flattering reception. Charles received him with marked incivility, and did not even allow him to perform the usual homage of kissing the sovereign's hand. Leslie was piqued, and became thenceforward an enemy—and a dangerous one. He entered into cabals with Richelieu—fomented discontents in Scotland—and became a successful leader of its rebel forces. Sir Thomas Fairfax presented a petition to the King at York, against Strafford and the Council of the North. Fairfax knelt—the King was on horseback—the matter of the petition was distasteful; and Charles, suddenly, and in anger, turning away his horse, passed Fairfax, and almost trampled him under foot. Fairfax became the generalissimo of the Parliamentary forces, saw their cause prosper through his exertions, and filled the ranks of the Royalists with dismay.

Charles combined two opposite failings, each separately injurious to his popularity, and still more injurious when concurrent in the same individual. He bore the double load of caution and precipitance. His manner was reserved and cold—his actions were often hasty. With the outward air of the grave phlegmatic calculating man, he united the inconsiderate violence of a petulant boy. His treatment of the Queen's French attendants affords a characteristic instance of his want of judgment. After having unguardedly admitted, in the first instance, too large an influx of those Roman Catholic foreigners, amid the unheeded murmurings of his own subjects—after having submitted to their repeated encroachments,—he finds no milder means of repairing the evil than to issue this arbitrary mandate: 'I command you,' he says in a letter to Buckingham, 'to send all the French away to-morrow out of the town; if you can,—by fair means, (but stick not long in disputing,)—otherwise force them away like so many wild beasts until you have shipped them, and so the devil go with them.'

In other respects he diminished his popularity and influence, by an inconsistent mixture of opposite qualities. He was stately, without dignity—and familiar, without reaping the fruits of condescension. 'He loved state too well,' says a friendly commentator, 'and carried it to too great a height;' yet he was so unmindful of his dignity when to preserve it was most needful, as to permit unreproved the insolent intrusion of Buckingham, who, exclaiming, 'I am come to keep the peace between you two!' interrupted an interview between the King and Bassompierre, the French ambassador. 'He thought,' says Carte, 'that his father, by admitting all persons without distinction into the drawingroom, had destroyed all the state and even the decorum of the Court.'

‘ To restore these, which he deemed necessary to keep up the dignity of a Prince, and command the veneration of subjects, he caused different rooms in the Palace to be allotted to the different orders of nobility, so that none of an inferior rank were allowed to enter into those which had been allotted to persons of a superior quality.’ The historian then gives a curious description of the manner in which, on one occasion, Charles endeavoured ‘ to restore the decorum of the Court—to keep up the dignity of a Prince, and command the veneration of subjects.’ Sir Henry Vane, when in one of the rooms which, from want of sufficient rank, he was not privileged to enter, was surprised by the King’s unexpected approach, and had not time to escape. ‘ There was in it,’ says Carte, ‘ what was called in those days a livery cupboard, on which was generally placed some valuable utensil, or statue, and there hung from the top to the bottom a large carpet or hanging, which covered it. Sir Henry, in his surprise, got behind the carpet; but the King, seeing it bulge out, or observing something to stir behind it, *poked him out with his cane.* When he saw Sir Henry Vane, he was very angry, *held his cane over him,* and (as some said) *struck him with it;* an outrage which that gentleman never forgave.’ It was a peculiarity in his character, that he thus laid himself open to opposite censures. He appeared both obstinate and facile—obstinate in retaining his own opinion, and facile in adopting the suggestions of others. But, as is well observed by Mr Hallam, there was an incongruity only in appearance; for Charles was ever tenacious of the ends he had in view, and facile and irresolute only in the selection of means to attain them.

These apparent inconsistencies greatly diminished his popularity and influence: but the quality that mainly precipitated his downfall was his duplicity. We cannot study attentively his history, without feeling convinced, that if the opposing party could only have trusted him, Charles might have lived and reigned. His duplicity is admitted by many of his apologists; but they plead in excuse his embarrassing position, and refer us, for a palliation of his bad faith, to the violence of those who opposed him. But it is not true that the duplicity of Charles’s character was exhibited only in the late or more disastrous period of his career. The history of his early years exhibits instances of double-dealing. During the lifetime of James, he behaved with treachery to his tutor, Hakewill. This man, when the Spanish match was in agitation, showed Charles, in manuscript, a paper, the object of which was to dissuade him, on religious grounds, from marriage with a Roman Catholic. He entreated that it might not be shown to the King, lest he should

suffer for the expression of his opinions; and Charles promised 'it should never go farther than the cabinet of his own breast.' Charles, nevertheless, regardless of his promise, showed Hakewill's paper to the King; and the unhappy man was thrown into prison, and deprived of his office about the Prince. His conduct towards Spain was marked with duplicity. His last act before quitting Madrid, was formally to accede to the terms of the marriage treaty, and to lodge his proxy with Lord Bristol. His first act on leaving Spain, was to forbid, by a private order, the delivery of the proxy which he had publicly given. On his return, he sanctioned by his public attestation, statements made in his presence by Buckingham, imputing bad faith to Spain, and treachery to Lord Bristol; which statements the original letters of Buckingham to James I. prove to have been false, and of their falsehood Charles could not have been ignorant. In 1631, he was contracting a secret engagement with Spain to assist that power to reconquer its former subjects, and 'our ancient allies,' the Dutch. In 1632, he was contracting a secret engagement with a discontented party in Belgium, at that time the subjects of Spain, to support them in their design of casting off the Spanish yoke, upon the condition that their allegiance should be transferred to England. We commend these passages in his foreign policy to the especial notice of those Tory writers who still select him as the theme of their commendations, and the best model of kingly virtue. In one year he would have compassed the subjugation of Protestant freemen—in the next, he would have taken to his bosom a Catholic rebel. Those who admire him as the injured upholder of monarchical principles and the Protestant establishment, will scarcely recognise their vaunted idol. He committed Lord Arundel to prison without assigning a specific cause, and confined him there in spite of the remonstrances of the Parliament,—pretending that grave charges would be laid against him; and when the Parliament had prevailed in obtaining the liberation of their member, these weighty charges were never laid. He lent ships to the King of France to be employed at La Rochelle against the Hugonots; and he pleaded this employment of those ships among the subsequent causes of war with France.

His conduct with regard to the Petition of Right was a continued series of attempted evasions. First, he endeavoured to check its progress through the House of Commons, by assuring them that he would govern according to the laws, and bidding them confide in his royal word. He demands, soon afterwards, whether they would rest on his word or no. They say in reply, that they will indeed rely on his word, but in the constitutional form of an assent to a Bill. Foiled in this, he reproaches them for attempting to

bind him 'by new, and indeed *impossible bonds,*' yet still urges reliance on his simple word. The Parliament was firm, and the Petition passed through both Houses; and then came the royal assent, but not given in the usual customary and legal form, but in these evasive words:—'The King willeth that right be done according to the laws and customs of the realm; and that the statutes be put in due execution, that his subjects may have no cause to complain of any wrong or oppressions contrary to their just rights and liberties; to the preservation whereof, he holds himself in conscience as well obliged as of his prerogative.' The indignation of the Parliament was roused, and its firmness wrung from the reluctant Sovereign the customary assent. But trick and evasion stopped not here. The enrolment of the Petition had been promised, and it was indeed enrolled, but having appended to it, not the King's legal assent, but his first evasive answer, and a subsequent speech which tended to invalidate all its provisions.

These were acts of duplicity—these were instances of a double-dealing policy, less gross perhaps, and less alarming, than Glamorgan's treaty, and some of the deep-dyed indications of faithlessness that appeared in the letters which were taken at Naseby—but they wanted the poor excuse of urgent difficulty. They were committed in the day of his might, in the prosperous outset of his career.

Our limits will not allow us to analyze the character of Charles more fully, and under other points of view; and we must conclude, by again expressing our regret that such a task has not been accomplished by one so fully qualified to do justice to it as Miss Aikin,

ART. VIII.—*Astronomy and General Physics considered with reference to Natural Theology.* By the Rev. WILLIAM WHEWELL, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 8vo. London: 1833.

THE dedication of nearly *ten thousand pounds* to the composition of a work 'On the Power, Wisdom, and Goodness of God, as manifested in the Creation,' is an event without any parallel in the history of our literature. A bequest of such munificence and piety could not fail to inspire us with gratitude to its liberal donor; and though it was calculated to excite the highest expectations of a work, for the execution of which such ample means were provided, yet these feelings were alloyed with ex-

treme anxiety respecting its judicious appropriation. We regret to say, that our anxiety has been justified, and our expectations disappointed. We had counted upon worshipping the creative Spirit in one massive Temple, whose materials had been prepared by the wisdom and the industry of past ages, and at whose altar there would minister some High-Priest, whom piety and science had combined to consecrate; but we have been summoned to an interrupted and multifarious oblation, and have been directed to eight separate shrines, in which as many votaries are offering up their insulated orisons.

That the public, as well as ourselves, have reason for being dissatisfied with this substitution, will be manifest, by comparing the terms of the bequest with the arrangement which has been adopted and put in execution.

‘The Right Honourable and Rev. Francis Henry Earl of Bridgewater died in the month of February, 1829, and by his last will and testament, bearing date the 25th of February, 1825, he directed certain trustees, therein named, to invest in the public funds the sum of eight thousand pounds sterling,—this sum, with the accruing dividends thereon, to be held at the disposal of the President for the time being of the Royal Society of London, to be paid to the person or persons nominated by him. The testator further directed, that the person or persons selected by the said President should be appointed to write, print, and publish, one thousand copies of a work—*On the Power, Wisdom, and Goodness of God, as manifested in the Creation; illustrating each work by all reasonable arguments; as, for instance, the variety and formation of God’s creatures in the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms; the effect of Digestion, and thereby of conversion; the construction of the hand of Man, and an infinite variety of other arguments; as also by discoveries, ancient and modern, in arts and sciences, and the whole extent of literature.* He desired, moreover, that the profits arising from the sale of the works so published should be paid to the authors of the works.

‘The late President of the Royal Society, Davies Gilbert, Esq., requested the assistance of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, and of the Bishop of London, in determining upon the best mode of carrying into effect the intention of the testator. Acting with their advice, and with the concurrence of a nobleman immediately connected with the deceased, Mr Davies Gilbert appointed the following eight gentlemen to write separate treatises on the different branches of the subject, as here stated.

On the Adaptation of External Nature to the Moral and Intellectual Constitution of Man.

The Rev. Thomas Chalmers, D.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh.

On the Adaptation of External Nature to the Physical Condition of Man.

John Kidd, M.D., F.R.S., Regius Professor of Medicine in the University of Oxford.

On Astronomy and General Physics.	The Rev. William Whewell, M. A., F. R. S., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.
The Hand : Its Mechanism and Vital Endowments, as evincing Design.	Sir Charles Bell, K. H., F. R. S.
On Animal and Vegetable Physiology.	Peter Mark Roget, M. D., Fellow of, and Secretary to, the Royal Society.
On Geology and Mineralogy.	The Rev. William Buckland, D. D., F. R. S., Canon of Christ Church, and Professor of Geology in the University of Oxford.
On the History, Habits, and Instincts of Animals.	The Rev. William Kirby, M. A., F. R. S.
On Chemistry, Meteorology, and the Function of Digestion.	William Prout, M. D., F. R. S.

The first observation which presents itself on the perusal of the preceding passage, is, that Lord Bridgewater bequeathed L.8000, and the accruing dividends, to the composition of ONE WORK, on the well-known and distinctly limited subject of Natural Theology, and that he contemplated the possibility of more than one person being employed in the execution of this laborious task. Some difficulty would no doubt have occurred in finding an individual, who, to the power of eloquent writing and lucid exposition, added a sufficient knowledge of the phenomena and laws of the material universe; but this last and most essential attribute could easily have been supplied by intelligent auxiliaries who could have collected from each branch of science its tributary stores, and submitted them to the assimilating power of the master-spirit who was to direct the whole. In this way there might have been composed a work on Natural Theology which would have been translated into every written language, and which would have thus formed a more than European Monument to the liberality and piety of our countryman. To such a work, every active enquirer would have offered a cheerful contribution; and the most eminent of our philosophers would have felt themselves honoured by contributing even a line to that mighty Anthem which men of all nations and kindred and tongues were about to raise to their common benefactor. In laying such a work before the public, a splendid edition might have been provided for the opulent purchasers of expensive publications; and one or two thousand pounds of the original bequest might have been employed in defraying the expenses of an extremely cheap edition, which would have circulated, among the reading classes, the most salutary and elevating instruction.

Such is the method of appropriation which we think would have been most consonant with Lord Bridgewater's will, and at the same time most likely to promote the great object which he

had in view. Let us now compare with it the method which has been followed, and the principles upon which it seems to have been founded.

The number of authors to be employed in the execution of the work, appears to have depended more upon the magnitude of the reward, than upon the nature of the subject. *Eight thousand pounds*, the amount of the bequest, suggested, no doubt, the number of authors that were to share it; and we should not have greatly objected even to this capricious distribution, had these *eight* authors furnished *eight* consecutive chapters of a *Complete System of Natural Theology*, all connected by one chain of argument, and all directing their converging lights upon the grand object which such a work has in view. This, however, has not been done; and we are presented with eight independent treatises,—written by authors who had no previous communication, who had never seen each other's productions, but were merely put in possession of the Cabalistic Titles of their respective Essays. The consequences of such an arrangement are obvious. In such a disjointed assemblage of treatises there cannot fail to be many grave and important omissions;—there must be innumerable repetitions;—there will be irreconcilable discrepancies of statement; and there may be, what in such a work would be intolerable,—alarming contradictions.

Although we have blamed the trustees for abandoning the most prominent part of the testator's scheme, yet we must now find fault with them for endeavouring to fulfil too literally a secondary part of his plan. Having contravened the bequest in its leading feature, it was natural to make some compensation by following it too closely in its details. But even here the wishes of the testator have been thwarted in the very attempt to fulfil them; and the unity of the general subject has been completely broken down. Lord Bridgewater desires that 'the Power, Wisdom, and Goodness of God shall be illustrated by all reasonable arguments, *as, for instance*, the variety and formation of God's creatures, &c.; the effect of Digestion, and thereby of conversation; the construction of the hand of Man; and an *infinity of other arguments*.' Now, it is quite clear that the testator never meant to place the *function of digestion* in any unseemly pre-eminence over the *function of respiration*, or any of the other functions of the animal frame; and still less did he intend to regard the hand of man as a more transcendent piece of mechanism, than his head, or his eye, or his ear, or his brain. He mentions these merely as instances out of an *infinity* of others, in order to show the kind of topics which he wished to be introduced. But the trustees interpreted it otherwise. They have

demanded from Sir Charles Bell a whole volume ‘on the Human ‘Hand, its mechanism and vital endowments, as evincing design;’ and they have honoured the *Function of Digestion* with one-third of the title of a volume, to the exclusion of all other Functions from the same honour. The trustees seem to have experienced a peculiar difficulty in accommodating this prominent part of the subject. It appears to have been shunned by the preceding authors in the list, and to have at last found refuge at the very end of the *eighth* volume, contributed by Dr Prout, under the strange title of ‘*Chemistry, Meteorology, and the Function of Digestion!*’ A system of Natural Theology which begins with the *Mind* and ends with the *Stomach* is not likely to be devoured *seriatim* in the order of its eight courses; but if any living guest shall be found, whose appetite can master the profound and often transcendental speculations which are served up to him in bewildering succession, he will thank Dr Prout for having put him in possession—even at the eleventh hour—of the *Function of Digestion*.

The injudicious appropriation of a sum of nearly ten thousand pounds, which might have been made truly useful both to science and religion, is of itself a sufficient evil to demand the censure of public criticism; but we have been induced to notice it more particularly at present, because many instances have recently occurred, in which public bodies have unnecessarily and injuriously thwarted the obvious intentions of testators. If money is bequeathed for purposes which have a tendency to promote vice or foster error, it would be wise, if not legal, to alter its destination. But if a bequest has been long and usefully devoted to special purposes; and, still more, if its change of destination is rash, or even doubtful; and if it has excited a difference of opinion among those who are entitled to express it,—we think it would not be wrong or unbecoming to restore such trusts to their former channels, whether they be trusts of science or of charity.

In making these remarks, our readers cannot suppose that we intend to question that purity of motive which we know presided over the administration of the Bridgewater trust; and, still less, that our censure has the slightest application to the eight eminent individuals who have been selected to execute the plan which was adopted. They, on the contrary, merit our sympathy for having been compelled to work in shackles, and debarred, by the technicalities of a vicious arrangement, from giving free scope to their genius and talents.*

* As the work which the Earl of Bridgewater contemplated in his bequest has not been composed, we would suggest, that one of the

As the Treatise of Mr Whewell, on *Astronomy and General Physics*, is the first of the series published under the bequest which we have been considering, and as the subject of it must always be placed at the head of every system of Natural Theology, we shall devote the present article to the analysis and examination of it. In four introductory chapters which usher in the work, Mr Whewell makes us acquainted with the peculiar object of his Treatise, and states the general plan by which he proposes to accomplish it.

‘ Many works have been written, at different times, with the view of showing how our knowledge of the elements and their operation, of plants and animals and their construction, may serve to nourish and unfold our idea of a Creator and Governor of the world. But though this is the case, a new work on the same subject may still have its use. Our views of the Creator and Governor of the world, as collected from or combined with our views of the world itself, undergo modifications as we are led by new discoveries, new generalizations, to regard nature in a new light. The conceptions concerning the Deity, his mode of effecting his purposes, the scheme of his government, which are suggested by one stage of our knowledge of natural objects and operations, may become manifestly imperfect or incongruous, if adhered to, and applied at a later period, when our acquaintance with the immediate causes of natural events has been greatly extended. On this account, it may be interesting, after such an advance, to show how the views of the creation, preservation, and government of the universe, which natural science opens to us, harmonize with our belief in a Creator, Governor, and Preserver of the world. To do this, with respect to certain departments of Natural Philosophy, is the object of the following pages ; and the author will deem himself fortunate, if he succeeds in removing any of the difficulties and obscurities which prevail in men’s minds from the want of a clear natural understanding between the religious and the scientific speculator. It is needless here to remark the necessary imperfect and scanty character of natural religion ; for most persons will allow, that, however imperfect may be the knowledge of a supreme intelligence which we gather from the contemplation of the natural world, it is still of most essential use and value. And our purpose on this occasion is, not to show that Natural Theology is a perfect and satisfactory scheme, but to bring up our Natural Theology to the point of view in which it may be contemplated by the aid of our Natural Philosophy.’—Pp. 1-3.

This preliminary view of Natural Theology is, we confess, entirely different from ours ; and we cannot admit, without feeling

eight authors, who is pre-eminently fitted for the task by his acquirements as a Natural Philosopher, should be requested by the trustees to execute a popular volume out of the materials furnished by himself and his coadjutors.

that we are opening an under-path for scepticism, that our Natural Theology can ever give us ‘ manifestly imperfect or incongruous conceptions concerning the Deity, his mode of effecting his purposes, or the scheme of his government ;’ nor can we admit for a moment, that natural religion is an imperfect or an unsatisfactory scheme. Natural Theology is, in our apprehension, that branch of knowledge which, to use the very words of Lord Bridgewater, treats of the ‘ Power, Wisdom, and Goodness of God as *manifested* in the CREATION.’ It has, therefore, nothing to do with speculations and theories, however ingenious or well founded. It deals primarily with the manifestations or unimpeachable proofs of design in created things, and only in a secondary manner with the deductions of science. God’s works are its legitimate and leading objects—his modes of working its collateral supports. We may admire the power, and wisdom, and goodness of the work, without knowing how it was executed, and without any acquaintance with the laws of nature which are concerned in its agency and preservation.

Let the observer of Nature, for example, consider the rising sun about to dispense its varied bounties : The sphere of human labour and happiness is lighted up by its beams : every thing that lives and moves, feels and exhibits its genial influence : The varied landscape,—the canopy of clouds, and the vault of heaven itself, are delineated in all the beauty of its ever-changing reflections. When he learns that these daily gifts are repeated in every part of the globe, under every variety of climate, and every vicissitude of season, his mind is impressed with the conviction that the great luminary was intended to dispense these multifarious benefits to man. He discovers the evidence of power in the nicely poised orbs of the sun and planet, whether moving or at rest in the ethereal void : He perceives the evidence of wisdom in the nice adaptation of the means to accomplish their beneficent ends ; and he feels and witnesses around him an universal feeling that the ends thus effected are full of goodness. From such evidence as this, his very nature compels him to conclude, that where power has been exerted, there must have been a Being that is powerful ;—where wisdom has been displayed, a Being that is wise—and where goodness has been diffused, a Being that is good.

In such plain and unequivocal deductions, there is very little science concerned. The disciples of Ptolemy or of Copernicus must have arrived at the very same result ; and their natural theology could not receive any modification from the determination of the question, whether the sun moved round the earth, or the earth round the sun. Nor would our observer improve or alter his convictions by acquiring a knowledge of the laws of motion

and of force, by which the relative movements of the two celestial bodies are effected. The very continuance of these motions, and of the beneficent results which they produce, is a sufficient proof that the laws selected must have been the best, and that the means employed must have been wisely adapted to the ends produced.

As science widens its range, and discovers to us new powers of nature, and new sources of beneficence, our natural theology must advance in the same proportion; but our conceptions of the Deity, or of his mode of working, though thus widely enlarged, are not rendered more perfect or less incongruous. If philosophers, indeed, will substitute their own speculations for ascertained facts; and if they shall give temporary importance to error, by associating it with the exhibition of power and design, then will the Natural Theology which shall embrace these errors be such as Mr Whewell has described. If one philosopher, for example, calls upon us to admire an involuntary function of the eye, by which it is swept and cleared by a revolving movement in the same manner as we wipe the dust from our lenses;—and if Mr Whewell himself calls upon us to praise God for the complex and refined contrivance of a *luminiferous ether*, and assures us that ‘if the world had no ether, all must be inert and dead!’ we cannot avoid asking what will be the fate of the Natural Theology which embraces such views, if, in the progress of knowledge, this revolving function shall be disproved, and this life-giving ether be struck out of the material universe? The enemies of natural religion will doubtless obtain a temporary ascendancy; and what is more mortifying still, they will enter at the very embrasures of the stronghold which have been opened up for its defence.

Viewing Natural Theology in the light in which we have done, we must, of course, disapprove of the manner in which it has been treated by Mr Whewell, not only in reference to the subject-matter of his work, but in reference also to the profound and philosophical character with which it is invested. ‘Supposing,’ as he has done, ‘the general leading facts of the course of nature *to be known*, and the explanation of their causes now generally established among natural philosophers to be conceded,’ it is obvious that his treatise is not to be an explanatory or didactic work, but a philosophical view of the laws of the material universe, and an argumentative deduction of their mutual adaptation. For such a work, addressed to the highest order of readers, Mr Whewell was pre-eminently qualified; and whether we consider the extensive and varied knowledge which it exhibits, the powerful argument which it maintains, the tone

of lofty sentiment in which it is conceived, and the vigorous style in which it is composed, we know of no living author who could have done greater justice to the subject.

Entertaining this high opinion of the work before us, we shall now endeavour to communicate to our readers some portion of the pleasure and instruction which we have received from its perusal.

As Mr Whewell was limited to the subject of Astronomy and General Physics, he was necessarily led to consider the arrangements, the motions, and the mutual relations of the sun, planets, and fixed stars, and in a particular manner to treat of the various physical phenomena which are exhibited on our globe. He has therefore divided his work into *Three Books*. In the *first* he treats of *Terrestrial Adaptations*, or the relations indicative of design, which exist ‘between the laws of the inorganic world, that is, the general facts of astronomy and meteorology, and the laws which prevail in the organic world, or the properties of plants and animals:’ in the *second* book he treats of *Cosmical Arrangements*, and points out the proofs of wisdom and beneficence which are exhibited in the structure of the Solar System, and in the laws which prevail among the bodies which compose it: and he concludes with a *third* book, entitled *Religious Views*, in which he illustrates the connexion between the evidences of creative power, and of moral government in the world; and shows that the study of nature has a tendency to strengthen our belief, and augment our confidence in those moral attributes of holiness and justice which both Reason and Revelation has brought us to ascribe to the Creator of the material universe.

The first *Terrestrial Adaptations* which Mr Whewell considers, are those in which the structure of plants is adjusted to the length of the year, or the time of the earth’s revolution round the sun; and he maintains that these are so indicative of design, that any change in the length of the year, would throw the working of the botanical world into utter disorder, derange the functions of plants, and involve the whole vegetable kingdom in instant decay and rapid extinction.

‘That this would be the case, may be collected from innumerable indications. Most of our fruit trees, for example, require the year to be of its present length. If the summer and the autumn were much shorter, the fruit could not ripen; if these seasons were much longer, the tree would put forth a fresh suit of blossoms, to be cut down by the winter. Or if the year were twice its present length, a second crop of fruit would probably not be matured, for want, among other things, of an intermediate season of rest and consolidation, such as the winter is. Our forest trees, in like manner, appear to need all the seasons of our

present year for their perfection ;—the spring, summer, and autumn, for the developement of their leaves, and consequent formation of their *proper juice*, and of wood from this ; and the winter, for the hardening and solidifying the substance thus formed.

‘ Most plants, indeed, have some peculiar functions adapted to each period of the year,—that is, of the now existing year. The sap ascends with extraordinary copiousness at two seasons, in the spring and in the autumn, especially the former. The opening of the leaves and the opening of the flowers of the same plants are so constant to their times, (their *appointed* times, as we are naturally led to call them,) that such occurrences might be taken as indications of the times of the year. It has been proposed in this way to select a series of botanical facts, which should form a calendar ; and this has been termed a *calendar of Flora*. Thus, if we consider the time of putting forth leaves, the honeysuckle protrudes them in the month of January ; the gooseberry, currant, and elder, in the end of February, or beginning of March ; the willow, elm, and lime-tree in April ; the oak and ash, which are always the latest among trees, in the beginning or towards the middle of May.

‘ In the same manner the flowering has its regular time : the mezereon and snowdrop push forth their flowers in February ; the primrose in the month of March ; the cowslip in April ; the great mass of plants in May and June ; many in July, August, and September ; some not till the month of October, as the meadow saffron ; and some not till the approach and arrival of winter, as the lauristinus and arbutus.

‘ The fact which we have here to notice, is the recurrence of these stages in the developement of plants, at intervals precisely, or very nearly, of twelve months. Undoubtedly, this result is in part occasioned by the action of external stimulants upon the plant, especially heat, and by the recurrence of the intensity of such agents. Accordingly, there are slight differences in the times of such occurrences, according to the backwardness or forwardness of the seasons, and according as the climate is genial or otherwise. Gardeners use artifices which will, to a certain extent, accelerate or retard the time of developement of a plant. But there are various circumstances which show, that this recurrence of the same events and equal intervals is not entirely owing to external causes, and that it depends also upon something in the internal structure of vegetables.

‘ Alpine plants do not wait for the stimulus of the sun’s heat, but exert such a struggle to blossom, that their flowers are seen among the yet unmelted snow. And this is still more remarkable in the naturalization of plants from one hemisphere to the other. When we transplant our fruit-trees to the temperate regions south of the Equator, they continue for some years to flourish at the period which corresponds to our spring. The reverse of this obtains with certain trees of the southern hemisphere. Plants from the Cape of Good Hope, and from Australia, countries whose summer is simultaneous with our winter, exhibit their flowers in the coldest part of the year, as the heaths.

* * * * *

Now such an adjustment must surely be accepted as a proof of design, exercised in the formation of the world.

‘Why should the solar year be so long, and no longer? or, this being of such a length, why should the vegetable cycle be exactly of the same length? Can this be chance?’—Pp. 23–27.

In another astronomical element, namely, the length of the day, or the time of the earth's revolution about its axis, Mr Whewell finds another adaptation to the structure of organized bodies. As the present length of the day does not appear to be rendered necessary by any astronomical cause, it is the more probable that it has been selected for terrestrial purposes. Although the alternation of processes which take place by day and by night is less marked than their annual changes, yet Mr Whewell considers it as an obvious part of the vegetable economy. The *day lily* opens at five in the morning; the common *dandelion* at five or six; the *hawkweed* at seven; the *hieracium pilosella* at eight; the *marigold* at nine; the *mesembryanthemum Neapolitanum* at ten or eleven; and, along with other flowers, they close with similar regularity in the evening. Some of these plants are affected by external influences; but others which open and shut their flowers at fixed periods, are supposed to exhibit a periodical character, which results from the structure of the plant itself.

‘Some curious experiments on this subject were made by Decandolle. He kept certain plants in two cellars,—one warmed by a stove, and dark; the other lighted by lamps. On some of the plants the artificial light appeared to have no influence, (*convolvulus arvensis*, *convolvulus cneorum*, *silene fruticosa*,) and they still followed the clock hours in their opening and closing. The night-blowing plants appeared somewhat disturbed, both by perpetual light and perpetual darkness. In either condition they accelerated their *going* so much, that in three days they had gained half a day, and thus exchanged night for day as their time of opening. Other flowers *went slower* in the artificial light (*convolvulus purpureus*.) In like manner, those plants which fold and unfold their leaves, were variously affected by this mode of treatment. The *oxalis stricta*, and *oxalis incarnata*, kept their habits, without regarding either artificial light or heat. The *mimosa leucocephala* folded and unfolded at the usual times, whether in light or in darkness, but the folding up was not so complete as in the open air.

‘The *mimosa pudica*, (sensitive plant,) kept in darkness during the day-time, and illuminated during the night, had in three days accommodated herself to the artificial state, opening in the evening, and closing in the morning; restored to the open air, she recovered her usual habits.

* * * * *

Here, then, we have an adaptation between the structure of plants, and the periodical order of light and darkness which arises from the earth's

rotation; and the arbitrary quantity, the length of the cycle of the physiological and of the astronomical fact, is the same. Can this have occurred any otherwise than by an intentional adjustment?'— Pp. 36, 37.

The same periodicity of functions adjusted to the length of the day, Mr Whewell finds in the constitution of man and other animals. Their periods of eating, sleeping, and waking, either coincide with, or accommodate themselves to, the duration of the earth's daily revolution; and the health of the animal is supposed to depend on the performance of these functions at regular periods. Mr Whewell considers a day of twelve hours, of eight up, and four in bed, as one which would be less advantageous and agreeable to man, than a day of twenty-four hours, with sixteen hours up, and eight in bed; and he adds, that a creature which could employ the full energy of his body for nine months, and then take a single sleep of three months, would not be a man.

The mass of the earth, and consequently the intensity of gravity, is another of those elements which appears to be adjusted to the forces of vegetation, to the structure of plants, and to the muscular powers of animals. The force which propels the sap in vegetables,—whether it be electrical, as Dutrochet thinks, or capillary, according to Poisson,—is so adjusted to the earth's mass, that if the force of gravity were to increase, the rapidity of vegetable circulation would diminish, and stop the vital movements of plants; and if, on the contrary, it were to decrease, the weight of the vegetable juices would produce some injurious change upon plants. The other instance of adaptation given by Mr Whewell is more interesting.

'As another instance of adaptation between the force of gravity and forces which exist in the vegetable world, we may take the positions of flowers. Some flowers grow with the hollow of their cup upwards; others "hang the pensive head," and turn the opening downwards. Now of these "nodding flowers," as Linnæus calls them, he observes that they are such as have their pistil longer than their stamens; and, in consequence of this position, the dust from the anthers which are at the ends of the stamens, can fall upon the stigma or extremity of the pistil; which process is requisite for making the flower fertile. He gives as instances, the flowers *campanula*, *leucium*, *galanthus*, *fritillaria*.

'Other botanists have remarked that the position changes at different periods of the flower's progress. The pistil of the euphorbia (which is a little globe or germen on a slender stalk) grows upright at first, and is taller than the stamens. At the period suited to its fecundation, the stalk bends under the weight of the ball at its extremity, so as to depress the germen below the stamens: after this it again becomes erect, the globe being now a fruit filled with fertile seeds. The posi-

tions in all these cases depend upon the length and flexibility of the stalk which supports the flower, or in the case of the euphorbia the germen. It is clear that a very slight alteration in the force of gravity, or in the stiffness of the stalk, would entirely alter the position of the flower cup, and thus make the continuation of the species impossible. We have therefore here a little mechanical contrivance, which would have been frustrated, if the proper intensity of gravity had not been assumed in the reckoning. An earth greater or smaller, denser or rarer than the one on which we live, would require a change in the structure and strength of the footstalks of all the little flowers that hang their heads under our hedges. There is something curious in thus considering the whole mass of the earth from pole to pole, and from circumference to centre, as employed in keeping a snowdrop in the position most suited to the promotion of its vegetable health.'—Pp. 47, 48.

Another example of the adjustment of organic structure to the force of gravity, Mr Whewell points out in the muscular powers of animals.

‘ If the force of gravity were increased in any considerable proportion at the surface of the earth, it is manifest that all the swiftness, and strength, and grace of animal motions, must disappear. If, for instance, the earth were as large as Jupiter, gravity would be eleven times what it is; the lightness of the fawn, the speed of the hare, the spring of the tiger, could no longer exist with the existing muscular powers of those animals; for man to lift himself upright, or to crawl from place to place, would be a labour slower and more painful than the motions of the sloth. The density and pressure of the air, too, would be increased to an intolerable extent; and the operation of respiration, and others, which depend upon these mechanical properties, would be rendered laborious, ineffectual, and probably impossible.

‘ If, on the other hand, the force of gravity were much lessened, inconveniences of an opposite kind would occur. The air would be too thin to breathe; the weight of our bodies, and of all the substances surrounding us, would become too slight to resist the perpetually occurring causes of derangement and unsteadiness: we should feel a want of ballast in our movements.

* * * * *

‘ The arbitrary quantity, therefore, of which we have been treating, the intensity of the force of gravity, appears to have been taken account of, in establishing the laws of those forces by which the processes of vegetable and animal life are carried on. And this leads us inevitably, we conceive, to a belief of a Supreme contriving mind, by which these laws were thus devised and thus established.’—Pp. 49–51.

Mr Whewell goes on to show, in reference to the magnitude of the ocean and of the atmosphere, to the phenomena of climate, heat, electricity, magnetism, sound, and light, that a great number of arbitrary quantities and general laws seem to have been *selected* in the structure of the universe; and that the adjustment

of these magnitudes and laws is such as to 'fit the world for the support of vegetables and animals in a manner in which it could not have been if the properties and quantities of the elements had been different from what they are.'

In the various chapters in which these adjustments and correspondences are pointed out, the philosopher will find many profound and ingenious views, while the less gifted student will draw from them much valuable information; but if the minds of either of these classes of readers are constituted like ours, we doubt whether their Natural Theology will be enriched or enlarged to the same extent as their Natural Philosophy.

The whole argument, indeed, maintained with so much eloquence and ingenuity in the Book on Terrestrial Adaptation, appears to us liable to three observations; namely, that it is an argument of supererogation,—that it rests on an insecure basis—and that it has a tendency to give us limited notions of divine power.

When the natural theologian studies the phenomena of a revolving and rotatory earth, and the structures and functions of the plants and animals which it was destined to support, innumerable proofs of the power, wisdom, and goodness of its Maker crowd upon his mind. If he is then told that the constitution of plants and of animals has been skilfully adapted to their residence upon a planet whose year is 365 days, whose day is 24 hours, and whose mass is that of the earth, the theological sentiment which he had previously cherished does not receive the slightest augmentation, because he must have necessarily deduced this adaptation from the power and wisdom exhibited in the structure of plants and animals; or if this inference was rash, the slightest reflection would convince him, that the *continued existence* of the organized bodies in question was an irrefragable proof that their constitution was adapted to the arbitrary quantities which define the motion and mass of our globe.

When the botanist, therefore, asserts that fruit could not ripen if our summer and winter were much shorter; and that the *Euphorbia* could not continue its species upon a planet greater or smaller than the earth;—when the physiologist maintains that the muscular power of man would fail him were he placed upon a much larger planet, and that his respiratory organs would cease to play in a denser or a rarer atmosphere; they have only announced to us what they consider as new facts in botany and physiology. If the assertions thus made are well founded, they establish only a limitation of the powers of plants and animals; and this limitation cannot be regarded as a new proof of design; because the very want of this limitation, or the existence of an elastic energy in

organic bodies by which they could accommodate themselves to a residence on every planet in the system, might be held to be a proof both of divine wisdom and power. That a remarkable power of accommodation does exist is well established;—that a new power of accommodation may spring from new circumstances is highly probable. When we admit with Mr Whewell, that a slight increase in the force of gravity would alter the position of the flower cup of the *Euphorbia* as it now exists, (every thing else remaining the same,) so as to prevent it from continuing its species, are we entitled to presume, from our imperfect knowledge of the laws of vegetation, that this very increase of gravity may not bring into play other functions which shall revive the flower from its over-drooping footstalk? In like manner, if we admit that a diminished force of gravity will accelerate the ascent of the sap in plants, may we not readily suppose that this increased velocity may be checked or regulated by some contrivance analogous, though infinitely superior to those which have found a place even among human inventions?

But we are disposed to go much farther. The limitation of functions urged by Mr Whewell is in many cases entirely conjectural: in some it is barely probable; and in none is it so completely demonstrated as to authorize us to make it the basis of our Natural Theology. The cloud of physical witnesses, which, in 'thoughts that breathe, and words that burn,' testify to the power and skill of the great and beneficent Spirit, soars too magnificently in the general view, to require any accession from the mists and fogs of a lower region. With such a shining cloud by day, and a pillar of fire by night, man can only be led astray by following the gleam of lesser exhalations.

In the numerous chapters on climate, the laws of moisture, heat, &c., Mr Whewell has endeavoured to show

'That a great number of quantities and laws *appear to have been selected* in the construction of the universe; and that by the adjustment to each other of the magnitudes and laws thus selected, the constitution of the world is what we find it, and is fitted for the support of vegetables and animals, in a manner in which it could not have been if the properties and quantities of the elements had been different from what they are.'—Pp. 141, 142.

But the *appearance* of selection never can be held to be a *proof* of design, and we cannot admit the possibility of an equation between a thousand appearances and a single reality. The chapters, however, to which we refer, are powerfully written, and replete with interest to the natural philosopher; though we fear that the desire of framing a very general argument by embracing all the sciences in this part of his work, has led our author to introduce

subjects which have little or no bearing upon the great points of natural theology. In support of this opinion we shall examine the two chapters on light and on the ether.

Every person knows what light does, and many persons know what other bodies do to light; but nobody knows what light is. This ignorance, however, of its nature, does not in the least prevent us from recognising the hand of supreme power and wisdom in its common as well as in its more recondite properties; and from admiring the surprising functions of that organ which transforms this lovely element into the torch of the material universe. He who explores the structure of the human eye—its expressive forms—its exquisite movements—its union of tenderness and strength—its magic chamber furnished with lenses and curtains—and its delicate canvass which receives the vivid pictures of external objects and presents them to the brain, while it takes back the creations of the mind, and gives them an external form and locality;—he who studies this master-piece of divine mechanism, and does not join in the fervid ejaculation—‘He who made the eye, does He not see!’—deserves to be degraded from the rank of intelligence, and placed in that small appendix to human nature which the moralist only recognises—*the blind leaders of the blind*.

In the profounder view which Mr Whewell has taken of this part of physics, he has placed before us other considerations which, as we have already said, we regard as quite foreign to the subject.

‘In order to explain, however, in what manner light answers those ends which appear to us its principal ones, we must know something of the nature of light. There have hitherto been, among men of science, two prevailing opinions upon this subject: some considering light as consisting in the emission of luminous particles; others accounting for its phenomena by the propagation of vibrations through a highly subtle and elastic *ether*. The former opinion has, till lately, been most generally entertained in this country, having been the hypothesis on which Newton made his calculations; the latter is the one to which most of those persons have been led, who, in recent times, have endeavoured to deduce general conclusions from the newly discovered phenomena of light.

‘Among these persons, *the theory of undulations* is conceived to be established in nearly the same manner, and almost as certainly, as the doctrine of universal gravitation; namely, by a series of laws inferred from numerous facts, which, proceeding from different sets of phenomena, are found to converge to one common view; and by calculations founded upon the theory, which, indicating new and untried facts, are found to agree exactly with experiment.

‘We cannot here introduce a sketch of the progress by which the phenomena have thus led to the acceptance of the theory of undulations. But this theory appears to have such claims to our assent, that the view

which we have to offer with regard to the design exercised in the adaptation of light to its purposes, will depend on the undulatory theory, so far as they depend on theory at all.*—Pp. 129, 130.

All this is very well; but the reader must mark the admission, that the theory of undulations is maintained only by *some persons*, and that these persons only *conceive* it to be established in *nearly* the same way as *another theory*—the doctrine of universal gravitation.

In a subsequent page Mr Whewell remarks—

‘The new properties of light, and the *speculations* founded upon them, have led *many persons* to the belief of the undulatory theory; which, as we have said, *is considered by some philosophers* as demonstrated. If we adopt this theory, we consider the luminiferous ether to have no local motion,’ &c.—Pp. 134, 135.

So that the theory is still spoken of as only probable, and the ether only as a consequence of the theory. Yet Mr Whewell goes on to deduce from this theory and this ether, proofs of divine wisdom and skilful adaptation; and it is quite clear that the reservation made in the preceding note does not apply in the present case.

‘If we suppose it *clearly established* that light is produced by the vibrations of an ether, we find considerations offer themselves similar to those which occurred in the case of sound.’—Pp. 136, 137.

Now, it is here distinctly stated, that the considerations which offer themselves depend *solely* on the truth of the undulatory theory, and on the existence of an ether; but in the next chapter, which is entirely devoted to *the ether*, our author becomes a bolder theorist, and makes more urgent demands upon our pious admiration of it.

‘The luminiferous *ether*, then, if we so call the medium in which light is propagated, must possess many other properties besides those mechanical ones on which the illuminating power depends. It must not be merely like a fluid poured into the vacant spaces and interstices of the material world, and exercising no action on objects; it must affect the physical, chemical, and vital powers of what it touches. It must be a great and active agent in the work of the universe, as well as an active reporter of what is done by other agents. It must possess a number of complex and refined contrivances and adjustments, which we cannot

* ‘The reader who is acquainted with the two theories of light, will perceive, that though we have adopted the doctrine of the ether, the greater part of the arguments adduced would be equally forcible, if expressed in the language of the theory of emission.’

analyze, bearing upon plants and chemical compounds, and the imponderable agents; as well as those laws which we conceive that we have analyzed, by which it is the vehicle of illumination and vision.

‘ We have had occasion to point out how complex is the machinery of the atmosphere, and how varied its objects, since, besides being the means of communication as the medium of sound, it has known laws which connect it with heat and moisture; and other laws, in virtue of which it is decomposed by vegetables. It appears, in like manner, that the ether is not only the vehicle of light, but has also laws, at present unknown, which connect it with heat, electricity, and other agencies; and other laws through which it is necessary to vegetables, enabling them to decompose air. All analogy leads us to suppose, that if we knew as much of the constitution of the luminiferous ether as we know of the constitution of the atmosphere, we should find it a machine as complex and artificial, as skilfully and admirably constructed.

‘ We know, at present, very little indeed of the construction of this machine. Its *existence is, PERHAPS, satisfactorily made out*; in order that we may not interrupt the progress of our argument, we shall refer to other works for the reasonings which appear to lead to this conclusion. But whether heat, electricity, galvanism, magnetism, be fluids, or effects or modifications of fluids; and whether such fluids or *ethers* be the same with the luminiferous ether, or with each other, are questions of which all or most appear to be at present undecided, and it would be presumptuous and premature here to take one side or the other.

‘ *The mere fact, however, that THERE IS such an ether, and that it has properties related to other agents, in the way we have suggested, is well calculated to extend our views of the structure of the universe, and of the resources, if we may so speak, of the power by which it is arranged. The solid and fluid matter of the earth is the most obvious to our senses; over this, and in its cavities, is poured an invisible fluid, the air, by which warmth and life are diffused and fostered, and by which men communicate with men: over and through this again, and reaching, so far as we know, to the utmost bounds of the universe, is spread another most subtle and attenuated fluid, which, by the play of another set of agents, aids the energies of nature, and which, filling all parts of space, is a means of communication with other planets and other systems.* There is nothing in all this like any material necessity compelling the world to be as it is, and no otherwise. How should the properties of these three great classes of agents, visible objects, air, and light, so harmonize and assist each other, that order and life should be the result? Without all the three, and all the three constituted in their present manner and subject to their present laws, living things could not exist. If the earth had no atmosphere, or *if the world had no ether, all must be inert and dead.* Who constructed these three extraordinarily complex pieces of machinery,—the earth with its productions, the atmosphere, and the ether? Who fitted them into each other in many parts, and thus made it possible for them to work together? We conceive there can be but one answer: a most wise and good God.’—Pp. 139-141.

Here, then, the ether is spoken of as a *fact*; and its existence,

and relative properties to other agents, are considered as extending our views of the structure of the universe, and of the resources of divine power. A most wise and good God is declared to have made this wonderful and complex piece of mechanism; and we are gravely assured, that without ether all nature must die!*

We have now arrived at the most important, and by far the most interesting, part of Mr Whewell's Treatise, namely, the *Cosmical Arrangements*, or those which are exhibited in the solar system, and in the system of the fixed stars.

If the phenomena of the globe which we inhabit, and the countless proofs of power and beneficence which everywhere appear, excite our admiration and our gratitude, how much greater must be their amount, and how much deeper our humility, when it has been *distinctly proved* to us that our earth is one of the many worlds which move round the sun,—that it is only one of the smallest of the planets, and occupies no peculiar place of honour in the system! When it is made clearly manifest to us, that these kindred globes have their years, their days, and their seasons, and that they are surrounded by satellites or moons, which, like our own, give them light in the absence of the sun, a conviction is instantly impressed on the soberest and least speculative mind, that these magnificent spheres are worlds like our own,—the seats of animal and intellectual life,—the abodes of 'joy and gladness,'—the scene of preparation for a nobler existence.

But when, in the progress of our knowledge, we discover that the thousands of stars which sparkle in the heavens are not illuminated by our sun, nor by any *one* source of light;† that their distance is immeasurably and inconceivably great; that systems have been discovered among them, in which one star revolves round another, according to the law of solar attraction,—we are forced to conclude that these bodies are the suns of other systems

* As we shall again have occasion to recur to this subject, when we come to the chapter *On a Resisting Medium*, we shall only remark, that it would have been much better if Mr Whewell had treated of the wonders and the laws of light without any notice of this imaginary ether, which has served only to perplex and weaken his argument. In pages 171, 258, and 369, the reader will find the undulatory theory and the ether spoken of with various degrees of confidence—sometimes as a probable truth, sometimes as on the same level with the opposite theory, and sometimes as a grand and positive *discovery*.

† This is *demonstrated* in the case of several of the brightest stars, by the prismatic analysis of their light.

of worlds, with which Divine Power has filled the immensity of the universe. Whether these systems are physically insulated, or revolve round some common centre, we dare not decide. Embracing so many sublime truths, Astronomy rejects the homage of ingenious theories and splendid conjectures; but even in this fastidiousness of spirit she courts the deductions of bridled reason, and yields a willing ear to analogies that are sober, and to probabilities that are well sustained.

The simple picture which we have now given of the solar system, and of the innumerable worlds which compose the starry firmament, cannot be contemplated without regarding them as the mansions of animal life and intelligent natures, forming, perhaps, a chain of being in which man may occupy one of the lowest links. The mind cannot admit the sentiment, that a light-and-heat-giving sun will carry round it, with an annual and diurnal motion, a light-receiving planet, where there is no living eyeball upon which that light can fall, and no animal frame which that heat can cheer. It is, indeed, *possible* that God may have built this unwieldy orrery of earth and stone as a display merely of his power, and as an enigma for his terrestrial creatures. It is equally possible that the ocean may exhibit on its bosom a gallant fleet, with mainsails set and pendants flying, while there is neither a cargo in the hold, nor a crew upon the deck. But who can believe that such things are; and that while man never works without an end, and while the lowest orders of animal life are all accomplishing some purpose connected with their own existence and that of other beings, the Almighty alone should create without an object and without design?

But after the mind has cheerfully acquiesced in the elevated views which Astronomy unfolds, it is soon checked, even in its reasonable excursions. The most powerful of our telescopes may have registered the millions of stars which it displays;—the most acute intellect may have unravelled their movements—and centuries of observations may have led to the discovery of the point, round which the visible universe appears to revolve; and yet the keen scrutiny of human reason remains unsatiated. The mind can descry no resting point in the wilderness of space; it can find no barrier to the range of creation; and it advances in endless progression, till it falters under the burden, and amid the infinitude of its conceptions.

But when, in the midst of such contemplations,

———— ‘ Our thoughts take wildest flight,
Even at the moment when they should array
Themselves in pensive order;’

it is an instructive process to retrace our steps, and to descend

from the contemplation of the infinitely great to the infinitely small—from systems, to sublunary spheres—from worlds, to atoms. This is, perhaps, the most interesting branch of Natural Theology. In pursuing what is infinitely distant, along directions infinite in number, the mind feels as if it were pursuing an unattainable object; but when it returns to its own earth, and follows with the microscope an infinity of living structures, descending in a never-ending progression, it feels as if it were more occupied with realities, or at least with objects more within its grasp, and more closely associated with its position in the universe. In the study of suus and planets, we are more impressed with a sense of power than of contrivance; while in the microscopic structures of the lower world, the conviction of skill predominates over that of power. Hence it is that these two classes of wonders ought never to be separated in a work on natural religion. They abut against each with a powerful reciprocity of support, and they appeal with almost equal eloquence to different grades of intelligence. He whose defect of knowledge or of comprehension does not allow him to believe in the existence of a plurality of worlds, will give implicit credence to the actual vision of living and moving structures which swarm under the microscope.

With these views, we cannot but regret that Mr Whewell has not devoted a considerable portion of his work to this part of Natural Theology; and the more so, as it might have advantageously replaced the unnecessary chapters on a Resisting Medium and on Friction, which interrupt the continuity and destroy the effect of his theological argument.

But though Mr Whewell has not treated this subject in any detail, he has referred to it in a very beautiful passage which occurs in the part of the treatise on Religious Views, and in the chapter on Man's Place in the Universe.

‘ It has been well observed, that about the same time when the invention of the telescope showed us that there might be myriads of other worlds claiming the Creator's care, the invention of the microscope proved to us that there were, in our own world, myriads of creatures, before unknown, which this care was preserving. While one discovery seemed to remove the Divine Providence further from us, the other gave us most striking examples that it was far more active in our neighbourhood than we had supposed; while the first extended the boundaries of God's known kingdom, the second made its known administrations more minute and careful. It appeared that in the leaf and in the bud, in solids and in fluids, animals existed hitherto unsuspected; the apparently dead masses and blank spaces of the world were found to swarm with life; and yet, of the animals thus revealed, all, though unknown to us before, had never been forgotten by Providence. Their structure, their vessels and limbs, their adaptation to their situations, their food

and habitations, were regulated in as beautiful and complete a manner as those of the largest and apparently most favoured animals. The smallest insects are as exactly finished, often as gaily ornamented, as the most graceful beasts, or the birds of brightest plumage; and when we seem to go out of the domain of the complex animal structure with which we are familiar, and come to animals of apparently more scanty faculties, and less developed powers of enjoyment and action, we still find that their faculties and their senses are in exact harmony with their situation and circumstances; that the wants which they have are provided for, and the powers which they possess called into activity. So that Müller, the patient and accurate observer of the smallest and most obscure microscopical animalcula, declares that all classes alike, those which have manifest organs and those which have not, offer a vast quantity of new and striking views of the animal economy; every step of our discoveries leading us to admire the design and care of the Creator.*

‘We may observe farther, that, vast as are the parts and proportions of the universe, we still appear to be able to perceive that it is *finite*; the subordination of magnitudes and numbers and classes, appears to have its limits. Thus, for any thing which we can discover, the sun is the largest body in the universe; and, at any rate, bodies of the order of the sun are the largest of which we have any evidence: we know of no substance denser than gold, and it is improbable that one denser, or at least much denser, should ever be detected. The largest animals which exist in the sea, and on the earth, are almost certainly known to us. We may venture also to say, that the smallest animals which possess in their structure a clear analogy with larger ones, have been already seen. Many of the animals which the microscope detects, are as complete and complex in their organization as those of larger size: but beyond a certain point, they appear, as they become more minute, to be reduced to a homogeneity and simplicity of composition which almost excludes them from the domain of ancient life. The smallest microscopical objects which can be supposed to be organic, are points,† gelatinous globules,‡ or threads, || in which no distinct organs, interior or exterior, can be discovered. These, it is clear, cannot be considered as indicating an indefinite progression of animal life in a descending scale of minuteness. We can, mathematically speaking, conceive one of these animals as perfect and complicated in its structure as an elephant or an eagle, but we do not find it so in nature. It appears, on the contrary, in these objects, as if we were at a certain point of magnitude, reaching the boundaries of the animal world.’—Pp. 282-285.

This passage, striking though it be, contains views and opinions in which we cannot concur. The finite extent of the universe, on the one hand, and the finite magnitude of living be-

* Müller, *Infusoria*. Preface.

† *Monas*. Müller. Cuvier. ‡ *Volvox*. || *Vibrio*. Müller. Cuvier.

ings on the other, are doctrines which, though they may be true, are neither supported by facts nor by analogy. This, indeed, is a subject with which our finite reason cannot easily grapple; but those who thus limit creation and animal life, are bound to assign a plausible reason for their boldness. The subordination of magnitudes of numbers, &c., does not appear to us to have any limits. We deny that there is any ground for saying that the sun is the largest body in the universe. We deny that gold is the densest of substances, and we maintain it to be quite probable that a much denser body may be discovered. We deny that the largest animals are *most certainly* known to us; and we deny that the smallest animals, analogous to large ones, have been already seen. With regard to the sun, is it at all probable that the only one sun which we have measured, out of the millions described by Mr Whewell (p. 272), will be the largest of the whole? With regard to gold, is it not certain that platina is denser?* Is it improbable that a living Mastodon may be found in some unvisited clime, or a larger animal than the whale, in ocean caverns yet inaccessible to man? And when we are assured by our author that the dead masses and the blank spaces of the world are swarming with animals, many of which have a complex structure, is it not a most extraordinary assertion that the smallest of such animals have been already seen? Is it not absolutely true that we have never seen, and never will see, the million-millionth of them?

But let us admit that our sun is the largest; that gold is the densest metal; that the whale is the largest animal; and that we have actually seen the smallest of the complex animalcules. How do these propositions establish the circumvallation of the universe, and the limitation of organic life? If it could be proved that our sun was the smallest sun, and our system the smallest system in the universe, would these facts authorize us to extend the bounds of creation one inch farther than if they were the largest?

With regard to the finite magnitude of animal life, which Mr Whewell has also maintained, we are convinced that his doctrine has no foundation. It is no doubt favoured by the observations of some naturalists quoted by Mr Whewell, and by some rash conclusions to which these observations have given rise; but we hope to be able to correct these errors, and we trust that our

* Mr Whewell has overlooked the superior density of platina, which is 21.5, while that of gold is only 19.3. He has made the same oversight in p. 276, when speaking of the densest solid.

reasoning will be carefully weighed by that class of naturalists to whom the subject especially belongs.

The Monades of Müller and Cuvier, constituting a species of the order *Incrassata* of Infusory animalcules, are referred to by Mr Whewell as mere *points* 'in which no distinct organization can be discovered;' and because organs cannot be found in points, he considers it as quite clear that they have none, and makes this assumption the basis of his conclusion that there is no indefinite progression in animal life. Imbued with the same spirit, Latreille has given to the *Infusoria* the name of *Agastrica*, because he cannot see that they have a stomach. And Meckel, regarding them as bodies of the *simplest structure*, gives them the name of *Protozoa*, as being the *first born* of animals!—the first essay of the 'Apprentice* hand' of their Maker!

But if all these assumptions are admitted in their fullest extent, they neither prove, nor tend to prove, the *finiteness* of animal life. Because the Monades appear to have no stomachs, by what process of argument are they to be placed at the boundaries of the animal world? They are admitted to be *alive*, and life must have its organs; and the want of a stomach (if there be such a want) may be compensated by organs of a different kind, more numerous and more complex than those of larger animals. The Monades, in place of being the lower boundary of life, may thus be the commencement of a new order of living beings; and where the link to which they belong terminates, there may be other links in the descending chain, which man, with his present organs and instruments, may never be able to discover.

From the power of vitality which the Infusoria are known to possess, and from other peculiarities in their natural history, it is impossible not to infer that their organs may be both numerous and complex. The following observations of Mr Grant, of the London University, are calculated to support this opinion:—
'Animalcules abound in decayed infusions of vegetable or ani-

* It is curious to remark how applicable this Idea has become in the hands of the poet, while it is startling and presumptuous in the coarse dogma of the philosopher. When our national poet Burns wishes to pay a compliment to Woman, with what beauty does he avail himself of the recorded order of progression in the creation of the sexes, by representing Nature as trying her 'apprentice hand' upon Man.

What a conceit of Naturalism is it to suppose, that it was into a mite or a point of moving jelly that God first breathed the breath of life!

‘ mal matter, in decayed vinegar, in the secreted fluids of animals
 ‘ in the living state, in all stagnant waters, and in the waters of
 ‘ lakes and rivers. They are the food of zoophytes. We have
 ‘ found them in incalculable myriads in the water of harbours, and
 ‘ along our coasts, and at many miles’ distance from land, among
 ‘ the Western Islands; and they probably abound not only in the
 ‘ waters of tropical seas, but in every drop of the ocean. They
 ‘ possess great tenacity of life. They suffer exposure to very high
 ‘ and very low temperatures without perishing. They may be
 ‘ dried to hardness, and again resuscitated by the application of
 ‘ moisture. According to the experiments of Baker, Needham,
 ‘ and others, they may be revived by moisture, after remaining
 ‘ many years in a dried and apparently lifeless state. They form
 ‘ by far the most numerous class of beings with which we are
 ‘ acquainted, although, from the difficulty of examining their
 ‘ structure and economy, they have least engaged the attention
 ‘ of naturalists.’

Mr Grant here acknowledges the difficulty of examining the structure and economy of animalcules; and that their structure is not of the very simplest kind, may be inferred from their resistance to high temperatures, and their resuscitation after years of lifelessness or torpidity. We are desirous, however, of placing our view of this subject on a different footing; and we hope to be able to adduce some substantial reasons for believing that the microscope, even when it possesses sufficient power and distinctness to render visible or resolve definite structures, is absolutely incapable of exhibiting those of transparent and gelatinous bodies, owing to particular properties of the matter of which they are composed.

Both in the mineral and the animal worlds there are definite and palpable structures which the microscope cannot detect. There are minute crystals of a mineral called *Apophyllite*, which, when examined by the finest microscopes, appear to be perfectly transparent and colourless homogeneous prisms: These prisms, however, have actually a complex and symmetrical structure of extraordinary beauty, which can be rendered visible only by the scrutiny of polarized light. Under its analysis, the structure in question is delineated in the most splendid colours, which instantly vanish when the crystal is placed in common light. Now, in this case, the different parts which compose the structure are in optical contact; and having the same colour, and nearly the same refractive power, neither the eye nor the microscope can perceive them.

There is another mineral called *Analcime*, which crystallizes in the form of an *Icositetrahedron*, and which, unlike other minerals,

indicates by cleavage *no internal structure* whatever, and is incapable of developing electricity by friction.* A speculative mineralogist might, with some show of reason, have called this body the *Monad* of mineralogical organization, or a veritable *Agastrica*, and one of the *Protozoa*, or first-born of minerals. But in the progress of knowledge, the apparently simple interior of the *Analcime* is shown, by polarized light, to consist of twenty-four beautiful pentahedrons, exhibiting a form of double refraction unknown in any other body; and it has become probable, that its want of the power of electrical excitation, in place of indicating simplicity of structure, is the actual result of its complex organization.

Similar, and still more striking facts, occur in living structures. When we take out of the eye of a minnow its elegant little crystalline lens, it is like the purest drop of dew, perfectly colourless, perfectly transparent, and perfectly homogeneous, in so far as can be indicated either by ordinary or microscopic vision. But when we examine this *Monad* of albumen by new tests, we find that it is wonderfully and fearfully composed of thousands of tapering filaments, each of which is bound to its neighbour by a series of teeth on each side, locking into each other, in order to preserve the little fabric from destruction. Of these teeth, there are *many hundred thousand*, and yet the microscope cannot exhibit them in the recent and perfect lens. The reason of this incapacity is easily understood. The touching surfaces of the teeth have the same refractive power, and as all the surfaces are in optical contact, the structure cannot be exhibited, from the absence both of reflection and refraction. The application of this to the *Infusoria* is very palpable. There may exist in these animals the most complex system of organs, and yet the microscope will not show them, if they are in optical contact, and colourless.

The inference of naturalists, that the *Volvox* and *Vibrio* are merely gelatinous globules and threads, is deduced from the uniform transparency of the animalcules; but the want of colour is a necessary consequence of the minuteness of parts. The opaqueness, and the most deeply coloured bodies, become colourless by the diminution of their size; and if we suppose the transparent *Volvox* to increase gradually till it become equal to a twelve-inch globe, it is exceedingly probable that all its organs would be marked by difference of colour,—some of them probably as black as jet, and others shining with all the hues of the spectrum.

* From this singular property Haüy has given it the Greek name of *Analcime*, signifying without power.

Our author's second book, on *Cosmical Arrangements*, ought, properly speaking, to treat of the Natural Theology of Astronomy; but out of the *twelve* chapters which it contains, only one-half of them appear to us to be appropriate to the subject. The other half, on the Stability of the Solar System; on the Nebular Hypothesis; on a Resisting Medium; Mechanical Laws; the Laws of Motion, and Friction, we consider as more or less foreign to a work on Natural Theology. It is impossible to peruse the six chapters to which we have referred as strictly belonging to the subject, without admiring the knowledge and talent which they display. The proofs of design, as exhibited in the nearly circular orbits of the Planets; in the Central Position of the Sun; in the Existence of Satellites; in the Stability of the Ocean; and in the Law of Gravitation, are developed with great vigour of thought, and with an eloquence at once powerful and convincing. Did our limits permit us, we should indulge our readers with extracts from several of these chapters, but we must confine ourselves to Mr Whewell's Observations on the Satellites, and on the Law of Gravitation, in the first of which we find him in collision with Laplace.

‘ A person of ordinary feelings, who, on a fine moonlight night, sees our satellite pouring her mild radiance on field and town, path and moor, will probably not only be disposed to “ bless the useful light,” but also to believe that it was “ ordained ” for that purpose; that the lesser light was made to rule the night, as certainly as the greater light was made to rule the day.

‘ Laplace, however, does not assent to this belief. He observes, that “ some partisans of final causes have imagined that the moon was given to the earth to afford light during the night; ” but he remarks that this cannot be so, for that we are often deprived at the same time of the light of the sun and the moon; and he points out how the moon might have been placed so as to be always “ full.”

‘ That the light of the moon affords, *to a certain extent*, a supplement to the light of the sun, will hardly be denied. If we take man in a condition in which he uses artificial light scantily only, or not at all, there can be no doubt that the moonlight nights are for him a very important addition to the time of daylight. As a small proportion only of the whole number of nights are without some portion of moonlight, the fact that sometimes both luminaries are invisible, very little diminishes the value of this advantage. Why we have not more moonlight, either in duration or in quantity, is an enquiry which a philosopher could hardly be tempted to enter upon, by any success which has attended previous speculations of a similar nature. Why should not the moon be ten times as large as she is? Why should not the pupil of man's eye be ten times as large as it is, so as to receive more of the light which does arrive? We do not conceive that our inability to answer the latter question, prevents our knowing that the eye was made for seeing; nor does our inability to

answer the former, disturb our persuasion that the moon was made to give light upon the earth. Laplace suggests, that if the moon had been placed at a certain distance beyond the earth, it would have revolved about the sun in the same time as the earth does, and would have always presented to us a full moon. For this purpose, it must have been about four times as far from us as it really is; and would therefore, other things remaining unchanged, have only been *one-sixteenth* as large to the eye as our present full moon. We shall not dwell on the discussion of this suggestion, for the reason just intimated. But we may observe, that in such a system as Laplace proposes, it is not yet proved, we believe, that the arrangement would be stable under the influence of the disturbing forces. And we may add, that such an arrangement, in which the motions of one body has a *co-ordinate* reference to two others, as the motion of the moon on this hypothesis would have to the sun and the earth, neither motion being subordinate to the other, is contrary to the whole known analogy of cosmical phenomena, and therefore has no claim to our notice as a subject of discussion.'—Pp. 173-175.

Ingenious as these two last observations are, we do not think that the argument is either perfectly fair towards Laplace, or a sufficiently forcible reply to a distinct objection against the final cause of the moon. When Mr Whewell says that 'the fact, that 'sometimes both luminaries are invisible, *very little diminishes* 'the value of this advantage,' namely, the advantage of moonlight to a man who uses artificial light scantily only, or not at all, he is surely evading the force of Laplace's objection, by an indefensible proposition. If we had no clouds, the difference between the value of Laplace's moon and ours would be enormously great in favour of the former; for we should certainly reckon our apartments poorly lighted if our lamps were to wax, wane, and disappear periodically. But when we consider that there are numberless phases of the moon, which are incapable of giving useful light in cloudy weather; and that a full moon almost invariably lights up the horizon through even a thick curtain of clouds; we are compelled to admit the vast superiority of the full moon of Laplace. The objection, therefore, of so great a philosopher, must be met in its full force. Mr Whewell meets it by stating, that *it is not yet proved** that Laplace's 'arrangement would be stable under the influence of disturbing forces;' and that being 'contrary to the whole known analogy of cosmi-

* If Mr Whewell has drawn a considerable part of his Natural Theology from the Undulatory Theory, the Ether, and a Resisting Medium,—speculations which he confesses are *not yet proved*—he is not entitled to challenge the enemies of final causes for founding their arguments on speculations *not yet proved*.

‘cal phenomena, it has no *claim to our notice as a subject of discussion.*’ We are disposed, however, to make a different reply to it. A body may be created for a given number of primary purposes, and this body may fulfil other secondary purposes, not directly contemplated in its creation. Our earth, for example, gives light to one side of the moon, and a useful light it must be if the moon is inhabited; but no person ever can maintain that the final cause of the earth is to light *half the moon*. Now, it may be true that the moon, which is no more a luminous body than a stone or a clod, was not made solely, or even principally, to light the earth; nay, it is just possible that the lighting of the earth, like the lighting of the moon, may be the result of arrangements made for higher purposes; and, in this last case, it would be incorrect to say that the final cause of the moon was to light the earth. But, what is more likely, the lighting of the earth may be *one* of several primary objects contemplated in the moon’s creation; and yet it might be impossible (without interfering with, or thwarting, the other perhaps more important purposes) to effect that one object in the best possible manner, that is, in the manner in which it might have been effected had it been the only purpose in view. Although, therefore, we admit that Laplace’s moon would have been a better lamp to the earth than the present moon, yet this does not invalidate the conclusion, that the lighting of the earth may have been one of the ends for which that luminary was created.

Mr Whewell’s chapter on the Law of Gravitation will be read with unmingled interest, and well deserves the attentive perusal of those who are capable of appreciating its force. After showing that all direct laws of gravity, that is, laws in which the force increases with the distance, or with some power of it, would destroy the gravity of bodies at the earth’s surface, and therefore utterly subvert the economy and structure of our world, he proceeds to point out the evidence of selection in the inverse law of the square of the distance.

‘Among *inverse* laws of the distance, (that is, those according to which the force diminishes as the distance from the origin of force increases,) all which diminish the central force faster than the *cube* of the distance increases, are inadmissible, because they are incompatible with the permanent revolution of a planet. Under such laws it would follow, that a planet would describe a spiral line about the sun, and would either approach nearer and nearer to him perpetually, or perpetually go farther and farther off; nearly as a stone at the end of a string, when the string is whirled round, and is allowed to wrap round the hand, or to unwrap from it, approaches to or recedes from the hand.

‘If we endeavour to compare the law of the inverse square of the

distance, which really regulates the central force, with other laws, not obviously inadmissible, as, for instance, the inverse simple ratio of the distance, a considerable quantity of calculation is found to be necessary, in order to trace the results, and especially the perturbations in the two cases. The perturbations in the supposed case have not been calculated; such a calculation being a process so long and laborious that it is never gone through, except for the purpose of comparing the results of theory with those of observation, as we can do with regard to the law of inverse square. We can only say, therefore, that the stability of the system, and the moderate limits of the perturbations, which we know to be secured by the existing law, would not, so far as we know, be obtained by any different law.

‘ Without going into further examination of the subject, we may observe, that there are some circumstances in which the present system has a manifest superiority in its simplicity over the condition which would have belonged to it if the force had followed any other law. Thus with the present law of gravitations the planets revolve, returning perpetually on the same track very nearly.

‘ The earth describes an oval, in consequence of which motion she is nearer to the sun in our winter than in our summer, by about one thirtieth part of the whole distance. And, as the matter now is, the nearest approach to the sun, and the farthest recess from him, occur always at the same points of the orbit. There is indeed a slight alteration in these points arising from disturbing forces, but this is hardly sensible in the course of several ages. Now, if the force had followed any other law, we should have had the earth running perpetually on a new track. The greatest and least distances would have occurred at different parts in every successive revolution. The orbit would have perpetually intersected and been interlaced with the path described in future revolutions; and the simplicity and regularity which characterises the present motion would have been quite wanting.

‘ Another peculiar point of simplicity in the present law of mutual attraction is this: that it makes the law of attraction for spherial masses the same as for single particles. If particles attract with forces which are inversely as the square of the distance, spheres composed of such particles, will exert a force which follows the same law.

‘ In this character the present law is singular, among all possible laws, excepting that of the direct distance, which we have already discussed. If the law of the gravitation of particles had been that of the inverse simple distance, the attraction of a sphere would have been expressed by a complex series of mathematical expressions, each representing a simple law. It is truly remarkable that the law of the inverse square of the distance, which appears to be selected as that of the *masses* of the system, and of which the mechanism is, that it arises from the action of the *particles* of the system, should lead us to the same law for the action of those particles; there is a striking *prerogative* of simplicity in the law thus adopted.

‘ The law of gravitation actually prevailing in the solar system, has thus great and clear advantages over any law widely different from it; and has, moreover, in many of its consequences, a simplicity which be-

longs to this precise law alone. It is in many such respects a *unique* law; and when we consider that it possesses several *properties* which are *peculiar* to it, and several *advantages* which may be peculiar to it, and which are certainly nearly so, we have some ground, it would appear, to look upon its peculiarities and its advantages as connected. For the reasons mentioned in the last chapter, we can hardly expect to see fully the way in which the system is benefited by the simplicity of this law, and by the mathematical elegance of its consequences: but when we see that it has some such beauties, and some manifest benefits, we may easily suppose that our ignorance and limited capacity alone prevent our seeing that there are, for the selection of this law of force, reasons of a far more refined and comprehensive kind than we can distinctly apprehend.—Pp. 218, 221.

We have already stated, that some of the chapters on *Cosmical Arrangements* are more or less foreign to a treatise on Natural Theology. The chapter on the *Stability of the Solar System*, is one of these. We have read it with delight as an astronomical fragment; but with distrust and dissatisfaction as the basis of a theological argument. We are old enough to have lived in *three* different ages of astronomical opinion, respecting the stability of our system. In the earliest of these we were taught that the Solar System contained the seeds of decay, and that the continued acceleration of the planetary motions would gradually hasten the day 'when the heavens would pass away with 'a great noise,' 'when the stars would fail,' and 'the sun cease to 'give his light.' When Lagrange and Laplace unsettled these views, and proved, so far as analysis could prove it, that the motions of the planets were calculated to endure for ever, till the Almighty chose 'to fold up the heavens as a scroll,' we were called upon to admire the skill by which so perfect an adjustment was effected. In the present age, we have been roused from this dream of permanence by the speculation of a Resisting Medium, which must counteract the provision made for the stability of the system, and bring to an end all the motions of all the systems of the universe.

If we then consider the mathematical stability of the Solar System as a new argument in favour of Design, we must consider the introduction of a Resisting Medium, which has a tendency to counteract this stability, as an argument against Design; and we are thus thrown back into our earliest position, that we live in a system exposed to physical changes, which must some time or other terminate in its utter subversion and ruin. It is nothing to the purpose to tell us, as Mr Whewell has done, that the Resisting Medium will be a very slow destroyer, and that millions of years may pass away before it has completed its ungracious task. Time has nothing to do with the matter:—The conservative and the destructive principle are both at work at the present moment;

and it is admitted, that the latter must triumph : We challenge, therefore, the most ingenious Sophist to construct out of these antagonist principles a formula of gratitude, or to deduce from them any evidence of design. Believing, as we do, with some reservation,* in the mathematical Stability of the System, and rejecting, as we yet do, the dogma of a Resisting Medium, we humbly admire the beauty of those compensatory adjustments, by which the forces of the system are so nicely poised ; but we feel no accession to our piety, in having exchanged for this new opinion our earlier creed, that the Solar System would some time or other come to an end through the mutual perturbations of its planets.

We come now to consider Mr Whewell's Chapter *on the Existence of a Resisting Medium in the Solar System* ; and it is with some reluctance that the mind passes from the Natural Theology of Stability to the Natural Theology of Decay. If modern science has been conducting us in its triple course through the changes of Instability, Stability, and Decay, as characterising the condition of our System, it has made a poor compensation for our disappointment, by bringing us back to the Cartesian *Plenum*.

* Laplace says that he has *demonstrated*, that *whatever be the masses of the planets*, the system will be stable, &c. Mr Whewell now adds, that 'in this statement of Laplace, *one remarkable provision* for the stability of the system is not noticed. The planets Mercury and Mars, which have much the largest eccentricities among the old planets, are those in which the masses are much the smallest. The mass of Jupiter is more than 2000 times that of either of these planets. If the orbit of Jupiter were as eccentric as that of Mercury is, all the security for the stability of the system which analysis has yet pointed out, would disappear. The Earth and the smaller planets might, in that case, change their approximately circular orbits into very long ellipses, and thus might fall into the Sun, or fly off into remote space. * * * It does not appear that any mathematician has ever attempted to point out a necessary connexion between the mass of a planet, and the eccentricity of its orbit, on any hypothesis. May we not, then, consider this combination of small masses with large eccentricities so important to the purposes of the world, as a work of provident care in the Creator?'

If Mr Whewell's views are just, the demonstration of Laplace, on which we have so long relied, cannot be correct ; because, if Mars has as great a mass as Jupiter, or Jupiter as eccentric an orbit as that of Mercury, the security for the stability of the system pointed out by analysis would disappear. In the progress of astronomy and analysis, may not some other necessary provision for the stability of the system be discovered, as well as the new one of Mr Whewell? and may not this new provision be wanting in the system?

‘ Within the last few years,’ says Mr Whewell, ‘ facts have been observed which show, *in the opinion of some of the best mathematicians of Europe*, that such a very rare medium DOES REALLY OCCUPY the spaces in which the planets move.’—P. 193.

‘ But on comparing the calculated and observed places of the comet, Encke concluded that the observation could not be exactly explained *without supposing a resisting medium*.’—P. 195.

‘ This consideration will account for the circumstance, *that the existence of such a medium HAS BEEN DETECTED*, by observing the motions of Encke’s comet.’—P. 195.

‘ *The same medium which is thus shown to produce an effect upon Encke’s comet*, must also act upon the planets which move through the same spaces.’—P. 197.

‘ The changes themselves must, sooner or later, take place in consequence of *the existence of the resisting medium*.’—P. 199.

‘ THERE IS A RESISTING MEDIUM; and, therefore, the movements of the Solar System cannot go on for ever.’—P. 200.

Such is the positive manner in which our author lays down the law of the universe respecting the existence of a resisting medium. We shall not contrast with these passages others, in which he speaks of it merely as an opinion or an inference; but as he has not mentioned the names of the best mathematicians in Europe who think *that a rare medium does* really occupy the planetary spaces, we shall give the opinion of Encke himself, and of Professor Airy, Professor Hamilton, and Mrs Somerville, whose works happen to be immediately within our reach.

After stating it as completely established that an extraordinary correction is necessary for his comet, and that the principal part of it consists of an increase in the mean motion, proportional to the time, Encke speaks in a very different language of the cause of this correction: ‘ Another question, which is properly more physical than astronomical, is this, whether the *hypothesis* of a resisting medium gives the true or probable explanation, though *hitherto* no other appears to me to have equal weight.’

Professor Airy speaks in the same language of philosophical caution: ‘ Now, Encke has stated that his hypothesis, which represents all the later observations within a few seconds, does also represent the earlier observations within about eight minutes; and a part of this, he thinks, is due to the inaccurate calculations of perturbation. Consequently, the supposition of no resistance must be enormously in error for some of the appearances; and there can therefore scarcely be a doubt, *that the hypothesis of a resisting medium, or something which produces almost exactly the same effects*, is the true one.

‘ It will be observed that these conclusions depend entirely on calculations made by Encke, and which have not, I believe, been repeated by any other person. *As far, however, as the skill and*

‘*experience of one calculator* can remove all doubts upon the accuracy of the results, they may be considered as perfectly certain. And I cannot but express my belief, that the *principal point* of the theory, namely, *an effect similar to that which a resisting medium would produce*, is perfectly established by the reasoning in Encke’s Memoir.’ Here, then, Professor Airy distinctly states that nothing more is made out than *an effect exactly similar to that which a resisting medium would produce*; and he cautiously guards this opinion by telling us, that these conclusions depend entirely on the calculations made by *one person*.

Professor Hamilton of Dublin,* one of the first of our mathematicians, in speaking of the Undulatory Theory, uses the following cautious expressions: ‘The verification, therefore, of this Theory of Conical Refraction, by the experiments of Professor Lloyd, must be considered as affording a new and important probability in favour of Fresnel’s views, that is a *new encouragement to reason from these views in combining and predicting appearances*.’

Mrs Somerville, in like manner, tells us, ‘that *it is difficult* to account for the retardation of Encke’s comet on any other *supposition* than the existence of such a medium;’ and she adds, with the same caution—‘*Future* returns of this comet *will furnish the best proofs* of the existence of an ether, which, by the computation of Mazotti (Mosotti?), must be 360,000 *millions of times* more rare than atmospheric air, in order to produce the desired retardation.’

Now we concur entirely in the views of Encke, Airy, Hamilton, and Mrs Somerville. We think the fact of a retardation proportional to the time most interesting to science; but when we are told that the existence of a resisting medium, extending throughout the whole universe, and necessarily involving the destruction of our system, is demonstrated by the motion of *one* body, ‘which,’ as Mr Whewell says, ‘has no more coherence than a cloud of dust, or a wreath of smoke,’ and that, too, by the calculations of *one* fallible man, not yet verified by another, we are startled at the dogma. Whatever may be the decision of others, we shall pause till farther observations, and farther calculations, and fresh hypotheses† shall enable us to choose the most rational explana-

* *Third Supplement to an Essay on the Theory of Systems of Rays*.
 Introd. p. vi.

† The germ of another theory than that of an ether universally diffused through space, may be found in the sun’s atmosphere, which extends *visibly* beyond the orbit of Venus, and probably *invisibly* through-

tion of the increase in the mean motion of Encke's comet : But when this choice is made, we shall not forget that it is a hypothesis we have selected ; and we shall never endeavour to magnify the divine wisdom, by inviting man to admire his own hypotheses, and by loading our Natural Theology with the lumber of human wisdom.

Mr Whewell concludes his book on *Cosmical Arrangements* with a chapter, of twelve pages, on Friction. He has shown, in a very satisfactory and pleasing manner, how we could neither walk nor run, nor build houses, ships, or bridges, without this retarding force ; and he calls upon us to admire this specific adaptation of the material world to the nature of man. In supporting this view of the subject, Mr Whewell maintains that friction is ' a *separate property of matter,*' and ' not the necessary result of other properties of matter,—for instance, of their solidity and coherency.' We have always considered friction as the necessary consequence of the attraction of cohesion, gravity, and the superficial inequalities of bodies ; and the two beautiful laws of friction discovered by Coulomb, namely, its increase with the time of contact, and its diminution, in general cases, with the velocity, are in perfect accordance with this view of the subject. But whether we view friction as a separate property or not, we see no more reason for connecting it with our natural theology, than any of the other primary or secondary properties of matter ; all of which, as well as friction, have been bestowed for wise and necessary purposes.

When we say, therefore, that we regard such views as super-

out our system. Sir John Herschel obviously favours this speculation in the following passage :—' The Zodiacal light is manifestly in the nature of a thin lenticularly formed atmosphere, surrounding the sun, and extending at least beyond the orbit of Mercury, and even of Venus, and may be conjectured to be *no other than the denser part of that medium,* which, as we have reason to believe, resists the motion of comets ; loaded, perhaps, with the actual materials of the tails of millions of these bodies, of which they have been stripped in their successive perihelion passages, and which may be slowly subsiding into the sun.'

If this conjecture of Sir John Herschel's shall prove true, then the resisting ether and the solar atmosphere will be one and the same thing, the denser part of the former being the visible part of the latter. The ether will therefore be lenticularly shaped, extending in the plane of the sun's equator to a greater distance than in the direction of his axis ; but how will this medium answer the purpose of the luminiferous ether, which must be universally, and we presume, equally, diffused in all directions ?

erogatory, we do not sufficiently express our opinion of them. We think them injurious—they lead to idle speculation. They found our Natural Theology on a basis of small considerations; and create a belief in weak minds that its mighty pyramid is in danger. The engineer who should erect a buttress to Mont Blanc would terrify the inhabitants of Chamouni. He might shake, but he could not strengthen the flanks of the giant.

When we are told that friction prevents our books and dishes, our tables and chairs, and the loose clods and stones in the field, from being in a perpetual motion, and that it builds our houses, erects our bridges, and constructs our ships, we are apt to reply that it destroys our vehicles, burns our machinery, and lays an intolerable burden on man and on beast;—and perhaps some railway speculator may venture to add, that it cost a million of money to diminish the friction between Liverpool and Manchester. The philosopher in his closet sees in its true light, the beautiful adaptation of terrestrial forces to the wants of his species; but the Sisyphus of actual life, whose daily toil is to roll the weighty boulder to its summit, while he is not insensible to the benefits of friction, will express a deeper gratitude for the blessings of grease, plumbago, and the anti-attribution.

ART. IX.—1.—*A Protest against 'The Reform Ministry and the Reformed Parliament.'* By an Opposition Member. Second Edition. London: 1833.

2.—*A Refutation of the Calumnies against the Lord Chancellor in the last Number of the 'Quarterly Review;' in an Article on 'The Reform Ministry and the Reformed Parliament.'** Third Edition. London: 1833.

WE place the titles of these pamphlets at the head of this article without any design of entering upon the discussion of their contents, or going into the subjects to which they are directed; but in order to make some observations upon the present condition of

* There is some inaccuracy in the title of this able pamphlet. 'Calumny' does not describe the statements of the Article which the author so triumphantly exposes; for to be 'calumnious' the thing must be slanderous as well as false. Now, there is evidently none of the statements in the *Quarterly Review* which, if true, could be any charge against the Lord Chancellor: they only would, if proved, deny his claim to praise.

tion of the increase in the mean motion of Encke's comet : But when this choice is made, we shall not forget that it is a hypothesis we have selected ; and we shall never endeavour to magnify the divine wisdom, by inviting man to admire his own hypotheses, and by loading our Natural Theology with the lumber of human wisdom.

Mr Whewell concludes his book on *Cosmical Arrangements* with a chapter, of twelve pages, on Friction. He has shown, in a very satisfactory and pleasing manner, how we could neither walk nor run, nor build houses, ships, or bridges, without this retarding force ; and he calls upon us to admire this specific adaptation of the material world to the nature of man. In supporting this view of the subject, Mr Whewell maintains that friction is ' a *separate property of matter*,' and ' not the necessary result of other properties of matter,—for instance, of their solidity and coherency.' We have always considered friction as the necessary consequence of the attraction of cohesion, gravity, and the superficial inequalities of bodies ; and the two beautiful laws of friction discovered by Coulomb, namely, its increase with the time of contact, and its diminution, in general cases, with the velocity, are in perfect accordance with this view of the subject. But whether we view friction as a separate property or not, we see no more reason for connecting it with our natural theology, than any of the other primary or secondary properties of matter ; all of which, as well as friction, have been bestowed for wise and necessary purposes.

When we say, therefore, that we regard such views as super-

out our system. Sir John Herschel obviously favours this speculation in the following passage :—' The Zodiacal light is manifestly in the nature of a thin lenticularly formed atmosphere, surrounding the sun, and extending at least beyond the orbit of Mercury, and even of Venus, and may be conjectured to be *no other than the denser part of that medium*, which, as we have reason to believe, resists the motion of comets ; loaded, perhaps, with the actual materials of the tails of millions of these bodies, of which they have been stripped in their successive perihelion passages, and which may be slowly subsiding into the sun.'

If this conjecture of Sir John Herschel's shall prove true, then the resisting ether and the solar atmosphere will be one and the same thing, the denser part of the former being the visible part of the latter. The ether will therefore be lenticularly shaped, extending in the plane of the sun's equator to a greater distance than in the direction of his axis ; but how will this medium answer the purpose of the luminiferous ether, which must be universally, and we presume, equally, diffused in all directions ?

erogatory, we do not sufficiently express our opinion of them. We think them injurious—they lead to idle speculation. They found our Natural Theology on a basis of small considerations; and create a belief in weak minds that its mighty pyramid is in danger. The engineer who should erect a buttress to Mont Blanc would terrify the inhabitants of Chamouni. He might shake, but he could not strengthen the flanks of the giant.

When we are told that friction prevents our books and dishes, our tables and chairs, and the loose clods and stones in the field, from being in a perpetual motion, and that it builds our houses, erects our bridges, and constructs our ships, we are apt to reply that it destroys our vehicles, burns our machinery, and lays an intolerable burden on man and on beast;—and perhaps some railway speculator may venture to add, that it cost a million of money to diminish the friction between Liverpool and Manchester. The philosopher in his closet sees in its true light, the beautiful adaptation of terrestrial forces to the wants of his species; but the Sisyphus of actual life, whose daily toil is to roll the weighty boulder to its summit, while he is not insensible to the benefits of friction, will express a deeper gratitude for the blessings of grease, plumbago, and the anti-attribution.

ART. IX.—1.—*A Protest against 'The Reform Ministry and the Reformed Parliament.'* By an Opposition Member. Second Edition. London: 1833.

2.—*A Refutation of the Calumnies against the Lord Chancellor in the last Number of the 'Quarterly Review;' in an Article on 'The Reform Ministry and the Reformed Parliament.'** Third Edition. London: 1833.

WE place the titles of these pamphlets at the head of this article without any design of entering upon the discussion of their contents, or going into the subjects to which they are directed; but in order to make some observations upon the present condition of

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pions at Huddersfield are fresh in all men's recollection, and serve again to show how ready the Tories are to adopt all means for regaining their much loved place and power.

In real truth, they cannot endure their present position. The entire novelty of it has no charms for them. They pine in the dreary, cold, cheerless mansions of opposition, with something of the horror that may be supposed to come over their minds when they think of another untried state of being. Nor do they get at all habituated to it. Unfortunately for them they have every now and then had, or fancied they had, some glimpse of hope; and this has kept them from making up their minds to bear their calamity. Even now they are busy building castles in the air, and trust that some happy accident may once more open to them the gates of that happy region from which they have fallen. Their visions, from time to time, pierce through the veil of Aristocratic discretion, and are made manifest to the country by their subordinate coadjutors. There is no little use to be derived from being thus forewarned and forearmed.

First of all, we find they are not indisposed to bid somewhat high for public favour, and in stocks which bear a very good name in the Reform market.—They are not indisposed to certain Church Reforms, because they know that the question now is, whether the abuses or the Establishment shall cease to exist. Therefore, Church Reform they will consent to.—Law Reform, too, they have no wish to resist; there must, they feel, be material alterations in the system of our jurisprudence, and far be it from them to deny cheap justice to the people.—Again, our military expenditure has been objected to, and justly. Let it not be for a moment supposed that our Tory candidates for office will refuse an ample reform in the establishments.—The Navy, indeed, never was a great favourite with them; that old constitutional force they can reduce without much self-denial: and as to the *scientific* branch of the service, the Ordnance and Engineers, it is needless to say they can have no prejudices in favour of that. For the rest, they cannot be expected to say a word against the Corn Laws, or for a Metallic Currency, any more than for the principles of Free Trade, which the popular outcry is rather against than for. But the Assessed Taxes they have always opposed—since they went into opposition. The Malt Tax, of course, they detest—as bearing upon the landed aristocracy, and not in the least affecting the people.

But these are not all, nor nearly all, the temptations which they hold out to the liberal party. They will consider of any parts in the Reform Bill which may require amending. They never denied, during the discussion of the measure, that it excluded an immense body of persons, who have just as good a right

to vote as ten pound householders; nay, they once and again held out intimations of being favourable to universal suffrage. At least, they said, if the reformation were to go so far, they could not see why it should stop there. As to the Press, they are still more lavish of their favours. The most ably conducted by far of all their journals, be they quarterly, or monthly, or weekly, or daily, has formally announced this determination of the Conservative party; and as we are 'partakers of the promises,' we have no small pride in making them more widely known—aware, that according to their tenor, the *Thistle* at the least must fall to our share.

'We have reason to know that their accession (the accession of the Conservatives) to power would be followed by a LARGE DISTRIBUTION OF PUBLIC PATRONAGE AMONGST THE PERSONS OF ALL DEGREES CONNECTED WITH THE PRESS; AND THIS WITHOUT POLITICAL DISTINCTION, OR DISTINCTION OF ANY OTHER KIND, EXCEPT SUCH AS WOULD BE MADE BY CHARACTER, AND TALENT, AND CAPACITY OF SERVING THE PUBLIC. Thus connecting the hopes of the Press with the institutions of the country, they would certainly rear their Conservative structure on a broad and firm foundation.'—'It is a mistake to suppose that the determination to support the liberty of the Press, and to improve its character by improving the prospects of all respectable persons connected with it, is merely a day-dream of a few Conservative Ex-Members of Parliament. THE FEELING HAS, WE BELIEVE, BEEN LONG ENTERTAINED BY THE WHOLE BODY OF CONSERVATIVES; they feel that we are in a course of revolution, from which nothing but an honest and firm action upon the public mind can rescue the country; and they know, that as no other instrument but the Press can furnish the means for this action, it is only by changing the character of the Press the country can be saved.'

Thus far the *Standard* evening paper—and we conclude, that within the scope of the same announcement, it is to be understood, that an entire abolition of all libel law shall be comprehended, so as to enable every one to slander his neighbour without stint, and without any responsibility—that being the right which, it is observable, the Press now claims; upon this singular ground, that either a person's character is clear, or it is doubtful; if doubtful, he has no right to complain of being attacked, and, if clear, he may despise attacks, and requires no vindication.* We have deemed

* The Paper to which we have alluded is not one, we believe, that claims—indeed it does not want any such exemption.

it our duty to our brethren of the press to let these baits, thus flung out among us, float towards them, as far as in us lies, to the end that they may swallow the same, if they feel so disposed. For be it observed, they are cast at all ‘*public writers,*’ (we use the prevailing expression, though unable to comprehend how any author who publishes can be a ‘*private writer,*’)—at the Sun as well as the Post—at Mr Cobbett, and Mr P. Grant, as well as Mr Hook and Mr Praed.*

Let us now suppose that by these and such like promises, the Tories succeed in gaining a sufficient support among the people, or rather succeed in neutralizing for a while the vehement repugnance towards them with which the people are at present actuated, and that thus they are enabled, upon some opportunity occurring, to form an administration; and let us speculate a little further upon their deeds and their fortunes—‘*facta et futu*’—for, in truth, the fortunes of the country are very much embarked in the issue of their adventure.

First of all would come to be performed the promises we have adverted to. The abuses in the Church would be remedied, no doubt,—but in such way, and at such time, and to such extent, as the clergy thereof, upon due consideration thereunto had, might approve; more especially the bishops sitting in the Lords’ House of Parliament. We may also observe, in passing, that it by no means follows that the modicum of Reform which those Tories, were they in office, would be prepared to propose

* We entirely agree in the *spirit* of the foregoing remarks upon the importance of the press; and, we may add, upon the perilous and unnatural state of things into which we are getting, if so very powerful an engine remains in the hands of a class of the community, which seems to be kept apart, by one prejudice or another, from all its other classes. The most wholesome state is that in which the French periodical press is, or at least was, a little while ago—when every conductor of a journal was known and mixed in society. But then this assumed that these journals dealt not in falsehood and personal slander. Our papers have too long tasted the sweets of a license free from all restraint, easily to change; and, after all, it is the taste of their corrupt readers, that causes their foul catering. The encouragement, certainly, by all proper and rational means, of able men who regard their own character more than the perverted taste of such readers, would be a salutary mode of providing against the dangers apprehended. It is, however, only justice to the Press, meaning thereby those *professionally* connected with newspapers, to bear in mind, that they were not the parties who some years ago degraded it by a contamination, from which it has not recovered. That was done by one or two others sufficiently well known, and with views as notorious.

themselves, will meet with their support, if it happens to be brought forward by the friends of liberal measures. On the contrary, they may as bitterly oppose such measures, as they did the Reform Bill in 1831 and 1832, which they avowed themselves ready to carry, provided they were only suffered to take office. Far be it from us, however, to suspect that any such paltry plan of reform as would suit the taste of the sinecure members of the Church, is likely to be proposed by the liberal government under which we now live. Then, as to Law Reform, no doubt our Tories will readily make many changes in the law—only they must be decided on by those who are our best and safest guides in so great a matter, the Judges of the Land. Whatever improvements ‘the Sages of the Law’ may sanction, will doubtless be cheerfully brought forward by our Tory rulers. Nor will they object to such reductions of the Army, and such arrangements in its administration, as shall meet with the full approbation of the authorities at the Horse Guards. As for Finance, they will have but one objection to a property tax—its pressure upon the upper classes of society, especially the landed interest; but let it only fall on the ‘devoted fundholder,’ and no gentleman of family and fortune can cavil at it. However, a free issue of paper, the grand Tory nostrum, will smooth all difficulties; and if any thing farther be wanting to complete the reconstruction of the fabric of our prosperity, it will be found in the immediate abandonment of all the wild dreams about Free Trade, and a direct recurrence to the wisdom of our ancestors, who held that every trading nation was benefited in proportion as its customers were injured, and that no country could ever gain but at another’s expense.

But if such may be fairly expected as the doings of our Tory Ministry in the green wood, what will they be in the old tree? It is clear that after a few months they will set their whole force and influence against any farther change—any concession to the people. All means will be taken to secure a Parliament suited to their purpose. They will dissolve as soon as they take the government. Indeed, they are aware that the delay of four-and-twenty hours means a vote of censure, and an address to the Crown, carried up by the whole House of Commons; so that instant dissolution is necessary to their existence. Every effort must then be made; it is the last chance—the last shift of the party. As such they will feel it; and their purses will be opened in proportion to their anxiety, their fears of utter extinction, and their prospect of regaining their ancient dominion over the purse

and the force of the State. Nor let it be doubted that these exertions will have a certain success. Several persons will retire from Parliament in disgust ; others will refuse to spend money in a contest of the purse with Peers who are resolved to 'do as they please with their own.' Besides, the ordinary weight of Government goes for something ; so that they will return eighty or a hundred more members than they now have, and the Radicals may gain twenty or thirty. Still the new Government will be left in a minority, unless some general change in public opinion, wholly improbable, shall take place on the eve of the election. The rash experiment will, therefore, end in those desperate men being again driven from the helm ; but driven, in circumstances perilous to the peace of the country. For another dissolution must take place, and the pure spirit of innovation, regardless of consequences, is most likely then to be the animating principle of all proceedings,—the sole guide of the Parliament, and the law of the Government.

Even if the result of the first election is more favourable to the Tories than can be conceived probable, and enables them to go on for a few months, let us only consider the state of the Parliament and the country. An Opposition of unparalleled power, will be planted against a Government hateful to the people, because founded upon the principle of resisting all popular impulses wherever it dares ; and undermining all popular influence wherever it can. That the Opposition will possess unbounded favour with the country, no one can doubt. Whatever discontent had been previously excited by their acts while in place will vanish at once ; they will leave the memory of all their failings behind them when they quit their offices. All will now be readily forgiven—nay, forgotten—and the very people who had complained most, from unreasonably expecting more than was possible, and still more unreasonably making no allowances for their situation, will be the first to upbraid themselves with their injustice and ingratitude, and to unite cordially with their best friends. No more half reforms, however, now ! No more looking to the Lords, and fitting measures to their taste ! No more hesitating about making a clean sweep of all and every abuse, in the State and in the Church ! Those even the most cautious in devising plans of improvement—those most alive to the dangers of wholesale change, and the evils of sudden alterations in a long established system—will be hurried along with less soberminded and reflecting reformers. The floodgates will be broken down, and to escape being carried away by the tide, it will be absolutely necessary to go with it, and if possible ride upon it.

To us who feel somewhat impatient of some crying evils in the existing system, and from time to time experience a little discontent at the modifications and the compromises which the opposite principles of the two Houses of Parliament have rendered unavoidable, it is truly no small reason for wishing that the consummation which we have been describing might actually be brought about. We feel so well assured of many great measures being carried triumphantly—we see so little difficulty in crushing at a blow certain interests opposed to all good Government, nay, even to common justice—we are so thoroughly convinced that much good at least would be placed within the reach of the people when their enemies should thus be destroyed—that it is one reflection only which enters to damp our hopes, and make us afraid of wishing for such a reign of change. We see how much good would be achieved; but how much evil would enter along with it, we cannot tell; for, beyond all doubt, the innovating spirit which must then rule and have the fullest scope, would not stop at the line which separates good from evil. We have the utmost reliance upon the wisdom, and the firmness of the present Ministry, exposed as it has been to such trials as no other Government ever passed through. But if they returned to office upon the popular tide, after such a desperate experiment had been tried by their adversaries, we are aware that they would not only be found to have got rid of all opposition from their only antagonists, the Lords, but to have no longer the power of resisting the overwhelming force of their popular allies. Therefore it is that we must bridle in our impatience, and prefer a more gradual and safe redress of admitted grievances, to a summary and immediate destruction of them, attended with such extreme peril.

There is another point of view in which the dangers of a Tory reign, however transitory it may be, present themselves to the eye of all who love peace, and are anxious for human improvement; and we own that a view of the mischiefs, irreparable and incalculable, which it might thus produce, reconciles us beyond any other consideration to a continuance of the present state of things, and to the necessity of a comparatively slow progress towards complete reformation, which it may entail. We allude to the Foreign Policy of the State. No man can affect to doubt that the whole frame of that policy which has secured the peace of Europe by the cordial union of England and France, and has both prevented the schemes of the Holy Allies against liberty, and saved the continent from the universal domination of revolutionary principles, would be entirely, and even suddenly changed, were the disciples of the Metternichs, the friends of the Nicolases, the

Leopolds, and the Charleses, once more in Downing Street. Don Carlos and Don Miguel would not more heartily rejoice in that event than the Lords of Petersburg and Vienna. Nay, the Duchess de Berri, and her much respected cabinet, with her adherents both in France and Styria, would feel that they had at least well-wishers in the British Councils. That any one would be insane enough to go to war with the King of the French for Henry V., or to propose a formal accession of this country to the Holy Alliance, we do not for an instant believe. But measures would speedily enough be adopted, and language held, which might lead to such disastrous results without their being intended; and at all events, the Muscovite and Bohemian statesmen, eager enough to begin, and only restrained by the commanding attitude which the friendship of England and France has assumed, would not delay their active operations against free institutions. That the Tory Ministry could last long enough to effect any thing against liberty at home, no one can suppose possible; and whatever they might do in that way could quickly and thoroughly be undone, as soon as their government was destroyed. But it is far otherwise with foreign affairs; a few weeks might involve the country in perils from which years could not rescue her; and bring miseries upon the continent, the end of which none of us might live to see.

As there are among ourselves zealous and honest reformers, who would fain see the experiment of a Tory Ministry, in order to unite all the lovers of liberty in a compact and irresistible body, and extirpate at once the influence so hostile to improvement; so are there on the continent many who anxiously desire to see the Holy Allies attack France, or, which is the same thing, some other country whose institutions are free; because they plainly enough perceive that the result must be the swift destruction of despotism, at least in Germany and Italy, possibly in Russia also. And for the same reason, many friends of liberty in this country, as well as abroad, are not disinclined to see the temporary accession to power of the statesmen who would co-operate with the despotic against the free governments. We give the same answer here as in the former case. There can be little or no doubt upon the result of such a contest as these reasoners contemplate. Even if England were, by the insane councils of the Conservative party, driven into a union with the despotic powers, and so join in a new crusade against French liberty, (a supposition quite preposterous,) France would assuredly triumph in the conflict. Much more may she set at nought the Holy Allies, if England keeps neutral, and only encourages them underhand,—

a far more probable state of things. They will be discomfited, and signally; but then their force will be scattered, not altogether by the ordinary resources of a regular government; the liberal spirit, probably become republican once more from very natural abhorrence of those tyrants and their minions, whose incurable hatred of all liberty will have again been felt, will once more be aroused all over France, and burn with an unquenchable fire, until vengeance be wreaked upon the aggressor. The throne in France may again be shaken; but, at any rate, the tyrants will be driven from theirs, because a war of principle will be waged, and the French will no longer have a choice; they must in self-defence make common cause with all who suffer from the crimes of the common enemy, the oppressors of mankind. Thus, then, wide spreading revolution will be the result; all reform will be lost in violent and sudden change; and the amendment of the institutions of the continent will be intrusted, not to the regular and safe process of peaceful improvement, worked out gradually, and sanctioned by general assent, but to the violent, sudden, unprepared, and unconnected movements of popular convulsion. No real friend to the peace of the world, and the happiness of mankind, can suffer himself to regard this manner of redressing admitted grievances, and accomplishing even needful alterations in systems of polity, with any sentiments but those of repugnance. Therefore it is, that for the sake of the continent, as well as of our own country, we should view with great apprehension the perilous experiment of Tory or Conservative governments, though its duration might be but for a very short season. Better far that the Nesselrodes and the Metternichs should prolong for a while their sway over Poland and Italy, and that the honest and enlightened Germans should be delayed in their attainment of the liberal institutions which they so well deserve to enjoy—better that our own progress towards a perfect eradication of the abuses (comparatively light ones) under which we are suffering both in civil and in ecclesiastical polity, should be much slower than all must wish—better these things, than that every thing both at home and abroad should be at once unsettled, and the spirit of headlong unreflecting change reign everywhere supreme, involving the civilized world in anarchy. It is true, the Conservatives would have themselves only to blame for this result of their lust of place; it is true, that they would be entitled to no pity for their share of the ruin into which they had brought our institutions. But to the community this would be a poor consolation; and no reflecting man can regard the punishment of the real authors of the calamity, even were it severe in proportion

as it would be merited, in the light of a compensation for the evils of the common misfortune.*

* The Tracts, of which the titles are prefixed to this article, show strikingly the fury—it cannot be simply called animosity—of the Tory politicians and writers, and their Radical allies. The ‘*Protest*’ is an attack upon every one measure of the Reform Government, and actually inveighs against even the Corporation Commission, chiefly, as it should seem, because the Government, judging it right to enquire before legislating, did not adopt a Borough Bill proposed last session by a Mr J. Kennedy—a different person, of course, from our excellent and enlightened countryman, the Lord of the Treasury.—But still more inconceivable must be the animosity of those allied powers, which has been suffered to tarnish the pages of a respectable journal (*Quarterly Review*) with their fabrications. It requires the evidence of the senses to make it credible that such a tissue of fictions could have been woven, by any persons, how angry, or how disappointed soever, as one of the pamphlets before us exposes, by simply quoting the Parliamentary and other documents; as, for example, the assertion, that the Lord Chancellor had obtained by the Bankruptcy reformation the patronage of the Country Commissioners—in the words of the Review—‘had secured to himself the appointment of some hundreds of Country Commissioners.’ The Pamphlet, p. 79, 80, simply answers this by citing the Act itself, 1 and 2, *Will. IV. c. 56*, which vests the appointment in the Judges who go the several circuits! We quote this as a sample, and it is a perfectly fair one of the whole article; but we give it with another view. In Scotland, we have long laboured under the imputation of not keeping the judicial character so pure from political connexions as it has been, since the Revolution 1688, among our southern neighbours. The Reform Bill gave English Judges the appointment of Revising Barristers; the Bankrupt Bill gave them the appointment of the Country Commissioners. It appears from the Pamphlet before us, (p. 81,) that the Lord Chancellor devolved to a board, of whom Bankruptcy Judges formed part, the appointment of official assignees, eighteen in number, and places exceedingly sought after (p. 82). We, in Scotland, have not had any patronage vested in our Judges by the Reform Bill, because the Sheriffs perform the duty of Revising Barristers; but we trust that if any extension of the New Bankrupt Law to Scotland takes place, under Professor Bell’s Bill, it will be effected without giving our Judges any share whatever in the patronage. That should be left, with all the rest of the Scotch patronage, in the Secretary of State alone.

ART. X.—1. *Report delivered to the Committee in aid of Corporate Reform, November 8th, 1833; containing a statement of some of the evils and abuses existing in the Corporation, and in the Municipal Trading Companies of the City of London.* 8vo. London: 1833.

2. *Digested Report of the Evidence taken before the Corporation Commissioners at Cambridge.* 8vo. Cambridge and London: 1833.

THE knaves of this world have been lately very busy in attempting to puzzle and alarm the fools on the subject of Corporations. We allude chiefly to our southern neighbours. The cry is for darkness. We have been told who they are that love it. Surely there never was a case in which the public were more entitled to the unrestricted exercise of their eyes, and of reason. For what is a Corporation? It is a human institution, consisting of one or more persons, who are placed by the law in this relation, not as so many natural individuals, but in the artificial character of the consolidated members of a body politic. A Corporation has the capacity of perpetual succession, under the special name and form assigned to it. This is the light in which a Bishop or Parson (*persona ecclesiæ*) is regarded. Where a Corporation is composed of several persons, it has the power of acting as an individual for certain purposes, and of sharing in common whatever privileges it possesses. In this there is enough to make us pause—enough to make us vigilant; but nothing very singular or mysterious. In fact, it is the course and description which society must assume for many purposes, as soon as men have begun to gather in masses round common centres; and as often as a generation is found rational enough to look beyond its own vague and fugitive existence. Every thing depends, in every instance, upon the end which is purposed, and the means which are employed, in the construction of this corporate machinery. Thus, nations are corporations in their relations with each other. All constitutions must clothe the governors and the governed with a corporate character at home. This is the effect not only of the constitution of a supreme government;—it necessarily follows, also, from the local divisions which represent the interests of the county, and of the hundred, or the obligations of the frank pledge and the parish vestry. These, the staple interests and obligations of a community, are acquired by birth or residence, and are in great measure independent of our choice. They are on indispensable presumptions transmitted, as a matter of course, to our children, in the natural succession of generation to genera-

tion. This is the nature of things. English precedents, and the chapter in Madox's *Firma Burgi*, need not be recited for instances innumerable. The capability and the importance of transmitting rights and duties, political as well as civil, by other means than those of hereditary descent or locality of residence, must be soon discovered. This will lead to the improvement of adding to or keeping up the numbers of a body politic by an artificial succession, through pre-appointed regulations—as by election, instead of by the natural succession of heirs or inhabitants. The extension of this system of artificial succession to other objects, besides those of government—for instance, to the encouragement of particular professions, the propagation of certain opinions, or the maintenance of favourite charities,—cannot be justly considered as a peculiar invention of Roman policy. The desire and the device suggest themselves too readily to belong exclusively to any people. The corporate principle is as strongly developed in the case of an Indian village and an endowed Pagoda, as in the Municipia and the Colleges of Augurs, and of trades at Rome, or as in the supposed derivative arrangements of modern Europe. The strongest exemplification of it on record exists in the pretensions which some Christian Churches have inherited from the Pope, to transmit in perpetuity to their successors, even spiritual as well as temporal endowments.

The subject is capable of simplicity. And other nations have treated it simply. But the *Seraphic Doctor* would have revelled in the splendid nonsense which English lawyers have talked and written on the nature of corporations. Really the substantial interests of life are too solid to be made the sport of legal metaphysics. The modern proverb, that a corporation has neither a body to be kicked, nor a soul to be damned, is only a sarcastic version of the serious maxim of our ancestors;—that it is a thing which ‘exists merely in idea, and that it has neither soul nor body.’ Chief Baron Manwood thought it necessary to put the proof of the first part of this proposition into true syllogistic form: ‘None can create souls but God; but a corporation is created by the King; therefore, a corporation can have no soul.’ No less a man than Treby took great pains to establish the other position, on no less an occasion than the *Quo Warranto* against the City of London. It is curious to see the foundations on which lawyers put our rights, and the circuitry of the road that learning loves to travel. The city charter could not be forfeited; and why? Because a corporation is ‘a mere capacity to sue and be sued, to take and grant; is *ens rationis*; invisible, immortal, and resteth only ‘in intendment and consideration of law.’ *Corpus incorporatum* appears a strange expression to have been selected to signify this

incorporeal and quibbling quiddity. But there is a worse complaint against the profession upon this head, than that of pure absurdity. Nothing, or next to nothing, is to be found in the Statute Book on the nature and formation of corporations. Except where the legislature has, from time to time, been forced to interpose, in order to mitigate the mischievousness of the law, the jurisprudence relating to corporations has been made, not in Parliament, but in the courts below. Corporate bodies are certain to deserve the compliment paid them by Lord Coke; for always retaining of their counsel the most learned of the profession. It is evident, on reviewing the subject, that their money has not been thrown away.

The lawyers have contrived to get on very well in their own case, without encumbering themselves with the formalities and subtleties, by which they soon mystified, while they protected, this ideal creation. The Inns of Court are not incorporated, yet they have retained for ages their property and their privileges;—the anomalous one, for instance, of conferring legal degrees. Ordinary parties, however, intending to act as a joint-stock company, or contemplating, for any other object, a united and prolonged existence, have been anxious candidates for the advantages which the corporate character confers. It saved them from the expense and trouble of frequent conveyances, from the embarrassment of the want of a common name, and from the risks of an unlimited liability. The discretion of creating this fictitious authority, and granting licenses of mortmain, is reposed in the Crown. Our technical corporations, therefore, only subsist by either parliamentary or royal charter, extant or presumed. According as they are of one or more persons, they are called sole or aggregate; and, according as they are destined to ecclesiastical or temporal purposes, are called spiritual or lay. The lay are divided into civil and eleemosynary; the civil being for good government, trade, or other general object; the eleemosynary being for charitable alms. It is broadly laid down in the Books, that in all cases, their capacities and incapacities are by the common law. If by this, common law is to be understood to mean continuous usage, in distinction from statute law, it ought to have been the same, or something like the same, from time immemorial. On the contrary, the nature of the discussions, when questions of this description have happened to be brought into court, clearly show, that there are none in which the courts have been under the necessity, or at least in the habit of exercising so much discretion. There would probably exist, from the first, considerable conformity in practice between our own and similar institutions in other countries, subject to the civil and the canon law. When the common law judges,

jealous of the one and disdainful of the other, entered at a later period on this vacant jurisdiction, they appear to have made for the occasion, just as much law as they wanted, and no more. It is thus that the praise has been claimed for Lord Mansfield, almost in our own day, of having done more towards settling this part of the common law than almost all his predecessors. Quite sufficient remains unsettled still.

There can be little doubt, at least speaking with reference to the present forms of our polity, that spiritual corporations were the first which were introduced among us. The Glastonbury monks produced, in the twelfth century, their British charters. Spiritual corporations were of two kinds; the one, called regular, of whom the friars alone must be priests—for the monks might remain laymen—belonging to a religious house and order; the other, called secular, who were merely members of the church, beneficed or unbeneficed, in holy orders. The monk of a convent was reputed so completely *civilly* dead, that whatever injuries he either did or suffered, the sovereign of his house must have been joined with him in a suit. By the dissolution of religious houses, Henry VIII. reduced the English clergy to the latter, or secular class only. So, by the Reformation, he and his children changed them from the universal church of the Roman Catholic world into the Protestant church of England.

The various companies, whether of merchants, traders, or artificers, were probably our earliest forms of temporal incorporation. Coke says that *gilda* signifies an incorporated brotherhood. It signifies, according to its derivation, payment; and refers, evidently, either to their contributions among each other, or their compositions with the Crown, of which they generally held their liberties in fee-farm rent. Coke adds, that he had seen a charter made by King Henry I. to the weavers of London, by which the king granted to them that they should have a merchant gild. Instances of voluntary associations, very much in the nature of friendly societies, are mentioned by Mr Sharon Turner under the name of guilds, in the time of the Anglo-Saxons. They are the natural incidents of a state of society, every fraction of which had a tendency to form into separate unions, wherever a principle of cohesion could be found, for protection, or for advantages beyond what the general government could afford. The traditional usages of the Roman colleges of workmen would probably co-operate in moulding and directing those combinations. Colleges, more or less of the nature of trades unions—openly, when encouraged, but secretly, like freemasons, when prohibited—had lasted from the reign of Numa throughout the empire, and probably survived it. The prosperity of the Hans towns, and of the towns of Italy and

Flanders, was afterwards the wonder of the middle ages. It made the kings of England and their subjects equally anxious, for a time, to try nationally, and on system, the experiment of those incorporated crafts and mysteries which seemed elsewhere to be creating riches like a charm. Under these circumstances, it stands to reason that the guilds must soon form a part of the general government of the towns in which they were situated. Also, the example of oligarchical discipline which they would set, is one, that the towns, although from the first more popularly administered, were likely readily to adopt. There is a strong resemblance, in this respect, between the contemporary histories of the principal countries in Europe; only that, in some, the municipal institutions seem to have got to their full strength and maturity as a corporation before the mercantile. Our ancient guilds are known at present beyond their halls by little else but their occasional, and (unless strictly watched) unfortunate connexion with the elective franchise.

The progress of the incorporation of the *Communes*, and their fate, from and after the eleventh century, is a most interesting subject. Great attention has been recently bestowed on it by several distinguished continental writers. The general characteristics selected by Mr Hallam are—an association confirmed by charter, a code of fixed customs, and a set of privileges. Of the last, elective government was one; and an exemption from foreign jurisdiction was the main security for them all. Mr Cathcart, in his preface to (we regret to say) an unfinished translation of Savigny's *Roman Law, during the Middle Ages*, attributes to our civic institutions the same antiquity and pedigree which Sir F. Palgrave claims for our trading guilds. 'Many of our old Roman cities (he says) are existing to this day; and the origin of their systems so strikingly Roman, clearly reaches beyond what is called the date of their earliest charters; which, in the majority of cases, are mere written confirmations of rights long previously existing.' The chasm between ancient and modern Europe is more, however, than antiquarian industry or imagination has hitherto filled up. The history of these charters, we apprehend, would generally exhibit the original purchase of them from the king or lord as favours, rather than the claim of them as rights. Sir F. Palgrave, on the other hand, after observing that our Romanized British population was rapidly absorbed by the Anglo-Saxon, adds, that 'only scanty vestiges of Roman municipal institutions can be decerned. We must rest satisfied with the fact, that, in the reign of the Confessor, the larger burghs had assumed the form of communities, which, without much impropriety, may be described as territorial corporations.' (*Eng-*

lish Commonwealth, p. 629.) 'Domesday Book' presents us with towns holding property in common. The agreement between the inhabitants and their superior, whether he was the sovereign or neighbouring nobleman, for a certain yearly rent, or farm, in lieu of the old duties, and the responsibility of the particular townsmen for the discharge of it, is the subject of Madox's *Firma Burgi*. It is thought by Professor Millar to have suggested the first idea of a borough, considered as a corporation. The charter of William the Conqueror to London amounts to nothing. In case the charter granted by Henry I. could be traced to A. D. 1101, (it is without a date,) we should be beforehand with Louis VI. of France, usually looked upon as the father of these institutions. With regard to the administration of town affairs, the charters, from the reign of Henry II. downwards, point out the tendencies which, independent of the charter, were already gaining ground. The right of choosing magistrates, and the form of municipal government began to be recognised about the time of John. A doubt, thrown out in the reign of Henry IV., (in opposition to all antecedent usage,) whether the lay inhabitants of an unincorporated borough were capable of holding land, immediately led to numerous incorporations, with licenses of mortmain. Being required for that specific purpose, it is remarked by Mr Merewether, that questions of police or government were scarcely touched by them at all. In one part of his preface to the *West Looe Case*, he observes, that the charters of Ludlow and Wenlock, in the early part of the reign of Edward IV., were the first which interfered with the power of making burgesses, and the return of members to Parliament. It is afterwards stated by him that there are no provisions for the creation of burgesses inserted in charters before the reign of Charles I. Be that as it may, the original principle of English corporations had nothing to do with politics or Parliament. The early corporate rights arose from residence; and where the burgess representation became, as it often did, the representation of a gild, it began as an irregularity, and ended as an abuse. The degradation of corporations, in consequence of their local and official influence being mixed up with the exercise of the elective franchise, is the worst part of their history. This latter right was in some instances acquired by the express sanction of a charter. In others, and more frequently, (for charters seldom touched the right of election, which went most upon what was fraudulently called prescription,) it was the result of gradual encroachment. In either case, the preservation under the Reform Bill of the most corrupt and decayed parts of the modern corporate constituency, in connexion with the new electors, has been a great mistake. It

has done more than any other single thing towards tarnishing the brightness, and perhaps endangering the success (unless a timely remedy be applied) of that national experiment, of which we have such ample reason to be proud.

Eleemosynary corporations consist of hospitals and colleges. 'There is no difference,' said Lord Holt, in the case of Exeter College, 'between a college and an hospital, except only in degree: an hospital is for those that are poor, and mean, and low, and sickly: a college is for another sort of indigent persons; but it hath another intent,—to study in, and breed up persons in the world that have no otherwise to live.' We hear much of the solemn obligations imposed by the wills of founders. If Lord Holt is a true interpreter of their collegiate intentions, there are instances, we apprehend, of masters, fellows, and scholars in both universities, such as the most careless visitor might detect, where both conditions—that of *indigence* and that of *study*—are but indifferently complied with.

On comparing the past and present state of our three principal corporate divisions, through what transitions have they passed! We may call them perpetual and uniform, and talk of their coeval statutes, but we are deceiving ourselves by appearances, and by names. It is utterly impossible, were that the sensible point to put it upon, to transpose centuries in such a manner, as to know from any thing which a man, three hundred years ago, may seem to have anticipated for futurity, what he might wish to be done were he alive at present. The jurisprudence of tribunals could not have prevented the effect of time on institutions of this nature. But time, the innovator, makes it matter of absolute necessity, that an extensive discretion should be intrusted somewhere over their duration, property, franchises, and objects. In the meantime, the original rules in the courts of common law and of equity have proceeded on far too narrow principles; and the tenure of corporate property especially, has been unfortunately a great deal too much assimilated to the ordinary unconditional tenure of private property. Trading companies for objects too vast and venturesome for private capitalists to encounter, stand on distinct and temporary grounds. In these cases, the principle by which the civil law, on the termination or dissolution of a community, divided its goods among its members, of course, ought to apply; otherwise the privileges of a corporation, and the anomaly of mortmain, should only be asked or granted on terms which make it impossible that the natural and fictitious relation can be blended with each other. The rights of private property, which once put into mortmain, it should be clearly understood, are not simply suspended, but renounced. It is a dedi-

cation to the public. Some objects are to be construed with greater strictness, others with greater latitude ; but the objects of such institutions are consistent with no appropriation, by any party, in the way of mere personal enjoyment, uncoupled with a trust—with no venal alienation to strangers—with no contingent reversion to the heir.

Much mischief has arisen, in many instances, from this combination, or rather confusion of titles. The interests of the public appear to have principally suffered from three classes of cases. In the first, the judges held, that all establishments founded in perpetuity by individuals for the maintenance of the poor, or the encouragement of piety and learning, continued to be the private establishment of the individual founders, and to be for ever subject to their original will and pleasure. Their statutes are to be received as the conditions of their bounty. Next, this doctrine is extended and enforced by deriving the visitatorial power from the property of the donor, and from his right to dispose and regulate what was his own. As the founder might determine what he chose concerning his own creature, the supposition is carried on to his heirs, or the persons specially appointed by him as visitors, who are accordingly invested with the same discretionary authority as himself. Lastly, Corporations are recognised as existing possibly for themselves alone, and entitled to hold beneficial interests on their own account, without regard to any public object or external claim. It was at one time maintained, that Corporations could not be seized to a use ; and the law at present hands over to them the residue, whenever a property is left to them unaccompanied by trust-declarations binding the whole, or charged only with specific payments, by which the whole is not exhausted. The first of these decisions has had the effect of keeping out of sight the right of the public to convert or modify this important class of institutions, to the extent and with the facility which the change of times and of opinions may require. Nevertheless, the right of the public is an unalienable right. The will of a founder and eternity are words which run ill together. Besides, any founder must be fitter for Bedlam than for an eternal legislator, who does not intend to trust society with a power of adaptation over his foundation. The second rule, by the negligence of the founder's heir or titular visitor, has tended to perpetuate or introduce disorders, for which a remedy often was only to be hoped for in the growth of the abuses. There was no chance for a common informer, called a relator ; unless he could come to the Attorney-General with one of those extreme cases in which the Chancery or the King's Bench was found to interfere, by clear and direct breaches of private or public trusts. The latter principle, by

which ordinary Corporations are accredited with an independent personal existence, like gentlemen at large, who may ‘do what they will with their own,’ has been the cause of a most profligate waste and corruption. The above-mentioned rule of Chancery must have enriched these powerful patrons and competitors at the expense of the stinted charities; and there can be no doubt but that many a College and many a Corporation is now idling its Fellows, and surfeiting its Aldermen, out of funds intended for very different purposes. God forbid that our judges, on this or any other subject, should unmake the law which their predecessors either once hastily made, or incautiously adopted. Their duty is to decide the individual case as it comes before them, according to the principle and precedent of the actual law. But when the whole question of these establishments comes before the Legislature, (and come it must,) it is highly necessary for the public to recollect the course which has been pursued in this particular. We shall be thus the more willing, and the better able, to apply the just distinctions which Burke so properly pressed on the House of Commons, with the view of restraining its intemperate resolutions in the case of the Middlesex election. A great deal of needless talk and trepidation would be saved, if alarmed declaimers would but learn the difference between judicial and legislative considerations, though occupied in controlling the same interests, and revising the same transactions. ‘A legislative act has no reference to any rule but these two, original justice, and discretionary application. Therefore it can give rights—rights where no rights existed before; and it can take away rights where they were before established. For the law, which binds all others, does not, and cannot, bind the law maker: he, and he alone, is above the law. But a judge, a person exercising a judicial capacity, is neither to apply to original justice, nor to a discretionary application of it. He goes to justice and discretion only at second hand, and through the medium of some superiors. He is to work neither upon his opinion of the one nor of the other;—but upon a fixed rule, of which he has not the making;—but singly and solely the *application* to the case.’

Parliament will have two distinct duties to perform. It must obtain from the profession a full and accurate view of the present state of Corporation Law, and must look not only there, but elsewhere, for more far-sighted suggestions for its improvement, than mere professional learning can supply. It will be necessary to examine into the propriety of the distinction between a public and private Corporation. Supposing that distinction to be overruled, it will be necessary to determine next—whether, instead of a general rule applicable alike to every kind of Corporation, their

capacities and incapacities ought not to vary according to the object for which they are instituted, and according to the mode and duration of the appointment of their members. The other duty regards a question not of principle but of fact. The history of our Corporations, classed according to their nature, must be laid before us; their original constitution; the several changes which they have undergone,—with what view, and on what authority; lastly, their actual condition. In the course of such an enquiry, the constitutional antiquarian will be instructed; the wrongs of populous communities exposed; and honest corporators relieved from an accumulation of unjust, but at present unavoidable suspicion. Society has, it is true, comparatively little interest in the past. Society is, however, above all things, interested in the truth, that great, ostensible, and permanent institutions should be kept available for the public service. Former experience will best explain their nature, capabilities, and defects; and, as long as human nature continues pretty much the same, former experience will also best enlighten us as to those tendencies which our prospective provisions ought to watch with the greatest jealousy.

The policy of those great maxims of corporation law which we have ventured to call in question, seems to have come down to us as a matter more of accident than of wise judicial prescription. Whether the point is left debateable and obscure, or is made as clear and positive as unanimity can make it, the absence of all philosophical consideration of the subject is equally apparent. If any one thing might have been expected to have been fixed upon a universal and intelligible principle, it is the origin and extent of the Visitorial power. Nevertheless, at as late a period as the year 1694, the three puisne Judges of the Court of King's Bench are found at issue with Lord Holt upon both points. Accordingly the court resolved, that the common law takes no notice of visitors; that they were introduced by the canon law; and that this part of the canon law, since it never had been incorporated into the common law, was not binding on the subject. Lord Holt, on the contrary, held that both patronage and visitation rose from the founder at common law; and that the founder had reposed so entire a confidence in the visitor, that his determinations were final and examinable in no other court. The House of Lords, concurring with the Chief Justice, reversed the judgment below. Such diversity of opinion, upon so important a matter, is conclusive evidence that at that time there existed on it neither rule nor usage entitled to the name of law. The same observation is true of the timidity with which the court, in *Dr Bentley's case*,

and afterwards Lord Mansfield, in 1757, approached the question, whether the visitor, or a succeeding sovereign, could alter statutes which had been given to a college by a royal founder. If other proof were wanting, it is contained in the protracted and scandalous litigation with which Bentley was enabled, it is now just a hundred years ago, to scourge his adopted college. In the twelfth year of Charles I., Archbishop Laud brought before the Privy Council the reluctant universities, and succeeded in establishing a right on which we think Archbishop Howley scarcely will insist at present. It was that of visiting *metropolitically* the body of both universities and every scholar therein, for his obedience to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England. While these exciting questions, in which Kings, and Lords, and Bishops had so deep an interest, were left at sea, humbler matters were not likely to be much more settled.

It may be perfectly right that the Crown should be intrusted with the prerogative of conferring upon certain public officers, or upon certain voluntary associations, combined for purposes in which the public are interested, the privileges of a corporation. It may be right also, that the franchise of a corporation, when it has been once granted, should not be liable to be recalled at the mere pleasure of the government. The more probable these suppositions, the more it follows, that the continuance or dissolution of a corporation ought to depend on the merits or demerits of the institution itself, not on the conduct of its individual members. As a corporation can commit no crime in its corporate capacity, it is equally absurd to make the negligence or abuse of the franchise a breach in law of the condition on which it was first incorporated. Their franchise as individuals is all that in reason the individuals can either forfeit or surrender. The absurdity, for instance, by which a single illegal toll was argued into an act of forfeiture, enabled Treby, in the *Quo Warranto* case, to affirm (and probably with justice) that then, by virtue of some old sleeping by-law or other, it never was a corporation two months since London was London. ‘The greater or the lesser sum will not difference the law; you have levied fivepence, and therefore all this great inheritance of London, the greatest inheritance of the kingdom, is forfeited for a trifle upon three-halfpence, or a basket of eggs.’ There is as little sense in the doctrine of surrender, by which the superior members of a monastery, or of a corporation, are enabled to enter into base collusions with Henry the Eighth and Charles the Seconds. The scandal and the injury on which Burnet commented, and which the nation groaned under in 1682, were consequences of the confidence and impunity which the law wantonly and gratuitously

volunteers. ‘ In former ages corporations were jealous of their ‘ privileges and customs to excess and superstition ; so that it ‘ looked like a strange degeneracy when all these were now de- ‘ livered up.’—‘ Whatsoever may be said in law, there is no sort ‘ of theft or perfidy more criminal than for a body of men, whom ‘ their neighbours have trusted with their concerns, to steal away ‘ their charters, and affix their seals to such a deed, betraying ‘ in that their trust and their oaths.’ Wherefore should not a mis- demeanour or a surrender have precisely the same effect on the bodies they represent, whether the deed of a mayor and aldermen, or of a bishop, or a dean and chapter? Civil corporations are far enough removed from the mischief which the *Quo Warranto* judges were at the trouble of foreseeing. ‘ If the law should be ‘ otherwise, it would erect as many independent republics in the ‘ kingdom as there are corporations aggregate, which, how fatal ‘ that might prove to the Crown and the government now estab- ‘ lished, every man may easily conceive.’ On the tendencies and pretensions of ecclesiastical communities it is not quite so easy to pronounce. The supreme legislature must look to that. It is a risk to which our ancestors were accustomed for centuries in the Church of Rome ; affecting as it did a higher title than ‘ by law established.’ The risk, however, was one which an English Parliament, in an age when it represented the people much less adequately than at present, was nevertheless fully competent to cope with and to subdue.

In questions of forfeiture and surrender, the members of a corporation, whether public or private, are equally masters of its fate. So, on the dissolution of either, their real estate goes back to the heir, their personal estate falls in to the crown, their debts and credits are irrecoverably extinguished, without any personal right or liability being substituted in their room. And this is the immemorial wisdom of the common law ! In the case of property also, both classes of corporations are on equal terms, and are allowed to hold it in several distinct interests. They may possess it, in the first place, merely as trustees for others ; in which case they are conduit pipes and nothing more. Next they may occupy it on their own account, but conditionally : the power of alienation being taken away in many cases by statute, and the usufruct being strictly limited to the members for the time being. Lastly, they may be its absolute owners, without any legal responsibility whatever, and with no restraint upon alienation. For the prohibition to alienate to the mayor, or principal, cannot be treated as an exception ; since the restriction is imposed, not on the ground that such an alienation is the most probable and emphatical breach of trust, but on the technical objection that the head of a

corporation is an integral part of it. Of these three classes, Parliament has taken care of the intermediate one, by restraining statutes. Not without necessity; for the wholesale rapacity of Henry VIII. is not more disgusting than the higgling conspiracies between Elizabeth, her bishops and her courtiers, in their piecemeal spoliation of the church. Parliament would have been justified in going farther. Why ought not the anticipation of an annual income, which was clearly meant to be the daily resource of the minister of religion,—the fee for his daily service,—to be as sedulously prohibited as that of a soldier's pay? In the first and last of the above-named classes the common law has been left to its own course. The temptations offered by it, backed up as they have been by privacy and opportunity, are more than corporation virtue could be always expected to resist. Means might have been easily found to protect the trust-estate against the frauds of a public trustee. But the carelessness of the laws in this instance is scarcely more blamable than the express license it has given in the other. By so doing, it puts itself, both in the language it has used, and in the powers which it has granted, in permanent opposition to the indignation of the public, and to the conscience of all honourable men. There can be no satisfactory reason for not adopting, in unison with the feelings of mankind, the rule under which corporations are precluded from alienation by the civil law. The public are partly aware of the extent to which the corporation property at Leicester has been wasted in the scandal of elections. The Duke of Rutland's recorder is said to have gagged the town-clerk, just in time to prevent his making a clean bosom. Cambridge was another scene of the political influence of the Duke. It might have been supposed that a Rutland Club was a superfluous luxury there, since for years the corporation has been nothing else. This corporation, which, for any thing that appears to the contrary, was passably honest, till the sinister influence of Belvoir made it no better than a nomination borough, ought to have been one of the richest corporations out of London. It has contributed for years scarcely a single shilling towards the necessary expenses of the town. At the same time its members have reduced it to the very verge of pauperism, by iniquitous sales and leases of its property among themselves. They took an oath to preserve the corporate property. But what of that? The system had become so familiar to Mr Starmer, senior councilman, that he appears not so much to have lost all sense of shame concerning it, as to have lost the power of distinguishing right from wrong. 'It is *bona fide* the property of the Corporation, and I think they have a right to it. My idea is, that they have a right to do what they like with their own pro-

‘perty.’—He went on to say, that ‘in his opinion the corporations have a right to expend all their income on their friends or themselves, without laying out part of their revenue for the benefit of the town: that he thinks the town has nothing to do with the estates, which are the exclusive property of the corporation, and that this is the general opinion among the members.’ It is not surprising after this, that most of the few petty charities, confided to their care, have also disappeared. These specimens of corporate unworthiness are the same trials of public patience, the same blots on national honour, which we have long felt and resented nearer home. They are plebeian imitations of the Royal Burghs of Scotland. For, even as thus exposed, they feebly represent the practises of Cupar and Dunfermline; the charities of Aberdeen (to the amount of L.80,000) sold out, and involved in the town’s insolvency; Edinburgh itself, with its property alienated at pleasure, and burdened by a debt of almost half a million. The cause of the evil was the same in both countries: the same remedy will be required in both. The bill for the reform of the Scotch burghs has made a renewal of this infamy impossible. A measure is already before Parliament, for the purpose of granting new municipal corporations to the English towns,* which the reform bill has called into political existence. A popular local constitution will be thus conferred upon a population of 120,000. This double precedent is not lost on the old corporate towns of England. They regard themselves entitled to the same

* There are two points in the measure as it stands at present, which seem very questionable. They both relate to the appointment of Aldermen. The one regards the mode of election; the other the duration of service. The common council of the place are to be chosen for a term of three years by its parliamentary constituency, as fixed by the reform bill. The Aldermen are to be chosen by the common council, and chosen for life. On the first point it may be asked, (considering how desirable it is that a close sympathy and connexion should be maintained between this civic magistracy and its local public,) wherefore is the break of a double election interposed? Burke’s criticism on the effect of the French scale of primary assemblies and electoral colleges, must be modified, to the extent of the distinction between a civil magistrate and a political representative. Subject to that modification, it applies to the present case. Does any objection exist to the Aldermen of London, chosen hitherto by the citizens of the respective wards, which would not be likely to exist in the same degree, supposing them to be chosen by the common council? The Town Councils in the Scotch burghs are the governing body as much as the Aldermen in England. According to the burgh reform of Scotland, they are elected by the entire parliamentary constituency. Is there any adequate reason for a difference be-

protection. Corporations identified with the people (for Cambridge and many others were as hostile as the Feudal Keep) will soon find means, under the guidance of the legislature, of employing to the greatest of all national purposes, funds at present estimated at somewhere about two millions.

It is one of the painful parts of the inconsistency and ambiguity in which the law is left at present, that a man, who has any thing to do with a corporation, may easily find himself fingering other people's money before he is aware. Lord Eldon intimates his dissent from the rules of construction which have been assumed as decisive *indicia* of intention in charitable bequests. He quarrels with them precisely on opposite grounds from what we do; and even suggests, that they would never have been adopted but from the indulgence shown towards charities. He is not a likely person, therefore, to take premature alarm himself; or to frighten others, who are at ease in their possessions, into unnecessary scruples. Lawyers brought up to calculate rights with the precision almost of fixed quantities, entertain a wholesome horror of 'stealing leather to make even poor men's shoes.' A slight acquaintance, however, with the history of first-fruits, and most other reserved payments, may quiet our alarms in this direction. In this jostling world of ours, two persons may often have to ride upon the same horse. Wherever one is weak, and the other strong, it is not the strongest who will ride behind. It is worth the while of aldermen and fellows to attend to Lord Eldon; for it is Lord Eldon who is instructing them on the equities of his court. 'The principles of the Court on this subject, as deducible from the text writers and authors, will take no great time to mention; they are not open to much controversy, and I think they may be found in Duke's *Law of Charitable Uses*.'—'The following passage is one of great consequence: "And the Lord Coke said, that this resolution did concern all the colleges in the universities and elsewhere; for when the lands were first given for their maintenance, and that

tween the two countries? So with respect to the appointment of the Aldermen being an appointment for life. Many grounds of official incompetency in health, age, or circumstances, mental and moral, may subsequently arise, or may be subsequently discovered, which would not be sufficient grounds for either an indictment or a compulsory removal in a court of justice. A life-appointment creates, and creates gratuitously, the necessity of lodging an overruling discretion somewhere. Where can it be lodged? In the country magistracy Lord Eldon refused to volunteer it.

‘ every scholar should have a penny half-penny a-day ; this was
 ‘ then a competent allowance for a scholar, in respect of the
 ‘ price of victuals then, and yearly value of the land ; and now
 ‘ the price of victuals being increased, the first maintenance for
 ‘ scholars is not competent for them ; and as the value of the
 ‘ lands increase, so ought the allowance for the scholars to in-
 ‘ crease.” If the text is to be understood thus, that where pro-
 ‘ perty has been given for the foundation of a college, and a
 ‘ distribution has been at the same time made of all the rents to
 ‘ given members of that college, there must be an increase, as
 ‘ the times require, for all those persons,—of that there can be no
 ‘ doubt ; but unless I am mistaken, there are many cases to be
 ‘ found in both the universities, where land has been given of a
 ‘ greater value than the amount of the charges (which have
 ‘ been for scholars, exhibitioners, and so on) upon that land,
 ‘ and where, in point of fact, the enjoyment has been this : the
 ‘ charges have been made good from time to time, and the sur-
 ‘ plus has been taken by the college itself ; and, I believe, if this
 ‘ were considered an improper application of their funds, it would
 ‘ have the effect of disturbing the distribution of the revenues of
 ‘ many of the colleges in both universities.’—*Jacob and Walker’s
 Reports*, vol. ii. p. 315–317. Lord Eldon is a merchant tailor.
 Do ‘ the Master and Wardens of the Merchant Tailors of the
 ‘ Fraternity of St John the Baptist’ see his handwriting upon
 their wall ? The roving opinion of Sir James Scarlett will
 hardly rub it out.

While we are upon this subject, it may be worth while to
 request, that the bursars of the several colleges in the two uni-
 versities, as well as the Warden and Provost of Winchester and
 Eton, will read over carefully the 18th Elizabeth, c. 6. It may
 be worth their while also to ascertain whether the portion of their
 incomes, derived from corn-rents, has been faithfully raised and
 applied according to the direction of that statute. The real pur-
 port of the act has been lost sight of in modern times. Black-
 stone pays Burleigh and Sir T. Smith the compliment of sup-
 posing that they foresaw the effect which the increase of the pre-
 cious metals, consequent on the discovery of the mines in Ame-
 rica, would have upon prices. They are supposed, accordingly,
 to have advised this enactment, which makes it obligatory upon
 colleges to reserve a third of their old rent in corn, instead of
 money, with the view of upholding the revenues. It appears,
 that previous to 1576, the depreciation of the currency had been
 principally owing to its debasement. As far as the same effect
 was latterly in progress, owing to a contemporary augmentation
 in the quantity of the currency, it is by no means ascertained

that any body had as yet observed it; much less reasoned upon it prospectively, as a permanent cause of a gradual rise in prices. The rise indeed was the important matter, to whatever cause, provided the cause was but continuous, it was to be attributed. The American silver had by this time begun to take effect; its operation continued for some sixty years, when it is believed, by those most conversant with these enquiries, to have stopped, and not to have begun again. There are great complaints of the rise of prices as early as 1521; that is, two years after the conquest of Mexico and Peru. As the rise increased, preachers and antiquarians explained it in fifty different ways. Latymer, by the raising of landlord's rents; Fuller, by the daily multiplying of mankind, and by the license lately given to the transportation of corn. Camden says, some thought it was caused by enclosures; but he himself, by the embasement of the coin. Strype says, that Sir T. Smith had used the corn-rent 'long before, when Provost of Eton, on making or renewing leases; and the benefit of which he had well experienced by the rising of prices of corn even in his remembrance.' However true this may be, yet it seems impossible that a protection against the rise of prices should have been the main inducement to the statute. It must be remembered that the restraining statutes had already limited college leases to three lives, or twenty-one years: the colleges would of course make their terms. When the leases came to be renewed on the dropping in of a life, or at every seventh year, the colleges would be masters of the terms; and if that were all, would take care, like any other landlord, to raise their rents in proportion to the rise in corn. To compel them by act of Parliament to do inadequately what they would have done much more completely for their own sakes, was hardly worth an effort of solemn legislation, or the overflowing gratitude of contemporary scholars. With reference simply to the probable rise of prices, the 'many "were quite right" who could not conceive how this could be at all profitable to the colleges.' The statute, however, tells its own story, both in its preamble (the window that gives light to a legislator's meaning) and in its enactments. By its preamble, it professes to have a regard to 'the better maintenance of learning, and the *better relief of scholars.*' This object the enactment executes, by making a specific fund, securing its growth, and declaring the use to which this specific fund is to be dedicated. One-third of the old rent, as then paid, was to be reserved on every renewal in wheat or malt, (or at the market price of it, at the yearly option of the lessee;) and on calculating the quantity of wheat or malt so to be reserved at every renewal, the prices were to be assumed at

the nominal rate of six shillings and eightpence a-quarter, wheat, and five shillings a-quarter, malt, or under. It is clear that this rate was nominal only; for the average price of a quarter of wheat at that very time was about forty shillings; and the 35th Elizabeth, c. 7, by fixing the exportation price at twenty shillings, shows that wheat at twenty shillings was a drug. The first intention of the statute, therefore, was much more than merely a corn-rent. Its first and immediate effect would be this: Where thirteen shillings and fourpence continued to be received as the two-thirds of the old rent, forty shillings, or three times that amount, would be received as the corn-rent, or statute-third. Thus far, the principal effect of the statute would be to diminish to a certain degree the gross abuse of renewal fines, by which the fellows in possession anticipated the means provided for the subsistence of their successors. The abuses, unavoidably inherent in any system which permits a portion even of the future rent to be absorbed by the selfishness of fines, were the crying evil of those times; and were only limited, not abolished by the statute. There can be little doubt of the opinion of Burleigh and Sir T. Smith on the amount of the fines of the present day, as well as on the use which they are put to. Archbishop Whitgift writes, when Master of Pembroke Hall, ‘The mastership is but L.4 the year, and 18d. in the week for commons. My lecture is the whole stay of my living.’ Sir G. Paule, his biographer, informs us, that, when Master of Trinity, ‘he usually dined and supped in the common hall, as well to have a watchful eye over the scholars, and to keep them in a mannerly and awful obedience, as by his example to teach them to be contented with a scholarlike college diet.’ He left the university for the diocese of Worcester the year after the date of the statute.

The chief and most important object of this celebrated enactment—that which constitutes its great value as a principle and a precedent—still remains to be brought to view, and recovered from the oblivion into which it has been allowed to fall. From the instant that it came into operation, its statute-third would at once form (exclusive of the fines) three-fourths of the whole college rental. As the corn rent must keep up with the price of corn it has since been a great deal more. The governors of establishments are apt to determine every pecuniary question in their own favour, to the disadvantage of the inferior members; and sometimes at the expense of the very object of the institution. The framers of the act seem to have been afraid of the fellows’ dividends. It therefore goes on to declare that this statute-third (whether raised in corn or money) shall be appropriated to, and expended to the use of the relief of the *commons and diet* of the said

colleges; and by no fraud let or sold away from the profit of the said colleges, and *the use aforesaid*, on pain of deprivation of the governor, and of all other thereunto consenting. Strype calls it ‘a seasonable act of Parliament for increasing the commons of the colleges;’ and adds, ‘that the benefit is hereby doubled, to the great *relief of the company of students*; the benefit whereof may arise to the increase of more than L.12,000 per annum in both universities.’ In answer to a complaint of the students, (4 Strype, 337,) the authorities of Christ Church, in 1595, make a minute statement of their income and expenditure, affirming that the Dean and Chapter, in whose time provision of corn did first come, have given them all the improvements of rent-corn by statute, wherein, of right, they have a portion.’ They propose, as a remedy to temporary impoverishment, a reasonable stint of bread, yielding to every one of the King’s foundation but twelve pence yearly, and to all others a like proportion; and ‘to bring them to the old usual rate of being four in a mess, their commons being, in a manner, doubled over that it was.’ We have not time to dwell at present upon all that is implied by Strype’s expression, ‘the company of students,’ as distinguished from the scholars. Without desiring to act on the letter of Holt’s judgment, (that our colleges were meant to be charity schools of a better order,) it is plain that their actual constitution is as much out of accordance with the notions of our ancestors, as the late conduct of the Cambridge *caput* in throwing out the *placet* for the admission of dissenters to our universities, is a sally of monastic indiscretion, far too intolerant and intolerable for our own.

If the English Legislature has always interfered reluctantly and cautiously, with either the property or the policy of our great domestic establishments, this has certainly not arisen from any superstitious mystification concerning its right in lawful sovereignty and plenary discretion. The distinction between private and public corporations, though adopted judicially for certain purposes, has never reached as high as Parliament; nor been mentioned by way of limit, on its just authority, as the representative of the will and wisdom of the nation. Lord Hardwicke, even speaking as judge, and not as legislator, sensibly observed, that it is almost impossible to say what charities are public and what are private in their nature. ‘The charter of the Crown cannot make a charity more or less public, but only more permanent than it would otherwise be, but it is the extensiveness which will constitute a public one.’ The proper corollary to this is—that, since what is most permanent is most extensive, nothing ought to be construed to be so public as that which is meant to last for ever. It is evident, from the admitted dis-

tion between prospective and retrospective legislation, that bodies claiming perpetuity stand quite apart from the ordinary rules concerning private property and vested rights. In the case of individuals, the shortness of human life enables prospective legislation to respect the vested interests of individuals, and at the same time to answer all the purposes of a progressive society. But the two conditions cannot be reconciled in the case of a corporate body, on which time is not suffered to produce its natural effect. There is an end to the distinction between retrospective and prospective, when the present and the future are bound up into one stationary being; and where time is reduced to a single point by a supposed perpetual existence. Individuals get wiser as they get older. The son abandons his father's prejudices, and takes up the views and feelings of the age to which he belongs. But public bodies are, of necessity, like the idols mentioned by the Psalmist. They see with the eyes of their sheriff, they speak by the mouth of their recorder, and know nothing beyond the date and contents of their charter and their statutes. Their walls might be as well expected as their statutes to do without repair from modern hands. That which they cannot do for themselves, the Legislature must do for them.

Our American cousins have inherited from our law books the untoward distinction of public and private Corporations. They are likely to find it in the course of time, in the case of their older private Corporations, no slight embarrassment; owing to the restraints imposed by their constitution upon the federal legislature, as well as on the legislatures of the several States. Dartmouth College, in New Hampshire, was incorporated by charter in 1769. The State Legislature, in 1816, passed certain acts to amend the charter, and to enlarge and improve the College. The result of a very able argument, by Mr Webster, was a declaration by the Supreme Court of the United States, that the acts were unconstitutional and invalid. The College was consequently restored to its former condition. Practically speaking, the necessity of waiting till the American people are assembled in convention, before useless endowments can be abolished, or imperfect ones revised, does not present the American constitution in a very reasonable point of view. We trust that Mr Webster's confirmation of the necessity, by quotations from Madison, and from a former decision of the court, is put in, more as an advocate for the purpose of his argument, than as a statesman agreeing in the fact. 'Whatever respect might have been felt for the state sovereignties, it is not to be disguised that the framers of the constitution viewed, with some apprehension, the violent acts which might grow out of the feelings of the moment.

‘ The sober people of America are weary of the fluctuating policy which has directed the public councils. They have seen with regret and with indignation, that sudden changes, and legislative interferences in cases affecting personal rights, become jobs in the hands of enterprising and influential speculators, and snares to the more industrious and less informed part of the community. They have seen, too, that one legislative interference is but the link of a long chain of repetitions; every subsequent interference being naturally produced by the effects of the preceding.’ We should be sorry to believe that legislation requires to be watched, and controlled, and impeded, by more checks in the Houses of Assembly in America, than are found elsewhere to be sufficient. It has been truly said, that in these, and indeed in most matters, there may be easily too much jealousy to have much sense. It ought to be no chimerical danger to warrant the losses and delays and confusions unavoidably consequent on such extraordinary precautions. Chancellor Kent, in his *Commentaries*, and Mr Cooper, President of South Carolina College, in his *Lectures on Political Economy*, both agree that the rage for incorporating private companies prevails in America to an improvident and mischievous extent. The one asserts, that the demand for these acts of incorporation is continually increasing, and that their mighty mass of charters already occupies far the larger part of the statute law. The other affirms, ‘ Generally in this country it has glutted itself by incorporating banking companies, insurance companies, canal companies, and manufacturing companies of various descriptions. All these are increasing daily the list of public nuisances. The object of the companies apparently is, first, to obtain large profits by exclusive privilege and monopoly; secondly, to be licensed to run in debt to an indefinite extent, under a limited liability of payment—a mode of swindling quite common and honourable in these United States. A company may (as often has been done) divide their principal as a dividend of annual profits, and then sell out to unsuspecting purchasers.’ In these recent acts of incorporation for private purposes, the legislature has seen the wisdom of reserving to itself, as part of the contract, the power of altering or repealing the charters. It thus obtains the unlimited control over them which every legislature ought to possess. This writer’s own evidence, and Mr Cooper’s, prevents us from sharing his apparent regret over the abrogation which is thus obtained of what it is an Americanism to call ‘ the great and salutary provisions of the constitution of the United States.’

There can be no such thing as a perpetual private institution, properly so called. Its immortality makes it public. The ex-

pectation of the interested party is that on which the whole principle of private property rests. It dies with the party; that is, with the generation brought up to calculate and depend on it. But when a Corporation occupies the ground with its indefinite existence, it carries us at once beyond the sphere of any and every expectation. In this case, moreover, as successive generations come upon the stage of life, they find a portion of the common fund withdrawn from the common purposes of society, and locked up for ever. Subject to a respectful abstinence from the interests of the existing members, they are surely authorized to determine on the continued reasonableness of so violent an appropriation. To call a charity private, because its object has been selected, and its funds derived from a private person, is an unfortunate misnomer. Coke and Holt may make it law, (common law, if they please,) but can never make it reason. A testator can be scarcely in his grave, before occasions must be frequently arising, in which his particular intentions will have become so far impracticable, that an approximation to them can only be reached by conjectures about what he may be supposed to have generally intended. These immediately transport us into a labyrinth of uncertainty and of refinement, the clue of which is more than the 43d of Elizabeth had to give—though that is the probable origin of the Chancery jurisdiction in charitable uses. The appearances of similarity, which an equity lawyer so willingly embraces, when on this adventure, have often hardly the shape and consistency of a cloud. The notion of delivering up the nineteenth century, bound and manacled, to the ignorance of the middle ages, is pre-eminently absurd. If we have any right to legislate at all upon these establishments at the present day, it is worse than solemn trifling to preface our legislation by antiquarian discussions. The earth is for the living, not the dead. What have we to do with tapers, monks, and the Aristotelian worship—with the probable predilections of the wealthy warden of a guild—or with the motives by which an architectural abbot, or literary chaplain, may have worked on the liberality of the Countesses of Richmond and of De Clare? A nation must take higher ground than this, and more comprehensive views. Besides, it is only attempting what it is impossible to perform. No institution of charity or of learning can, at the close of five hundred years, fulfil the intentions, and represent the opinions which prevailed when its corner stone was laid. It is idle to imagine, that the proper removal or mitigation of this difficulty is to be found in giving more extensive powers of visitation to the heir of the family, or to the successor in a Bishopric. Is there a single

instance worth mentioning on record, among the thousand anomalies, deviations, and corruptions of our system, where the heir of the founder has had the piety to interpose? The Bishops of Lincoln and of Ely, as the respective diocesans of Oxford and of Cambridge, are the most frequent visitors of the colleges in their respective Universities. Is there a founder who would have chosen to be represented by a Tomline and a Sparkes? or who would have committed his lamb to their generous example and parental visits? We are sick of hearing of the fraud of disappointing the pious intentions of antiquity. The hypocrisy of such language, on the part of those who use it most, is generally at least equal to its folly. It certainly requires no little assurance to appeal to an argument, the pith and marrow of which are in contradiction to the practice of all ages. But more than that—an argument, the first fruits of which (if they are arguing honestly what they believe and feel) must be to reinstate the Church of Rome in its original possessions. The opinions and sympathies of our ancestors are by this time pulverised more completely than their bones. We cannot move a step without walking over and treading under foot feelings a hundred times dearer to them than the dust and ashes consecrated in their tombs. Sapiient senior fellows, and many sleek incumbents, talk of shocking a founder, of defeating his design, and of breaking faith with him, by holding out false inducements, under the promise of a perpetuity about to be endangered. This, too, after the Reformation! What, we should like to know, could surprise a founder half so much, as to find that the real representatives of his religious sentiments could no longer minister at the altar which he had dedicated, or be received as members of the College which he had endowed; nay, that an abjuration of his faith was become the very condition of partaking of his bounty. We do not complain of this. It is the necessary consequence of an individual seeking to undertake, after his death, the regulation of objects which the public interest ought to overrule. But we complain of those, who, although the whole question in these cases can only be a question of degree, are straining at gnats, when the camel has been swallowed, and deglutinated, and digested, whole.

Our latter observations have been principally addressed to those institutions which at present are treated as private, by the English law. About the public, at least so far as they consider themselves public, (for they set up somewhat amphibious claims,) there is less dispute. The interposition of the legislature, in the construction and regulation of municipal corporations, is so much a natural incident of internal government, that it is not the assumption of it, but the degree to which it has been neglected, which is really

our reproach. A more creditable instance of legislation might be found than that of the Test and Corporation Acts. However, it answers our purpose as well as a better. Especially since our object in referring to them is not so much on their own account, as for the sake of the judgments delivered in 1762, in the celebrated case of Evans and the Chamberlain of London. The bigotted intimations which Lord Eldon delighted, during his judicial dictatorship, to throw out against Unitarian dissenters, will not, it is to be hoped, deprive us at the present day of the beautiful commentaries on the Toleration Act, judicially pronounced on that occasion. The course pursued by the legislature on passing the Test and Corporation Acts went upon a presumed necessity: Of this necessity the legislature was the proper, and, indeed, the only judge. The method taken was sufficiently summary. That it should have been all in vain, and that they should be so soon at open war with all the corporations in the kingdom, is conclusive against the Stuarts. Justice Wilmot observes, that, looking to former dangers, the legislature ‘thought it necessary ‘to regulate the corporations in an arbitrary way, by removing ‘some officers, and placing others in their room who were better ‘affected, and also by providing officers for the future. The ‘method was, by vesting a power in commissioners to turn out ‘whom they pleased, and place others in their offices. When ‘that commission expired, they did not then choose to rest upon ‘oaths and declarations; but measured the fitness of men by their ‘antecedent religious habit; and made the having received the ‘sacrament, according to the rites of the Church of England, the ‘criterion by which that fitness was to be determined.’ In answer to the argument, that all corporations have a right to the service of their members, Justice Foster replies:—‘All corporations, under proper limitations, certainly have this right. But ‘still it is a right subject to the control of the legislature. And, ‘in matters of election, they must submit to such regulations as ‘the State shall think fit to make.’ A matter of election was the case before the court. But, equally in every other matter, the legislature, honestly acting for the public welfare, is lawfully and morally supreme.

If there ever was a statesman disposed to deify Prescription, and place it on the throne of Reason, it was Burke. He gave its full value to the difference between institutions which you might not originally have created, and those which, when they once have struck their roots wide, you should not destroy. He saw (no man better) the advantage of having a power ready to your hand, such as no government can create, whether it was in men, or in revenues set apart, with a public direction already given to

them. There is no comparison more powerful and contemptuous than his comparison between the probable services of hereditary proprietors, and of men entitled by corporate succession to estates, descending otherwise than by inheritance, and held by the tenure of certain duties more or less specifically impressed. Nevertheless, though he was thus formed by nature and by habit, and at a time when he was almost maddened by the confiscations and the crimes of revolutionary France, he remembered the just distinctions of political truth, and the philosophy of his calmer days. ‘ In a question of reformation, I always consider corporate bodies, whether sole or consisting of many, to be much more susceptible of a public direction by the power of the state, in the use of their property, and in the regulation of modes and habits of life in their members, than private citizens ever can be, or perhaps ought to be ; and this seems to me a very material consideration for those who undertake any thing which merits the name of a politic enterprise.’ (*Reflections on the Revolution in France.*) Thus much concerning corporate property. Long before, during the discussions upon Fox’s India Bill, he had laid down, in the strongest terms, the law of common sense, with regard to the political powers which have been granted by charters to public bodies. The argument applies equally to every power or privilege whatever. ‘ All political power which is set over men, and all privilege claimed or exercised in exclusion of them, being wholly artificial, and for so much a derogation from the natural equality of mankind at large, ought to be some way or other exercised ultimately for their benefit. If this is true with regard to every species of political dominion, and every description of commercial privilege, none of which can be original self-derived rights, or grants for the mere private benefit of the holders, then such rights, or privileges, or whatever else you choose to call them, are all in the strictest sense a *trust* ; and it is of the very essence of every trust, to be rendered *accountable* ; and even totally to *cease*, when it substantially varies from the purposes for which alone it could have a lawful existence. This I conceive to be true of trusts of power vested in the highest hands, and of such as seem to hold of no human creature. But about the application of this principle to subordinate *derivative* trusts, I do not see how a controversy can be maintained. To whom, then, would I make the East India Company accountable ? Why, to Parliament, to be sure ; to Parliament, from whom their trust was derived ; to Parliament, which alone is capable of comprehending the magnitude of its object, and its abuse ; and alone capable of an effectual legislative remedy. The very charter which is held out to exclude Parliament from correcting mal-

‘ versation, with regard to the high trust vested in the company, ‘ is the very thing which at once gives a title and imposes a duty ‘ on us to interfere with effect, wherever power and authority ‘ originating from ourselves are perverted from their purposes, and ‘ become instruments of wrong and violence.’

It would be indeed a strange contradiction—that the incidental misconduct of the officers of a corporation, in some single year, should be the grounds of entire dissolution, to be adjudicated in a court of law; and yet that a permanent unsuitableness, or imperfection in the object, or management of such institutions, should not be the proper subject of enquiry, and of remedy, in the public councils of the State.

The *Quo Warrantos* of Charles II. brought even the judicial control of corporations for a time into suspicion. The atrocious injustice of the French Assembly towards churchmen and church property, not only revolted Abbé Sieyès, the ablest advocate for their reform, but has made all honest men a little tender even of legislative interference. These reactions are the proper defence against, and the proper punishment of, injustice. But we must school our feelings. One alarm has long subsided; it is time to correct the other. On the supposition that corporations, municipal and commercial, and that endowed hospitals, colleges, and schools are to subsist, *Quo Warrantos* and *Mandamuses* will occasionally be wanted in our Courts of Justice: the chances and changes of human life, and the first principles of society, require something more. It is necessary that a comprehensive and peremptory jurisdiction should superintend the whole. This the English constitution places in Parliament itself. Nobody, or nobody worth noticing, disputes that Municipal Corporations ought to be continued in some shape or other. With respect to most of the other cases, there is a difference of opinion. Declaimers against them were sure to swarm. But objections, countenanced by Turgot and Dr Adam Smith, are entitled to the most respectful consideration.

Turgot’s arguments consist of a plausible appeal to facts. Look at establishments. The express intent of some of them was to perpetuate prejudices and superstitions, which, though the favourites of former ages, must always have been useless, if not pernicious. Turn to others. They were probably suited to the times in which they were created; but they have long since been a waste of the resources employed in them, and have proved serious obstacles to improvement. Taking the most favourable view possible, and assuming the objects contemplated by the founders to be objects of permanent utility, yet another objection is behind. There is such an irresistible tendency to mis-

management in endowments, that it is impossible to preserve them from abuse in their application and detail. This is the substance of the statement made by Turgot. On any hypothesis, a small part of it—on the hypothesis of irresponsibility and privacy, the whole of it—is true, notoriously true. What then? It is said, put an end to endowments altogether. But where is the wisdom of thus flying to extremes? If the only alternative were absolute destruction or unreformed existence, we admit that the necessity would be made out. But why not take a middle course? If objects, originally impolitic, have been incautiously patronised—if the policy of former days has become inapplicable at present—if unwise rules of judicial construction have led to mischievous consequences—if abuses, by means of interested or indolent parties, have insensibly crept in—let the legislature do its duty by the actual generation. It may be sure of our contemporary gratitude; and if he is at all worth thinking about, of the gratitude of the old gentleman who is mouldering in his grave. Man, and for ever, is too bold an antithesis, to mean more, than that, though the individual perishes, the race endures. Our thoughts will not perish with us as long as they are worth preserving. Nor ought we to wish to save an atom more of them than can be continuously identified with the interests and opinions of our fellow-creatures. Shorten not the arm of the generation in possession over its own affairs, and every one of Turgot's objections is removed.

The objection of Smith takes broader ground. He applies the principle of supply and demand (so conclusive in the facts with which the science of Political Economy is concerned) to our moral and intellectual nature. Wherefore, it is said, give bounties in the shape of endowments, and so pay beforehand for a thing, which, if it is worth having, will pay itself? The principle proscribes private, as well as state endowments; and even the help of voluntary subscription, as either superfluous, or false encouragements. How wofully far this is from being a correct picture of the appetite of mankind for moral, and religious, and scientific truths, is, alas! a matter of daily and melancholy experience. Every body is agreed that it is one of our first duties—but those who are best entitled to speak, are well aware, it is also one of our greatest difficulties—to create and accelerate this demand. The question is a question of fact, concerning human nature. May these things be left to find their level? or, unless a supply is forced, so as to be beforehand with the demand, is it not too probable that there will be no demand at all? On this point, Dr Chalmers, in his very able, and not sufficiently known Tract upon *Endowments*, appears to have left nothing essential to be added.

A single exception, admitted upon principle, is fatal to the axiom on which Dr Smith has grounded his proposition. He has himself tendered in this exception, by requiring that Schools should be provided for the *lower orders*. To recommend that food for the *Mind* should be thus supplied them, and to insist that they may be trusted to procure food for the *Body* for themselves, is to concede at once the true distinction between the two cases. But the distinction is not peculiar to the lower orders, and to elementary learning. The rich are quite as averse as the poor to listen to, or to remunerate their instructors. Ask of the booksellers the market price of science. Ascending upwards, subjects of the mightiest import to nations and to mankind, would never remunerate their cultivators with bread and cheese. France and Germany, where literature is a great deal thought of, and riches very little, are quite aware of this. Men like Hooker, Jeremy Taylor, and Locke, if left to the profit they could make as tradesmen by the sale of knowledge, would scarcely get the wages of an expert mechanic. It is a fact which experiments enough have verified—no thanks to us—that knowledge has a reward of its own incommensurate with money. There is another claim, arising out of the present state of our law on Patents, and Copyright; by which we rob genius of its own creations. What it is proposed to pay back, by way of endowments, to the common fund, is a small and partial compensation. Most of the benefit returns upon ourselves. It is, however, not the less gratefully accepted; for it is the nature of genius to be generous, and to feel, not only that colleagues and successors, but that all mankind is kin.

Once subjected to the superintendence and revision of succeeding times, foundations may do incalculable good. They take, on one hand, a wider and more comprehensive view of the wants of society, than come within the compass of the means of individuals. On the other, they perform, with less burden, and less invidiousness, and yet with greater certainty and effect, one of the noblest offices of an enlightened government. The charge of national education in every rank forms at present a large item of the national expenditure of France and Russia. In the absence of endowments the cost has to be defrayed by direct taxation. We are succeeding in Ireland in getting the long alienated sects into the same school-room. Our Universities must become as wise. The tolerant establishments of the continent, as for instance Bonn and Paris, show us Protestant and Catholic Professors, with pupils of every colour of dissent, drawing usefully and amicably together. A learned Jew was, and probably still is, the official secretary of the most important department connected with education in Holland. Notwithstanding the paradoxical remonstrances

of flighty genius personified in the character of 'Randolph of Roanoke, America will soon have no competitor in one species of endowment. Her system of schools will be co-extensive with her territory, and portioned upon the boundless acres of her national domain. One of the last and most earnest acts of the popular patriotism of Jefferson was the foundation and the patronage of the College of Virginia, in honourable rivalry with the colleges of the Northern States. If we consider the matter wisely, therefore, what some people have been inconsiderate enough to think a grievance is a real and enviable advantage. Notwithstanding the monastic revolution, wickedly consummated by Henry VIII., we are national possessors of the amplest endowments in Europe. They only want to be judiciously reformed, and regulated, to answer every object that Christian philanthropy can require. They are a splendid inheritance, which it would be criminal any longer to misuse, but which madness only would throw away.

Under the directions of the late administration, a Commission was issued to enquire into and report upon the state of the Universities of Scotland. There is infinitely more reason that a similar Commission should be directed, by the present government, to enquire into, and report upon, the Universities of England. Their most intelligent members are aware of the necessity. Should a Commission be appointed, we hope its enquiries will be guided by a thorough knowledge of the subject, and by a philosophy at once large and liberal; and that it will not, like the well-meaning Commission alluded to, overlook great and practicable improvements in the academical distribution of the Sciences, as the groundwork of teaching, and limit its views to minute interferences and arbitrary regulations, calculated to damp the ardour, if not to disgust those on whose judgment and exertions the whole efficiency of the system is essentially dependent. The entire body of the English people, especially the higher and middle classes, have the deepest interest in the welfare of their Universities. The recent discourse of Professor Sedgwick on the 'Studies of the University,' shows that Cambridge, at least, is ready 'to warm the nations with redoubled ray;'—that (while she has been of late so nobly enlarging her material foundations, and counting anew her towers) her favourite children—sons of the prophets—have inherited a portion also of a still better spirit;—that they are striving to make her 'all glorious within;'—that they are conscious of her capacities, and are exulting in the weight and the glory of her calling—knowing and affirming, that they are dedicated, by their station, to the high office of deepening the foundations of all knowledge, and scattering abroad the blessings of every truth. Writings of this kind are declarations

of trust certified by worthy and honourable trustees. A short commentary on the University Calendar will tell us the persons who are discharging these important duties; and may thus afford a presumption of the extent of the breach of trust, and of the numbers implicated in it. Many of the public have been hitherto but imperfectly aware of the wheat which is treasured in these granaries of science. They will know it, value it, and profit by it the more, when the chaff—that chaff which has so long hidden and overlaid it—is blown away.

ART. XI.—*The Church of England versus the Holy Scriptures. An Address, with some additions, delivered by J. F. WINKS, at the Great Hall of the New Rooms, Wellington Street, Leicester, August 8, 1833. Leicester: 1833.*

IT is a curious, but it is also an important enquiry, at the present moment, to what is owing the great unpopularity of the Established Church in England; and the desire which appears so generally to prevail, that it should be thoroughly reformed; and not merely cleared of its impurities,—for its best friends must wish to see this effected,—but that it should be shorn of its splendour and stript of its chiefest privileges. We premise, that for the present we are not about to moot the question of an Establishment; we shall assume that there is to be a Church in England as well as among ourselves, endowed and protected by the State; and in tracing the causes of the prevailing dislike towards the English Church, we shall speak only of those classes who approve of an Establishment. Yet, among them, the disfavour to the one now existing among our Southern neighbours, is, at this moment, extreme. To what shall we ascribe it?

The first solution that occurs is Tithe; and undoubtedly this is a sore evil, greatly aggravating all else that the flock have to complain of; yet it is clearly not the only, or even the principal cause of the hatred of which we are speaking. The pressure of tithe was much more severely felt when agriculture was in a state of rapid progress, and capital was largely investing, in breaking up new land, and improving the old enclosures. Then it was that the parson who spent not a farthing, came in for his share of the gross produce, and sometimes carried away two-thirds, and even three-fourths and more, of the whole profit of the spirited improver. Besides, the Church is not more hated among farmers and landlords, than in the towns and cities, where tithe is hardly known but by name; and there is a general impression among

those connected with the land, even if they be not churchmen, that they, or their predecessors, only bought a part of the land,—the portion of the Church or the lay impropiator remaining unaffected by the bargain; and that, consequently, were the Church extinguished to-morrow, the tithe would belong not to the landowner, but to the State. This manifest dictate of reason and common sense is, we will venture to say, disregarded nowhere but in Ireland; and even there, they do not venture openly to disown their belief of it, however plainly their wishes may penetrate through all disguises.

It may next be supposed that the progress of Dissent is the cause of the disfavour in which the Church is holden. But if that were so, whence comes it that the repeal of all Tests, and the admission of sectaries within the pale of the constitution, whether they be Catholic or Protestant, has not mitigated the aversion, but that, on the contrary, the Establishment has become much more odious in the eyes of the people, since the great grievances of non-conformists have been removed?

Without searching about further for the solution of our difficulty, we believe it may be found, not in any one but in several circumstances, not essentially inherent in the frame of the Establishment, but accidental, and as it were personal; and which, having begotten the dislike, are, as always happens in such cases, exceedingly aided in their operation by the more fundamental matters of Tithe and Dissent.

At the very head of the list we are disposed to place the unhappy determination of the Established Clergy, on all occasions, and in every way, to set themselves in opposition against the liberal and enlightened spirit of the age. They, generally speaking, seem to value themselves on nothing so much as their determined resistance of all improvement, and their steady patronage of every existing abuse. Their implacable hostility to all the late reforms, beginning with the Bill, has been notorious and universal. They most unwisely made common cause with the rotten and convicted system; they avowedly connected the interests of the Establishment with the condemned Boroughs; and they taught men to believe that the guardians of the Church considered it as impossible that She and Improvement could exist together. Then, said the people, if it must be so, we are for improvement. They identified their Church with all corruption—with every kind of public grievance,—by proclaiming that whoever defended reform attacked the Hierarchy. Then, said the people, we are at war with corruption; our grievances we are resolved to shake off; and, if it must be so, we are against the Church which you identify with all we abhor.

But it is not merely speculatively, or as a body, that the clergy have thus alienated the people from them and theirs. Their individual demeanour has been productive, if possible, of still greater irritation. Wherever men turned their eyes, they beheld active preachers of slavish maxims,—busy doers of hateful work. The oppressor of the district always numbered parsons among his more bustling agents; the popular candidate was sure to meet with nine-tenths of the clerical votes enrolled against him; and among his most unscrupulous adversaries, reverend canvassers, and reverend scribes; while the offences of bitterness in social intercourse, and evil speaking, and encouragement of other men's slanders, were shared in a very ample proportion by the clerical with the lay members of the illiberal party.*

Few things have contributed more to the result of which we are discoursing, than the number of clergymen who have been so unwise as to become acting Magistrates. Where no laymen are resident, it may be necessary that parsons should be justices; but nothing has a more direct tendency to excite hatred and contempt both towards the men and towards their sacred office. It is also certain, that they have not generally shown such discretion, temper, and forbearance, in exercising magisterial functions, as might either have been expected or desired from men in their station. A shortsighted wish to increase the power of the Church, and thus provide for her security, has, with many worthy men, proved a reason for qualifying: the effect has been exactly the reverse. Scarce any thing has more conduced to the discredit of the order and the damage of the Establishment. But many parsons of a very different description, from mere desire of rendering themselves useful to a patron, and showing the extent of their sub-

* The fact is understood to be beyond all dispute, that the Papers on the Tory side in politics, which notoriously drive a constant traffic of private slander, number among their chief supporters the clergy of the High Church party all over the country. This has, no doubt, hastened the crisis now approaching. The Spanish proverb, somewhat ungallant, as well as irreverent, affirms that women, equally with priests, are to be traced in the mischiefs which happen in the world. So we understand that some of the fashionable and political ladies of the day have been great encouragers of the shameful publications referred to. Mere common discussion, be it ever so sharp, will not suit their appetites, the edge of which is sharper still. Next to the demand which they and their reverend abettors afford for the base article, there is no more eager class of readers, we are told, than their waiting-women, and the milliners of both sexes. Here, happily, our clergy meddle not with such things; and we are not rich in ladies' maids, and have, we believe, no men-milliners at all.

serviency, to ground a claim for preferment, have thrust themselves forward, and crawled upon the bench; where those patrons, with the words 'our sacred Establishment' upon their lips, have been glad enough to obtain such aid in the prosecution of their local policy—careless if the conduct of its ministers shook the very altars themselves to the ground.

It is painful to reflect that the higher classes of the clergy have, for the most part, shown any thing rather than a disposition to conciliate the public feelings towards the body; alienated as that feeling was by the demeanour of so many among their subordinate brethren. The deplorable mistakes committed by the Bishops in the question of the Reform Bill, and on one or two merely party questions, is fresh in the recollection of all. A rooted opinion has hence prevailed, that the Bishops are hostile to the Reforming Government, and desirous, as far as in them lies, of restoring the Tory reign, so hateful to the people. That some Prelates, and those among the most distinguished, not only of their own order, but of any in the State, for talents, and learning, and worth, have stood forward as able and judicious supporters of all wholesome reforms, is true; but, important as have been their services to the Church, of which they are at once the ornaments and the pillars, the public eye is fixed upon the general character and conduct of the body; and the opinions of men (which alone we now speak of) are formed upon the rule, and not upon the exceptions.

It should really seem as if some fatality hung over this ancient, learned, and tolerant Establishment, and, in despite of all its claims to the love and respect of its children, devoted it to trial, if not to destruction. There came, after severe shocks—after much hatred from the faults and follies of its members—many perils from the sinister aspect of the times—there came, as it were providentially, a momentary reaction in its favour. The absurd exaggerations of its wealth had been for a season credited, because of the unblushing confidence with which they were promulgated by designing, among ignorant men. The falsehood of these tales was exposed by making public the true statement of its revenues; and the former animosity towards it was succeeded by a calm, or rather by a kind of favourable feeling. That precious moment should have been seized for proposing the commutation of tithes, the extinction of church-rates, the abolition of non-residence and pluralities, and the relief of Dissenters from all their remaining disabilities. Or, if even *one* of these necessary measures had then been brought forward with the hearty concurrence of the Hierarchy itself, nobody can tell how far the errors of churchmen,—their enmity to improvement, their evil courses in

political conflicts, their active and often profligate encouragement of slander,—might have been forgotten, and the path once more made smooth for a reconciliation with the people. But far from any such thing entering their thoughts; this was the very moment chosen by them for exasperating the community beyond any anger or irritation that had ever been excited before. The year allowed by a late act, within which claims of tithe might be made so as to avoid the operation of the limitation enacted, was about to expire; and hundreds of suits were immediately instituted all over the country, in order to keep alive those obsolete claims for ever. The pretence under which this was done, all men seemed to think flimsy. But undoubtedly the parsons had this to urge in their defence: if they took no steps, they abandoned the right, such as it was, for ever, and their successors could never try the question at all. The payers of tithes, on the other hand, felt that no imputation of selfishness, or even of neglect of duty, could fairly be cast on any one who abstained from saving for his successors a right which he had never deemed worth exercising for himself; and it can hardly be doubted, that the saving clause in the statute was, with some, made a pretence for proceedings which had the present incumbent's good in view, rather than his successors'. However this be, the fact is incontestable, that those proceedings exasperated the country against the clergy in an unparalleled degree; and that the general hatred of Tithe, and Rate, and Pluralists, and Political Priests, and whatever else is made the ground of attack upon the Establishment, never reached a higher pitch of exacerbation, or spread more widely through the community, than of late, and since the temporary calm into which those angry feelings had immediately before been lulled.

The palpable errors, or rather misconduct of individuals, fewer in number and more insulated, all conspired to increase the general indignation or disgust; and though it unavoidably happens, in such circumstances, that things attract notice and produce serious effects, which, in an ordinary state of affairs, might have been unfelt and passed unobserved, yet there seemed really on this occasion to be an infatuation in some persons, driving them onwards to their own ruin and that of the Establishment. Will it be credited in after times, that the recess after the last Session was the time chosen by one clergyman for claiming from a day-labourer tithe of his weekly earnings; by another, for refusing the right of interment to a dissenter; and by certain dignitaries for displaying a somewhat suspicious zeal for examining persons before Institution?

We set out with stating, that we approved the necessity, or at least the high expediency of an Establishment both in England

and in Scotland. Let those who deny this, only explain in what way they expect the bulk of the common people to receive religious and moral instruction, if all is left to voluntary exertions. How are those who stand most in need of the control of religion to provide pious and faithful ministers of the Word of God? Can there be a doubt that the chapels of the dissenters are attended chiefly by persons in easy circumstances? Where are the peasants of the farm-houses and villages to resort for spiritual comfort and for instruction? Until some scheme is promulgated which can ensure a due supply of this essential want,—a supply not depending upon the desires or the caprices of those who, standing most in need of it, are pretty generally the most blind to its value,—we must own that we shall feel an invincible repugnance to any thing which can shake the Establishment. With all our Presbyterian prejudices, too, we must admit the extraordinary degree in which the Church of our Southern neighbours combines piety and learning with tolerance. Our own is simple, no doubt; and it has less of the pride which state and wealth engender, and which in some persons, in some portions of the English Hierarchy, proves revolting enough. It is possible, too, that it may have more piety. But we fear that it cannot pretend to any thing like equal learning.* Were we, then, to place ourselves in the situation of Englishmen, we suspect that our prayers would be for the safety of the Church, as

* It has been thought by many, that Presbyterianism is naturally intolerant; and the recent proceedings of our Church Courts, in relation to the education of the benighted Irish, have been referred to as affording a striking example of the inherent narrowness of that scheme. These proceedings, undoubtedly, were most discreditable,—a subject of joy to the enemies of our Church, and of deep sorrow to her true friends. Would that all trace of them could be blotted from her annals! The General Assembly was not satisfied with opposing the Irish Bill in May, 1832, when its principles and tendencies might be pretended to be not duly explained; but, contrary to the advice and to the votes of those who had taken the lead on that occasion, it returned to the attack in May last, and then actually came to this Resolution,—‘That the General Assembly, being convinced that the *only* sure foundation of sound morality and *useful* knowledge, is to be found in the revealed Word of God, are of opinion, that *no countenance* from the Government of this realm ought to be bestowed on any system of national education, of which instruction in the *Holy Scriptures* does not form an essential part!’

These words plainly admitted of no construction consistent with any principles of toleration; but in order to remove all doubt, it was distinctly

far as the conduct of its dignitaries and its ministers would allow us to take its part.

With these sentiments we own that we derive great satisfaction, from reflecting upon the causes of its unpopularity. They are all personal—accidental—removable. We have the same ground of hope which the great orator so often urged to the Athenians. The peril comes not from the nature of the thing, but from the errors or misconduct of the men. The tide may yet be turned in favour of the Church, if churchmen will only open their eyes to their real situation, and looking their imminent dangers in the face, resolve upon the only course by which they can escape. They must,—we can use no other word,—they **MUST** cease to regard all reform as their ruin, and all reformers as their natural enemies. They must conform themselves to the spirit of the age, or be content to survive their establishment.

Without any reform, any change in the Church itself, they might do much to turn aside the storm,—to extinguish the anger that now is kindled against them. We have little doubt that a universal resolution neither to act as Justices, nor to take any part whatever in Elections of any kind, would do more to reconcile the people than almost all the measures which the wisdom of Parliament ever devised. And we may, in passing, express our

asked by those who trembled for the character of the Church, whether it was really meant that, if the Catholics should refuse to allow their children to attend any schools where the Bible is taught, they should, on this account, be deprived of all public aid in *learning to read*? and, incredible as it may appear, the answer was, that this was truly the scope and principle of the resolution! Indeed, the whole opposition to the Government scheme, both in its language and its spirit, proceeded on the ground, that wherever the ignorance of any portion of the population of the British Empire is so gross that the Sacred Writings are absolutely rejected, this fact, instead of being the strongest of all reasons for communicating instruction at the public expense, is conclusive against affording the means of acquiring that elemental knowledge, through which alone the arrival at truth can be hoped for.

Yet it would be unfair to ascribe these humiliating proceedings to Presbyterianism. The character of the minority in the Assembly, and the unanimous concurrence of our native Dissenters, in the Government plan, rescue Presbyterianism from this reproach,—and the result can be accounted for without the necessity of supposing that there is any natural connexion between Calvinism and intolerance. It was produced by the union of that political factiousness which can promote a secular object under a scriptural pretence, with that honest bigotry which, instead of being peculiar to one sect, has too often been the attribute and the scandal of all.

deep regret, that the Reform Bill did not exempt our Scotch clergy from one of those causes of dislike, by keeping from them the elective franchise. But if (and we quite expect it) they have not the common sense and ordinary prudence to take this step themselves, and for their own safety; if they persist in thinking that the Church is protected by their exercising secular rights—it becomes the Legislature to act upon its better sense of the danger, and its more accurate knowledge, that such rights are the ruin and not the security of the Church. A peremptory exclusion of clergymen from all qualifications to act either as electors, or as justices in respect of their livings, would be about the best thing for the Establishment that could be devised.

But there are other reforms which the Church could easily make in its constitution—reforms which ought to be granted even if it were in no jeopardy. As for church-rates, there is no occasion to discuss the question—they can only be levied if the vestries choose to vote them; so that wherever either the Dissenters predominate, or the church-goers themselves are indisposed, there is no remedy. This state of the law requiring some measure to be adopted, in order to preserve the fabric of the churches, there can be no doubt that the measure must be such as to content the Dissenters: none other can ever be looked at in these times, and by the present Parliament. The continuance of non-residence and of pluralities is clearly out of the question.—That any man should ever more be suffered to hold two livings, when either the distance is such as to prevent him doing the duties of both, or the value is such, how small soever the distance, as to supply the income of two clerks, is now become utterly impossible—and this reform will assuredly remove the most crying of all the enormities laid to the charge of our neighbouring Hierarchy.—A plan for extinguishing tithes, upon fair and reasonable compensation,—that is upon such a valuation as may be in proportion, not to the extreme rights of the Church, but to its actual receipts in time past, and with a deduction even from that to cover the costs,—and be an equivalent for the vexation of the present system,—appears not at all impracticable, and will most probably be speedily brought forward.—The relief of Dissenters in what relates to registering, marriage, and burial, is another matter, which, happily for the Church, cannot any longer be put off; for it will certainly be as good for the Establishment, at the least, as for the sectaries. If it could be postponed, we are aware that every effort would be made by the High-Church party to put it aside. One of the Bishops, from whose household we should have looked for any thing rather than such

a confession, openly avows, that the feeling of the Church is to refuse any change whereby the ecclesiastical influence may be lessened, or the weight of Dissenters increased, without any regard whatever to the subject itself, or to the public interests involved in it. The community, therefore, is duly warned what it has to expect—and must act for itself.

We must, however, in passing, remark, that nothing can exceed the want of fairness and of common reason, shown by some among the sectaries in discussing these questions. Thus, they claim the right of burial in the very churchyards which they refuse the means of supporting. Let there be no rates, say they—let churchmen keep up the churchyard—but let us who pay nothing towards it have the privilege of burying our dead in it. Except among Irish landowners, and the accomplices or the dupes of Irish agitators, was ever so glaring a want of fairness as in this pretension? We trust it is confined to a small body of the English sectaries.

The objections which they take to the Church service are of a very different description. The tract before us, which chiefly consists of extracts from an able work of Mr Towgood, exposes, in a manner likely enough to meet our Presbyterian notions, the indelicacies of the marriage service; its inconsistency with the belief of some sects, and with the common decency which prevail among the well-educated members of all; and the impieties, revolting to every religious mind, of the burial-service. The reformation of these, and indeed of the whole Liturgy, has long been called for loudly by the worthiest members of the English Church. Archbishop Tillotson, Archdeacon Paley, Bishop Watson, and many others, have long demanded an alteration in various parts of the service. But no; the clergy will not. There must be no change; the more things are shown to be wrong,—the better the men be that call for an amendment,—the more obstinately is it to be refused. This cannot last much longer; and our hope and trust is, that the correction of the abuses will save the Church in spite of itself. Yet, after all, why should these shortsighted men refuse the very means of safety which the nature of the case presents to them? Why should they suffer their prejudices—their party feelings—or their personal antipathies—in a word, their temper, to overpower all reasonable regard for their own dearest interests, as well as for the Establishment committed to their care? Why should they persist in their hostility to the very class of persons who can give the Establishment the least chance of outliving the storm that now surrounds it? If they will heartily co-operate with the ‘Reform Ministry and the

‘Reformed Parliament,’ they, and the Church whom they represent, will have all the credit of the improvements which must be introduced, either with their help, or in spite of their resistance. If they oppose the efforts to amend the constitution of the Church, they incur the most imminent hazard of bringing about its overthrow.

But we know what they are blind enough to wish: they—a great party among them at least—anxiously desire the overthrow of the Reform Government, and the restoration of the Conservative party to place. To effect this purpose, they are very willing to exert their best efforts. Now, let them be well assured of one thing; if these efforts prove successful, *their* days are numbered, as well as the Ministry;—with this difference, that the Ministry would speedily be restored to power, but they never. The people would not fail to ascribe a change of men and of measures the most hateful that ever visited this country, entirely to the High-Church party. Against that party the wrath of the nation would be pointed, and would doom to destruction, not merely the men who had been suffered to do the deed, but the cause for whose sake it would be believed to have been perpetrated. The persons we are speaking of may possibly expect, that in their extremity they would not call in vain for help from those ministers whom they had worked to displace. If they entertain these expectations, it shows how truly Christian a spirit of forgiveness they ascribe to those whom they unjustly call their adversaries. It is reckoning, *indeed*, upon receiving good for evil. We have the highest opinion of the pure and disinterested spirit of the men who now rule this country, and we believe they will always do their duty; but that they will bear to be maltreated and not resent it, we nowise expect. On the contrary, we think there is much more practical wisdom in the saying reported of a certain dignitary of the Church, than in any such romantic speculations upon the entire self-denial of statesmen: ‘Much as I hate these ‘Reformers, better far for us to have them in office than in Opposition.’

ART. XII.—*A History of the Right Honourable William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, containing his Speeches in Parliament, a considerable portion of his Correspondence when Secretary of State, upon French, Spanish, and American Affairs, never before published; and an Account of the principal Events and Persons of his time, connected with his Life, Sentiments, and Administration.* By the Rev. FRANCIS THACKERAY, A.M. Two Volumes. Quarto. London: 1827.

THOUGH several years have elapsed since the publication of this work, it is still, we believe, a new publication to most of our readers. Nor are we surprised at this. The book is large, and the style heavy. The information which Mr Thackeray has obtained from the State Paper Office is new; but much of it is to us very uninteresting. The rest of his narrative is very little better than Gifford's or Tomline's *Life of the Second Pitt*, and tells us little or nothing that may not be found quite as well told in the 'Parliamentary History,' the 'Annual Register,' and other works equally common.

Almost every mechanical employment, it is said, has a tendency to injure some one or other of the bodily organs of the artisan. Grinders of cutlery die of consumption; weavers are stunted in their growth; and smiths become blear-eyed. In the same manner almost every intellectual employment has a tendency to produce some intellectual malady. Biographers, translators, editors,—all, in short, who employ themselves in illustrating the lives or the writings of others, are peculiarly exposed to the *Lues Boswellianæ*, or disease of admiration. But we scarcely remember ever to have seen a patient so far gone in this distemper as Mr Thackeray. He is not satisfied with forcing us to confess that Pitt was a great orator, a vigorous minister, an honourable and high-spirited gentleman. He will have it, that all virtues, and all accomplishments met in his hero. In spite of Gods, men, and columns, Pitt must be a poet,—a poet capable of producing a heroic poem of the first order;—and we are assured that we ought to find many charms in such lines as these:—

‘Midst all the tumults of the warring sphere,
My light-charged bark may haply glide;
Some gale may waft, some conscious thought shall cheer,
And the small freight unanxious glide.’

Pitt was in the army for a few months in time of peace. Mr Thackeray accordingly insists on our confessing that, if the young cornet had remained in the service, he would have been one of the

ablest commanders that ever lived. But this is not all. Pitt, it seems, was not merely a great poet *in esse*, and a great general *in posse*, but a finished example of moral excellence—the just man made perfect. He was in the right when he attempted to establish an inquisition, and to give bounties for perjury, in order to get Walpole's head. He was in the right when he declared Walpole to have been an excellent minister. He was in the right when, being in Opposition, he maintained that no peace ought to be made with Spain, till she should formally renounce the right to search. He was in the right when, being in office, he silently acquiesced in a treaty by which Spain did not renounce the right of search. When he left the Duke of Newcastle—when he coalesced with the Duke of Newcastle—when he thundered against subsidies—when he lavished subsidies with unexampled profusion—when he execrated the Hanoverian connexion—when he declared that Hanover ought to be as dear to us as Hampshire; he was still invariably speaking the language of a virtuous and enlightened statesman.

The truth is, that there scarcely ever lived a person who had so little claim to this sort of praise as Pitt. He was undoubtedly a great man. But his was not a complete and well-proportioned greatness. The public life of Hampden, or of Somers, resembles a regular drama, which can be criticised as a whole, and every scene of which is to be viewed in connexion with the main action. The public life of Pitt, on the other hand, is a rude though striking piece,—a piece abounding in incongruities,—a piece without any unity of plan, but redeemed by some noble passages, the effect of which is increased by the tameness or extravagance of what precedes, and of what follows. His opinions were unfixed. His conduct at some of the most important junctures of his life was evidently determined by pride and resentment. He had one fault, which of all human faults is most rarely found in company with true greatness. He was extremely affected. He was an almost solitary instance of a man of real genius, and of a brave, lofty, and commanding spirit, without simplicity of character. He was an actor in the Closet, an actor at Council, an actor in Parliament; and even in private society he could not lay aside his theatrical tones and attitudes. We know that one of the most distinguished of his partisans often complained that he could never obtain admittance to Lord Chatham's room till every thing was ready for the representation—till the dresses and properties were all correctly disposed—till the light was thrown with Rembrandt-like effect on the head of the illustrious performer—till the flannels had been arranged with the air of a Grecian drapery, and the crutch placed as gracefully as that of Belisarius or Lear.

Yet, with all his faults and affectations, Pitt had, in a very extraordinary degree, many of the elements of greatness. He had splendid talents, strong passions, quick sensibility, and vehement enthusiasm for the grand and the beautiful. There was something about him which ennobled conversation itself. He often went wrong,—very wrong. But, to quote the language of Wordsworth,

‘ He still retained,
 ‘Mid such abasement, what he had received
 From nature, an intense and glowing mind.’

In an age of low and dirty prostitution,—in the age of Dodding-ton and Sandys,—it was something to have a man who might perhaps, under some strong excitement, have been tempted to ruin his country, but who never would have stooped to pilfer from her;—a man whose errors arose, not from a sordid desire of gain, but from a fierce thirst for power, for glory, and for vengeance. History owes to him this attestation,—that at a time when any thing short of direct embezzlement of the public money was considered as quite fair in public men, he showed the most scrupulous disinterestedness,—that at a time when it seemed to be generally taken for granted that Government could be upheld only by the basest and most immoral arts, he appealed to the better and nobler parts of human nature,—that he made a brave and splendid attempt to do, by means of public opinion, what no other statesman of his day thought it possible to do, except by means of corruption,—that he looked for support, not, like the Pelhams, to a strong Aristocratical connexion, not, like Bute, to the personal favour of the Sovereign, but to the middle class of Englishmen,—that he inspired that class with a firm confidence in his integrity and ability,—that, backed by them, he forced an unwilling court and an unwilling oligarchy to admit him to an ample share of power,—and that he used his power in such a manner as clearly proved that he had sought it, not for the sake of profit or patronage, but from a wish to establish for himself a great and durable reputation by means of eminent services rendered to the state.

The family of Pitt was wealthy and respectable. His grandfather was Governor of Madras; and brought back from India that celebrated diamond which the Regent Orleans, by the advice of Saint-Simon, purchased for upwards of three millions of livres, and which is still considered as the most precious of the crown jewels of France. Governor Pitt bought estates and rotten boroughs, and sat in the House of Commons for Old Sarum. His son Robert was at one time member for Old Sarum, and at another for Oakhampton. Robert had two sons. Thomas, the

elder, inherited the estates and the Parliamentary interest of his father. The second was the celebrated William Pitt.

He was born in November, 1708. About the early part of his life little more is known than that he was educated at Eton, and that at seventeen he was entered at Trinity College, Oxford. During the second year of his residence at the University, George the First died; and the event was, after the fashion of that generation, celebrated by the Oxonians in many very middling copies of verses. On this occasion Pitt published some Latin lines, which Mr Thackeray has preserved. They prove that he had but a very limited knowledge even of the mechanical part of his art. All true Etonians will hear with concern, that their illustrious schoolfellow is guilty of making the first syllable in *labenti* short. The matter of the poem is as worthless as that of any college exercise that was ever written before or since. There is, of course, much about Mars, Themis, Neptune, and Cocytus. The Muses are earnestly entreated to weep for Cæsar; for Cæsar, says the poet, loved the Muses;—Cæsar, who could not read a line of Pope, and who loved nothing but punch and fat women.

Pitt had been, from his school-days, cruelly tormented by the gout, and was at last advised to travel for his health. He accordingly left Oxford without taking a degree, and visited France and Italy. He returned, however, without having received much benefit from his excursion, and continued, till the close of his life, to suffer most severely from his constitutional malady.

His father was now dead, and had left very little to the younger children. It was necessary that William should choose a profession. He decided for the army, and a cornet's commission was procured for him in the Blues.

But, small as his fortune was, his family had both the power and the inclination to serve him. At the general election of 1734, his elder brother Thomas was chosen both for Old Sarum and for Oakhampton. When Parliament met in 1735, Thomas made his election to serve for Oakhampton, and William was returned for Old Sarum.

Walpole had now been, during fourteen years, at the head of affairs. He had risen to power under the most favourable circumstances. The whole of the Whig party,—of that party which professed peculiar attachment to the principles of the revolution, and which exclusively enjoyed the confidence of the reigning house,—had been united in support of his administration. Happily for him, he had been out of office when the South-Sea Act was passed; and, though he does not appear to have foreseen all the consequences of that measure, he had strenuously opposed it,

as he opposed almost all the measures, good and bad, of Sunderland's administration. When the South-Sea Company were voting dividends of fifty per cent,—when a hundred pounds of their stock were selling for eleven hundred pounds,—when Threadneedle Street was daily crowded with the coaches of dukes and prelates,—when divines and philosophers turned gamblers,—when a thousand kindred bubbles were daily blown into existence,—the periwig company, and the Spanish-jack-ass-company, and the quicksilver-fixation-company,—Walpole's calm good sense preserved him from the general infatuation. He condemned the prevailing madness in public, and turned a considerable sum by taking advantage of it in private. When the crash came,—when ten thousand families were reduced to beggary in a day,—when the people, in the frenzy of their rage and despair, clamoured not only against the lower agents in the juggle, but against the Hanoverian favourites, against the English ministers, against the King himself,—when Parliament met, eager for confiscation and blood,—when members of the House of Commons proposed that the directors should be treated like parricides in ancient Rome, tied up in sacks, and thrown into the Thames, Walpole was the man on whom all parties turned their eyes. Four years before he had been driven from power by the intrigues of Sunderland and Stanhope, and the lead in the House of Commons had been intrusted to Craggs and Aislachie. Stanhope was no more. Aislachie was expelled from Parliament on account of his disgraceful conduct regarding the South-Sea scheme. Craggs was saved by a timely death from a similar mark of infamy. A large minority in the House of Commons voted for a severe censure on Sunderland, who, finding it impossible to withstand the force of the prevailing sentiment, retired from office, and outlived his retirement but a very short time. The schism which had divided the Whig party was now completely healed. Walpole had no opposition to encounter except that of the Tories, and the Tories were naturally regarded by the King with the strongest suspicion and dislike.

For a time business went on with a smoothness and a despatch such as had not been known since the days of the Tudors. During the session of 1724, for example, there was only a single division. It is not impossible that, by taking the course which Pelham afterwards took,—by admitting into the Government all the rising talents and ambition of the Whig party, and by making room here and there for a Tory not unfriendly to the House of Brunswick,—Walpole might have averted the tremendous conflict in which he passed the latter years of his administration, and in which he was at length vanquished. The Opposition which

overthrew him was an Opposition created by his own policy,—by his own insatiable love of power.

In the very act of forming his ministry, he turned one of the ablest and most attached of his supporters into a deadly enemy. Pulteney had strong public and private claims to a high situation in the new arrangement. His fortune was immense. His private character was respectable. He was already a distinguished speaker. He had acquired official experience in an important post. He had been, through all changes of fortune, a consistent Whig. When the Whig party was split into two sections, Pulteney had resigned a valuable place, and had followed the fortunes of Walpole. Yet when Walpole returned to power, Pulteney was not invited to take office. An angry discussion took place between the friends. The minister offered a peerage. It was impossible for Pulteney not to discern the motive of such an offer. He indignantly refused to accept it. For some time he continued to brood over his wrongs, and to watch for an opportunity of revenge. As soon as a favourable conjuncture arrived, he joined the minority, and became the greatest leader of Opposition that the House of Commons had ever seen.

Of all the Members of the Cabinet, Carteret was the most eloquent and accomplished. His talents for debate were of the first order; his knowledge of foreign affairs superior to that of any living statesman; his attachment to the Protestant succession was undoubted. But there was not room in one Government for him and Walpole. Carteret retired, and was, from that time forward, one of the most persevering and formidable enemies of his old colleague.

If there was any man with whom Walpole could have consented to make a partition of power, that man was Lord Townshend. They were distant kinsmen by birth, near kinsmen by marriage. They had been friends from childhood. They had been school-fellows at Eton. They were country-neighbours in Norfolk. They had been in office together under Godolphin. They had gone into Opposition together when Harley rose to power. They had been persecuted by the same House of Commons. They had, after the death of Anne, been recalled together to office. They had again been driven out together by Sunderland, and had again come back together when the influence of Sunderland had declined. Their opinions on public affairs almost always coincided. They were both men of frank, generous, and compassionate natures; their intercourse had been for many years most affectionate and cordial. But the ties of blood, of marriage, and of friendship, the memory of mutual services and common persecutions were insufficient to restrain that ambition which domineered

over all the virtues and vices of Walpole. He was resolved, to use his own metaphor, that the firm of the house should be, not Townshend and Walpole, but Walpole and Townshend. At length the rivals proceeded to personal abuse before witnesses, seized each other by the collar, and grasped their swords. The women squalled. The men parted the combatants.* By friendly intervention the scandal of a duel between cousins, brothers-in-law, old friends, and old colleagues, was prevented. But the disputants could not long continue to act together. Townshend retired, and with rare moderation and public spirit, refused to take any part in politics. He could not, he said, trust his temper. He feared that the recollection of his private wrongs might impel him to follow the example of Pulteney, and to oppose measures which he thought generally beneficial to the country. He, therefore, never visited London after his resignation; but passed the closing years of his life in dignity and repose among his trees and pictures at Rainham.

Next went Chesterfield. He too was a Whig and a friend of the Protestant succession. He was an orator, a courtier, a wit, and a man of letters. He was at the head of *ton* in days when, in order to be at the head of *ton*, it was not sufficient to be dull and supercilious. It was evident that he submitted impatiently to the ascendancy of Walpole. He murmured against the Excise-bill. His brothers voted against it in the House of Commons. The minister acted with characteristic caution and characteristic energy;—caution in the conduct of public affairs; energy where his own administration was concerned. He withdrew his Bill, and turned out all his hostile or wavering colleagues. Chesterfield was stopped on the great staircase of St James's, and summoned to deliver up the staff which he bore as Lord Steward of the Household. A crowd of noble and powerful functionaries,—the Dukes of Montrose and Bolton, Lord Burlington, Lord Stair, Lord Cobham, Lord Marchmont, Lord Clinton,—were at the same time dismissed from the service of the Crown.

Not long after these events the Opposition was reinforced by the Duke of Argyle, a man vainglorious indeed and fickle, but brave, eloquent, and popular. It was in a great measure owing to his exertions that the Act of Settlement had been peaceably executed in England immediately after the death of Anne, and that the Jacobite rebellion which, during the following year,

* The scene of this extraordinary quarrel was, we believe, a house in Cleveland Square, now occupied by Mr Ellice, the Secretary at War. It was then the residence of Colonel Selwyn.

broke out in Scotland, was suppressed. He too carried over to the minority the aid of his great name, his talents, and his paramount influence in his native country.

In each of these cases taken separately, a skilful defender of Walpole might perhaps make out a case for him. But when we see that during a long course of years all the footsteps are turned the same way,—that all the most eminent of those public men who agreed with the minister in their general views of policy left him, one after another, with sore and irritated minds, we find it impossible not to believe that the real explanation of the phenomenon is to be found in the words of his son, ‘ Sir Robert Walpole loved power so much that he would not endure a rival.*’ Hume has described this famous minister with great felicity in one short sentence,—‘ moderate in exercising power, not equitable in engrossing it.’ Kind-hearted, jovial, and placable as Walpole was, he was yet a man with whom no person of high pretensions and high spirit could long continue to act. He had, therefore, to stand against an Opposition containing all the most accomplished statesmen of the age, with no better support than that which he received from persons like his brother Horace, or Henry Pelham, whose industrious mediocrity gave him no cause for jealousy; or from clever adventurers, whose situation and character diminished the dread which their talents might otherwise have inspired. To this last class belonged Fox, who was too poor to live without office; Sir William Yonge, of whom Walpole himself said, that nothing but such parts could buoy up such a character, and that nothing but such a character could drag down such parts; and Winnington, whose private morals lay, justly or unjustly, under imputations of the worst kind.

The discontented Whigs were, not perhaps in number, but certainly in ability, experience, and weight, by far the most important part of the Opposition. The Tories furnished little more than rows of ponderous foxhunters, fat with Staffordshire or Devonshire ale,—men who drank to the king over the water, and believed that all the fundholders were Jews,—men whose religion consisted in hating the Dissenters, and whose political researches had led them to fear, like Squire Western, that their land might be sent over to Hanover to be put in the sinking-fund. The eloquence of these patriotic squires, the remnant of the once formidable October Club, seldom went beyond a hearty Aye or No. Very few members of this party had distinguished themselves much in Parliament, or could, under any circum-

* *Memoirs*, Vol. I., p. 201.

stances, have been called to fill any high office ; and those few had generally, like Sir William Wyndham, learned in the company of their new associates the doctrines of toleration and political liberty, and might indeed with strict propriety be called Whigs.

It was to the Whigs in Opposition, the patriots, as they were called, that the most distinguished of the English youth who at this season entered into public life, attached themselves. These inexperienced politicians felt all the enthusiasm which the name of liberty naturally excites in young and ardent minds. They conceived that the theory of the Tory Opposition, and the practice of Walpole's Government, were alike inconsistent with the principles of liberty. They accordingly repaired to the standard which Pulteney had set up. While opposing the Whig minister, they professed a firm adherence to the purest doctrines of Whiggism. He was the schismatic ; they were the true Catholics, the peculiar people, the depositaries of the orthodox faith of Hampden and Russell ; the one sect which, amidst the corruptions generated by time, and by the long possession of power, had preserved inviolate the principles of the Revolution. Of the young men who attached themselves to this portion of the Opposition, the most distinguished were Lyttleton and Pitt.

When Pitt entered Parliament, the whole political world was attentively watching the progress of an event which soon added great strength to the Opposition, and particularly to that section of the Opposition in which the young statesman enrolled himself. The Prince of Wales was gradually becoming more and more estranged from his father and his father's ministers, and more and more friendly to the patriots.

Nothing is more natural than that, in a monarchy, where a constitutional Opposition exists, the heir-apparent of the throne should put himself at the head of that Opposition. He is impelled to such a course by every feeling of ambition and of vanity. He cannot be more than second in the estimation of the party which is in. He is sure to be the first member of the party which is out. The highest favour which the existing administration can expect from him is, that he will not discard them. But, if he joins the Opposition, all his associates expect that he will promote them ; and the feelings which men entertain towards one from whom they hope to obtain great advantages which they have not, are far warmer than the feelings with which they regard one who, at the very utmost, can only leave them in possession of what they already had. An heir-apparent, therefore, who wishes to enjoy, in the highest perfection, all the pleasure that can be derived from eloquent flattery and profound respect, will

always join those who are struggling to force themselves into power. This is, we believe, the true explanation of a fact which Lord Granville attributed to some natural peculiarity in the illustrious house of Brunswick. 'This family,' said he at Council—we suppose after his daily half-gallon of Burgundy—'always has quarrelled, and always will quarrel, from generation to generation.' He should have known something of the matter; for he had been a favourite with three successive generations of the royal house. We cannot quite admit his explanation; but the fact is indisputable. Since the accession of George the First, there have been four Princes of Wales, and they have all been almost constantly in Opposition.

Whatever might have been the motives which induced Prince Frederick to join the party opposed to Sir Robert Walpole, his support infused into many members of that party a courage and an energy, of which they stood greatly in need. Hitherto, it had been impossible for the discontented Whigs not to feel some misgivings when they found themselves dividing, night after night, with uncompromising Jacobites, who were known to be in constant communication with the exiled family; or with Tories who had impeached Somers, who had murmured against Harley and St John as too remiss in the cause of the Church and the landed-interest, and who, if they were not inclined to attack the reigning family, yet considered the introduction of that family as, at best, only the less of two great evils,—as a necessary, but a painful and humiliating preservative against Popery. The minister might plausibly say that Pulteney and Carteret, in the hope of gratifying their own appetite for office and for revenge, did not scruple to serve the purposes of a faction hostile to the Protestant succession. The appearance of Frederick at the head of the patriots silenced this reproach. The leaders of the Opposition might now boast that their proceedings were sanctioned by a person as deeply interested as the King himself in maintaining the Act of Settlement; and that, instead of serving the purposes of the Tory party, they had brought that party over to the side of Whiggism. It must indeed be admitted that, though both the King and the Prince behaved in a manner little to their honour,—though the father acted harshly, the son disrespectfully, and both childishly,—the Royal Family was rather strengthened than weakened by the disagreement of its two most distinguished members. A large class of politicians, who had considered themselves as placed under sentence of perpetual exclusion from office, and who, in their despair, had been almost ready to join in a counter-revolution, as the only mode of removing the proscription under which they lay, now saw with pleasure an easier and safer

road to power opening before them, and thought it far better to wait till, in the natural course of things, the Crown should descend to the heir of the House of Brunswick, than to risk their lands and their necks in a rising for the House of Stewart. The situation of the Royal family resembled the situation of those Scotch families in which father and son took opposite sides during the rebellion, in order that, come what might, the estate might not be forfeited.

In April 1736, Frederick was married to the Princess of Saxe Gotha, with whom he afterwards lived on terms very similar to those on which his father had lived with Queen Caroline. The Prince adored his wife, and thought her in mind and person the most attractive of her sex. But he thought that conjugal fidelity was an unprincely virtue; and, in order to be like Henry the Fourth, and the Regent Orleans, he affected a libertinism for which he had no taste, and frequently quitted the only woman whom he loved for ugly and disagreeable mistresses.

The address which the House of Commons presented to the King on occasion of the Prince's marriage, was moved, not by the minister, but by Pulteney, the leader of the Whigs in Opposition. It was on this motion that Pitt, who had not broken silence during the session in which he took his seat, addressed the House for the first time. 'A contemporary historian,' says Mr Thackeray, 'describes Mr Pitt's first speech as superior even to the models of ancient eloquence. According to Tindal, it was more ornamented than the speeches of Demosthenes, and less diffuse than those of Cicero.' This unmeaning phrase has been a hundred times quoted. That it should ever have been quoted, except to be laughed at, is strange. The vogue which it has obtained may serve to show in how slovenly a way most people are content to think. Did Tindal, who first used it, or Archdeacon Coxe, or Mr Thackeray, who have borrowed it, ever in their lives hear any speaking which did not deserve the same compliment? Did they ever hear speaking less ornamented than that of Demosthenes, or more diffuse than that of Cicero? We know no living orator, from Lord Brougham down to Mr Hunt, who is not entitled to the same magnificent eulogy. It would be no very flattering compliment to a man's figure to say, that he was taller than the Polish Count, and shorter than Giant O'Brien;—fatter than the *Anatomie Vivante*, and more slender than Daniel Lambert.

Pitt's speech, as it is reported in the Gentleman's Magazine, certainly deserves Tindal's compliment, and deserves no other. It is just as empty and wordy as a maiden speech on such an occasion might be expected to be. But the fluency and the personal advantages of the young orator instantly caught the ear and eye

of his audience. He was, from the day of his first appearance, always heard with attention; and exercise soon developed the great powers which he possessed.

In our time, the audience of a member of Parliament is the nation. The three or four hundred persons who may be present while a speech is delivered, may be pleased or disgusted by the voice and action of the orator; but in the reports which are read the next day by hundreds of thousands, the difference between the noblest and the meanest figure, between the richest and the shrillest tones, between the most graceful and the most uncouth gesture, altogether vanishes. A hundred years ago, scarcely any report of what passed within the walls of the House of Commons was suffered to get abroad. In those times, therefore, the impression which a speaker might make on the persons who actually heard him was every thing. The impression out of doors was hardly worth a thought. In the Parliaments of that time, therefore, as in the ancient commonwealths, those qualifications which enhance the immediate effect of a speech, were far more important ingredients in the composition of an orator than they would appear to be in our time. All those qualifications Pitt possessed in the highest degree. On the stage, he would have been the finest Brutus or Coriolanus ever seen. Those who saw him in his decay, when his health was broken, when his mind was jangled, when he had been removed from that stormy assembly of which he thoroughly knew the temper, and over which he possessed unbounded influence, to a small, a torpid, and an unfriendly audience, say, that his speaking was then, for the most part, a low, monotonous muttering, audible only to those who sate close to him,—that, when violently excited, he sometimes raised his voice for a few minutes, but that it soon sank again into an unintelligible murmur. Such was the Earl of Chatham; but such was not William Pitt. His figure, when he first appeared in Parliament, was strikingly graceful and commanding, his features high and noble, his eye full of fire. His voice, even when it sank to a whisper, was heard to the remotest benches; when he strained it to its full extent, the sound rose like the swell of the organ of a great cathedral, shook the house with its peal, and was heard through lobbies and down staircases, to the Court of Requests and the precincts of Westminster Hall. He cultivated all these eminent advantages with the most assiduous care. His action is described by a very malignant observer as equal to that of Garrick. His play of countenance was wonderful: he frequently disconcerted a hostile orator by a single glance of indignation or scorn. Every tone, from the impassioned cry to the thrilling aside, was perfectly at his command. It is by no means improbable that the

pains which he took to improve his great personal advantages had, in some respects, a prejudicial operation, and tended to nourish in him that passion for theatrical effect, which, as we have already remarked, was one of the most conspicuous blemishes in his character.

But it was not solely or principally to outward accomplishments that Pitt owed the vast influence which, during nearly thirty years, he exercised over the House of Commons. He was undoubtedly a great orator; and, from the descriptions of his contemporaries, and the fragments of his speeches which still remain, it is not difficult to discover the nature and extent of his oratorical powers.

He was no speaker of set speeches. His few prepared discourses were complete failures. The elaborate panegyric which he pronounced on General Wolfe was considered as the very worst of all his performances. 'No man,' says a critic who had often heard him, 'ever knew so little what he was going to say.' Indeed his facility amounted to a vice. He was not the master, but the slave of his own speech. So little self-command had he when once he felt the impulse, that he did not like to take part in a debate when his mind was full of an important secret of state. 'I must sit 'still,' he once said to Lord Shelburne on such an occasion; 'for 'when once I am up, every thing that is in my mind comes out.'

Yet he was not a great debater. That he should not have been so when first he entered the House of Commons, is not strange. Scarcely any person has ever become so without long practice, and many failures. It was by slow degrees, as Burke said, that the late Mr Fox became the most brilliant and powerful debater that ever Parliament saw. Mr Fox himself attributed his own success to the resolution which he formed when very young, of speaking, well or ill, at least once every night. 'During five whole sessions,' he used to say, 'I spoke every night 'but one; and I regret only that I did not speak on that night 'too.' Indeed it would be difficult to name any great debater, except Mr Stanley, whose knowledge of the science of parliamentary defence resembles an instinct, who has not made himself a master of his art at the expense of his audience.

But as this art is one which even the ablest men have seldom acquired without long practice, so it is one which men of respectable abilities, with assiduous and intrepid practice, seldom fail to acquire. It is singular that in such an art, Pitt, a man of splendid talents, of great fluency, of great boldness—a man whose whole life was passed in parliamentary conflict—a man who, during several years, was the leading minister of the Crown in the House of Commons—should never have attained to high

excellence. He spoke without premeditation; but his speech followed the course of his own thoughts, and not the course of the previous discussion. He could, indeed, treasure up in his memory some detached expression of a hostile orator, and make it the text for sparkling ridicule or burning invective. Some of the most celebrated bursts of his eloquence were called forth by an unguarded word, a laugh, or a cheer. But this was the only sort of reply in which he appears to have excelled. He was perhaps the only great English orator who did not think it any advantage to have the last word; and who generally spoke by choice before his most formidable opponents. His merit was almost entirely rhetorical. He did not succeed either in exposition or in refutation; but his speeches abounded with lively illustrations, striking apophthegms, well-told anecdotes, happy allusions, passionate appeals. His invective and sarcasm were tremendous. Perhaps no English orator was ever so much feared.

But that which gave most effect to his declamation, was the air of sincerity, of vehement feeling, of moral elevation, which belonged to all that he said. His style was not always in the purest taste. Several contemporary judges pronounced it too florid. Walpole, in the midst of the rapturous eulogy which he pronounces on one of Pitt's greatest orations, owns that some of the metaphors were too forced. The quotations and classical stories of the great orator are sometimes too trite for a clever schoolboy. But these were niceties for which the audience cared little. The enthusiasm of the orator infected all who were near him; his ardour and his noble bearing put fire into the most frigid conceit, and gave dignity to the most puerile allusion.

His powers soon began to give annoyance to the Government, and Walpole determined to make an example of the patriotic cornet. Pitt was accordingly dismissed from the service. Mr Thackeray absurdly says that the minister took this step, because he plainly saw that it would have been vain to think of buying over so honourable and disinterested an opponent. We do not dispute Pitt's integrity; but we do not know what proof he had given of it when he was turned out of the army; and we are sure that Walpole was not likely to give credit for inflexible honesty to a young adventurer, who had never had an opportunity of refusing any thing. The truth is, that it was not Walpole's practice to buy off enemies. Mr Burke truly says, in the Appeal to the Old Whigs, 'Walpole gained very few over from 'the Opposition.' He knew his business far too well. He knew that for one mouth that is stopped with a place, fifty other mouths will instantly be opened. He knew that it would have been very bad policy in him to give the world to understand that

more was to be got by thwarting his measures than by supporting them. These maxims are as old as the origin of parliamentary corruption in England. Pepys learned them, as he tells us, from the counsellors of Charles the Second.

Pitt was no loser. He was made Groom of the Bedchamber to the Prince of Wales, and continued to declaim against the ministers with unabated violence, and with increasing ability. The question of maritime right, then agitated between Spain and England, called forth all his powers. He clamoured for war with a vehemence which it is not easy to reconcile with reason or humanity, but which appears to Mr Thackeray worthy of the highest admiration. We will not stop to argue a point on which we had long thought that all well-informed people were agreed. We could easily show, we think, that, if any respect be due to international law—if right, where societies of men are concerned, be any thing but another name for might—if we do not adopt the doctrine of the Bucaniers, which seems to be also the doctrine of Mr Thackeray, that treaties mean nothing within thirty degrees of the line—the war with Spain was altogether unjustifiable. But the truth is, that the promoters of that war have saved the historian the trouble of trying them: they have pleaded guilty. ‘I have seen,’ says Burke, ‘and with some care examined, the original documents concerning certain important transactions of those times. They perfectly satisfied me of the extreme injustice of that war, and of the falsehood of the colours which Walpole, to his ruin, and guided by a mistaken policy, suffered to be daubed over that measure. Some years after, it was my fortune to converse with many of the principal actors against that minister, and with those who principally excited that clamour. None of them, no not one, did in the least defend the measure, or attempt to justify their conduct. They condemned it as freely as they would have done in commenting upon any proceeding in history in which they were totally un- concerned.’* Pitt, on subsequent occasions, gave ample proof that he was not one of those tardy penitents.

The elections of 1741 were unfavourable to Walpole; and after a long and obstinate struggle he found it necessary to resign. The Duke of Newcastle and Lord Hardwicke opened a negotiation with the leading patriots, in the hope of forming an administration on a Whig basis. At this conjuncture, Pitt, Lyttleton, and those persons who were most nearly connected with them, acted in a manner very little to their honour. They attempted

* *Letters on a Regicide Peace.*

to come to an understanding with Walpole, and offered, if he would use his influence with the King in their favour, to screen him from prosecution. They even went so far as to engage for the concurrence of the Prince of Wales. But Walpole knew that the assistance of the Boys, as he called the young patriots, would avail him nothing if Pulteney and Carteret should prove intractable, and would be superfluous, if the great leaders of the Opposition could be gained. He, therefore, declined the proposal. It is remarkable that Mr Thackeray, who has thought it worth while to preserve Pitt's bad college verses, has not even alluded to this story,—a story which is supported by strong testimony, and which may be found in so common a book as Coxe's *Life of Walpole*.

The new arrangements disappointed almost every member of the Opposition, and none more than Pitt. He was not invited to become a placeman; and he, therefore, stuck firmly to his old trade of patriot. Fortunate it was for him that he did so. Had he taken office at this time, he would in all probability have shared largely in the unpopularity of Pulteney, Sandys, and Carteret. He was now the fiercest and most implacable of those who called for vengeance on Walpole. He spoke with great energy and ability in favour of the most unjust and violent propositions which the enemies of the fallen minister could invent. He urged the House of Commons to appoint a secret tribunal for the purpose of investigating the conduct of the late first Lord of the Treasury. This was done. The great majority of the inquirers were notoriously hostile to the accused statesman. Yet they were compelled to own that they could find no fault in him. They therefore called for new powers, for a bill of indemnity to witnesses,—or, in plain words, for a bill to reward all who might give evidence, true or false, against the Earl of Orford. This Bill Pitt supported,—Pitt, who had offered to be a screen between Lord Orford and public justice! These are melancholy facts. Mr Thackeray omits them, or hurries over them as fast as he can; and, as eulogy is his business, he is in the right to do so. But, though there are many parts of the life of Pitt which it is more agreeable to contemplate, we know none more instructive. What must have been the general state of political morality, when a young man, considered, and justly considered, as the most public-spirited and spotless statesman of his time, could attempt to force his way into office by means so disgraceful?

The Bill of Indemnity was rejected by the Lords. Walpole withdrew himself quietly from the public eye; and the ample space which he had left vacant was soon occupied by Carteret. Against Carteret Pitt began to thunder with as much zeal as he

had ever manifested against Sir Robert. To Carteret he transferred most of the hard names which were familiar to his eloquence,—sole minister, wicked minister, odious minister, execrable minister. The great topic of his invective was the favour shown to the German dominions of King George. He attacked with great violence, and with an ability which raised him to the very first rank among the Parliamentary speakers, the practice of paying Hanoverian troops with English money. The House of Commons had lately lost some of its most distinguished ornaments. Walpole and Pulteney had accepted peerages; Sir William Wyndham was dead; and among the rising men none could be considered as, on the whole, a match for Pitt.

During the recess of 1774, the old Duchess of Marlborough died. She carried to her grave the reputation of being decidedly the best hater of her time. Yet her love had been infinitely more destructive than her hatred. In the time of Anne, her temper had ruined the party to which she belonged, and the husband whom she adored. Time had made her neither wiser nor kinder. Whoever was at any moment great and prosperous, was the object of her fiercest detestation. She had hated Walpole—she now hated Carteret.

Pope, long before her death, predicted the fate of her vast property.

‘ To heirs unknown descends the unguarded store,
Or wanders, heaven-directed, to the poor.’

Pitt was poor enough; and to him Heaven directed a portion of the wealth of the haughty Dowager. She left him a legacy of L.10,000, in consideration of ‘the noble defence he had made for the support of the laws of England, and to prevent the ruin of his country.’

The will was made in August. The Duchess died in October. In November Pitt had become a courtier. The Pelhams had forced the King, much against his will, to part with Lord Carteret, now Earl Granville. They proceeded, after this victory, to form the Government on that basis, called by the cant name of ‘the broad bottom.’ Lyttleton had a seat at the Treasury, and several other friends of Pitt were provided for. But Pitt himself was, for the present, forced to be content with promises. The King resented most highly some expressions which the ardent orator had used in the debate on the Hanoverian troops. But Newcastle and Pelham expressed the strongest confidence that time, and their exertions, would soften the royal displeasure.

Pitt, on his part, omitted nothing that might facilitate his admission to office. He resigned his place in the household of

Prince Frederick, and, when Parliament met, exerted his eloquence in support of the Government. The Pelhams were really sincere in their endeavours to remove the strong prejudices that had taken root in the King's mind. They knew that Pitt was not a man to be deceived with ease, or offended with impunity. They were afraid that they should not be long able to put him off with promises. Nor was it their interest so to put him off. There was a strong tie between him and them. He was the enemy of their enemy. The brothers hated and dreaded the eloquent, aspiring, and imperious Granville. They had traced his intrigues in many quarters. They knew his influence over the royal mind. They knew that, as soon as a favourable opportunity might arrive, he would be recalled to the head of affairs. They resolved to bring things to a crisis; and the question on which they took issue with their master was, whether Pitt should or should not be admitted to office? They chose their time with more skill than generosity. It was when rebellion was actually raging in Britain, when the Pretender was master of the northern extremity of the island, that they tendered their resignations. The King found himself deserted, in one day, by the whole strength of that party which had placed his family on the throne. Lord Granville tried to form a government; but it soon appeared that the parliamentary interest of the Pelhams was irresistible; and that the King's favourite statesman could count only on about thirty Lords, and eighty members of the House of Commons. The scheme was given up. Granville went away laughing. The ministers came back stronger than ever, and the King was now no longer able to refuse any thing that they might be pleased to demand. All that he could do, was to mutter that it was very hard that Newcastle, who was not fit to be Chamberlain to the most insignificant prince in Germany, should dictate to the King of England.

One concession the ministers graciously made. They agreed that Pitt should not be placed in a situation in which it would be necessary for him to have frequent interviews with the King. Instead, therefore, of making their new ally Secretary at War, as they had intended, they appointed him Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, and in a few months promoted him to the office of Paymaster of the Forces.

This was, at that time, one of the most lucrative offices in the Government. The salary was but a small part of the emolument which the Paymaster derived from his place. He was allowed to keep a large sum—seldom less than L.100,000—constantly in his hands; and the interest on this sum, probably about L.4,000 a-year, he might appropriate to his own use. This practice was

not secret, nor was it considered as disreputable. It was the practice of men of undoubted honour, both before and after the time of Pitt. He, however, refused to accept one farthing beyond the salary which the law had annexed to his office. It had been usual for foreign princes, who received the pay of England, to give to the Paymaster of the Forces a small per centage on the subsidies. These ignominious veils Pitt resolutely declined.

Disinterestedness of this kind was, in his days, very rare. His conduct surprised and amused politicians. It excited the warmest admiration throughout the body of the people. In spite of the inconsistencies of which Pitt had been guilty,—in spite of the strange contrast between his violence in Opposition and his tameness in office,—he still possessed a large share of the public confidence. The motives which may lead a politician to change his connexions, or his general line of conduct, are often obscure; but disinterestedness in money matters every body can understand. Pitt was thenceforth considered as a man who was proof to all sordid temptations. If he acted ill, it might be from an error in judgment; it might be from resentment; it might be from ambition. But, poor as he was, he had vindicated himself from all suspicion of covetousness.

Eight quiet years followed,—eight years during which the minority, feeble from the time of Lord Granville's defeat, continued to dwindle till it became almost invisible. Peace was made with France and Spain in 1748. Prince Frederick died in 1751; and with him died the very semblance of Opposition. All the most distinguished survivors of the party which had supported Walpole, and of the party which had opposed him, were united under his successor. The fiery and vehement spirit of Pitt had for a time been laid to rest. He silently acquiesced in that very system of Continental measures which he had lately condemned. He ceased to talk disrespectfully about Hanover. He did not object to the treaty with Spain, though that treaty left us exactly where we had been when he uttered his spirit-stirring harangues against the pacific policy of Walpole. Now and then glimpses of his former self appeared; but they were few and transient. Pelham knew with whom he had to deal, and felt that an ally, so little used to control, and so capable of inflicting injury, might well be indulged in an occasional fit of waywardness.

Two men, little, if at all, inferior to Pitt in powers of mind, held, like him, subordinate offices in the government. One of these, Murray, was successively Solicitor-General and Attorney-General. This distinguished person far surpassed Pitt in correctness of taste, in power of reasoning, in depth and variety of

knowledge. His parliamentary eloquence never blazed into sudden flashes of dazzling brilliancy ; but its clear, placid, and mellow splendour was never for an instant overclouded. Intellectually he was, we believe, fully equal to Pitt ; but he was deficient in the moral qualities to which Pitt owed most of his success. Murray wanted the energy, the courage, the all-grasping and all-risking ambition, which make men great in stirring times. His heart was a little cold ; his temper cautious even to timidity ; his manners decorous even to formality. He never exposed his fortunes or his fame to any risk which he could avoid. At one time he might, in all probability, have been Prime Minister. But the object of all his wishes was the judicial bench. The situation of Chief Justice might not be so splendid as that of First Lord of the Treasury ; but it was dignified ; it was quiet ; it was secure ; and therefore it was the favourite situation of Murray.

Fox, the father of the great man whose mighty efforts in the cause of peace, of truth, and of liberty, have made that name immortal, was Secretary at War. He was a favourite with the King, with the Duke of Cumberland, and with some of the most powerful individuals of the great Whig connexion. His parliamentary talents were of the highest order. As a speaker, he was in almost all respects the very opposite of Pitt. His figure was ungraceful ; his face, as Reynolds and Roubiliac have preserved it to us, indicated a strong understanding ; but the features were coarse, and the general aspect dark and lowering. His manner was awkward ; his delivery was hesitating ; he was often at a stand for want of a word ; but as a debater,—as a master of that keen, weighty, manly logic, which is suited to the discussion of political questions,—he has perhaps never been surpassed except by his son. In reply, he was as decidedly superior to Pitt, as in declamation he was inferior. Intellectually, the balance was nearly even between the rivals. But here, again, the moral qualities of Pitt turned the scale. Fox had undoubtedly many virtues. In natural disposition, as well as in talents, he bore a great resemblance to his more celebrated son. He had the same sweetness of temper, the same strong passions, the same openness, boldness, and impetuosity, the same cordiality towards friends, the same placability towards enemies. No man was more warmly or justly beloved by his family or by his associates. But unhappily he had been trained in a bad political school,—in a school, the doctrines of which were, that political virtue is the mere coquetry of political prostitution—that every patriot has his price—that Government can be carried on only by means of corruption—and that the state is given as a prey to statesmen.

These maxims were too much in vogue throughout the lower ranks of Walpole's party, and were too much encouraged by Walpole himself, who, from contempt of what is in our day called *humbug*, often ran extravagantly and offensively into the opposite extreme. The loose political morality of Fox presented a remarkable contrast to the ostentatious purity of Pitt. The nation distrusted the former, and placed implicit confidence in the latter. But almost all the statesmen of the age had still to learn that the confidence of the nation was worth having. While things went on quietly, while there was no Opposition, while every thing was given by the favour of a small ruling junto, Fox had a decided advantage over Pitt; but when dangerous times came, when Europe was convulsed with war, when Parliament was broken up into factions, when the public mind was violently excited, the favourite of the people rose to supreme power, while his rival sank into insignificance.

Early in the year 1754, Henry Pelham died unexpectedly. 'Now I shall have no more peace,' exclaimed the old King, when he heard the news. He was in the right. Pelham had succeeded in bringing together, and keeping together, all the talents of the kingdom. By his death, the highest post to which an English subject can aspire was left vacant; and, at the same moment, the influence which had yoked together and reined in so many turbulent and ambitious spirits was withdrawn.

Within a week after Pelham's death, it was determined that the Duke of Newcastle should be placed at the head of the Treasury; but the arrangement was still far from complete. Who was to be the leading Minister of the Crown in the House of Commons? Was the office to be intrusted to a man of eminent talents? And would not such a man in such a place demand and obtain a larger share of power and patronage than Newcastle would be disposed to concede? Was a mere drudge to be employed? And what probability was there that a mere drudge would be able to manage a large and stormy assembly, abounding with able and experienced men?

Pope has said of that wretched miser Sir John Cutler,—

'Cutler saw tenants break and houses fall
For very want:—he could not build a wall.'

Newcastle's love of power resembled Cutler's love of money. It was an avarice which thwarted itself,—a penny-wise and pound-foolish cupidity. An immediate outlay was so painful to him, that he would not venture to make the most desirable improvement. If he could have found the heart to cede at once a portion of his authority, he might probably have ensured the

continuance of what remained ; but he thought it better to construct a weak and rotten government, which tottered at the smallest breath, and fell in the first storm, than to pay the necessary price for sound and durable materials. He wished to find some person who would be willing to accept the lead of the House of Commons on terms similar to those on which Secretary Craggs had acted under Sunderland, five-and-thirty years before. Craggs could hardly be called a minister. He was a mere agent for the minister. He was not trusted with the higher secrets of state, but obeyed implicitly the directions of his superior ; and was, to use Doddington's expression, merely Lord Sunderland's man. But times were changed. Since the days of Sunderland, the importance of the House of Commons had been constantly on the increase. During many years, the person who conducted the business of the Government in that House had almost always been Prime Minister. Under these circumstances, it was not to be supposed that any person who possessed the talents necessary to the situation, would stoop to accept it on such terms as Newcastle was disposed to offer.

Pitt was ill at Bath ; and, had he been well and in London, neither the King nor Newcastle would have been disposed to make any overtures to him. The cool and wary Murray had set his heart on professional objects. Negotiations were opened with Fox. Newcastle behaved like himself,—that is to say, childishly and basely. The proposition which he made was, that Fox should be Secretary of State, with the lead of the House of Commons ; that the disposal of the secret service-money, or, in plain words, the business of buying members of Parliament, should be left to the First Lord of the Treasury ; but that Fox should be exactly informed of the way in which this fund was employed.

To these conditions Fox assented. But the next day every thing was in confusion. Newcastle had changed his mind. The conversation which took place between Fox and the Duke is one of the most curious in English history. ' My brother,' said Newcastle, ' when he was at the Treasury, never told any body what he did with the secret service-money. No more will I.' The answer was obvious. Pelham had been, not only First Lord of the Treasury, but manager of the House of Commons ; and it was therefore unnecessary for him to confide to any other person his dealings with the members of that house. ' But how,' said Fox, ' can I lead in the Commons without information on this head ? How can I talk to gentlemen when I do not know which of them have received gratifications and which have not ? And who,' he continued, ' is to have the disposal of

'places?'—'I, myself,' said the Duke.—'How then am I to manage the House of Commons?'—'Oh, let the members of the House of Commons come to me.' Fox then mentioned the general election which was approaching, and asked how the ministerial burghs were to be filled up. 'Do not trouble yourself,' said Newcastle: 'that is all settled.' This was too much for human nature to bear. Fox refused to accept the Secretaryship of State on such terms; and the Duke confided the management of the House of Commons to a dull, harmless man, whose name is almost forgotten in our time,—Sir Thomas Robinson.

When Pitt returned from Bath, he affected great moderation, though his haughty soul was boiling with resentment. He did not complain of the manner in which he had been passed by; and said openly that, in his opinion, Fox was the fittest man to lead the House of Commons. The rivals were reconciled by their common interests and their common enmities, and concerted a plan of operations for the next session. 'Sir Thomas Robinson lead us,' said Pitt to Fox.—'The Duke might as well send his jack-boot to lead us.'

The elections of 1754 were favourable to the administration. But the aspect of foreign affairs was threatening. In India the English and the French had been employed ever since the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in cutting each other's throats. They had lately taken to the same practice in America. It might have been foreseen that stirring times were at hand,—times which would call for abilities very different from those of Newcastle and Robinson.

In November, the Parliament met; and before the end of that month the new Secretary of State had been so unmercifully baited by the Paymaster of the Forces, and the Secretary at War, that he was thoroughly sick of his situation. Fox attacked him with great force and acrimony. Pitt affected a kind of contemptuous tenderness for Sir Thomas, and directed his attacks principally against Newcastle. On one occasion, he asked in tones of thunder, whether Parliament sat only to register the edicts of one too-powerful subject? The Duke was scared out of his wits. He was afraid to dismiss the mutineers; he was afraid to promote them; but it was absolutely necessary to do something. Fox, as the less proud and intractable of the refractory pair, was preferred. A seat in the Cabinet was offered to him, on condition that he would give efficient support to the ministry in Parliament. In an evil hour for his fame and his fortunes, he accepted the offer, and abandoned his connexion with Pitt, who never forgave this desertion.

Sir Thomas, assisted by Fox, contrived to get through the business of the year without much trouble. Pitt was waiting his time. The negotiations pending between France and England took every day a more unfavourable aspect. Towards the close of the session the King sent a message to inform the House of Commons that he had found it necessary to make preparations for war. The House returned an address of thanks, and passed a vote of credit. During the recess, the old animosity of both nations was inflamed by a series of disastrous events. An English force was cut off in America; and several French merchantmen were taken in the West Indian seas. It was plain that war was at hand.

The first object of the King was to secure Hanover; and Newcastle was disposed to gratify his master. Treaties were concluded, after the fashion of those times, with several petty German princes, who bound themselves to find soldiers if England would find money; and, as it was suspected that Frederick the Second had set his heart on the electoral dominions of his uncle, Russia was hired to keep Prussia in awe.

When the stipulations of these treaties were made known, there arose throughout the kingdom a murmur from which a judicious observer might easily prognosticate the approach of a tempest. Newcastle encountered strong opposition, even from those whom he had always considered as his tools. Legge, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, refused to sign the Treasury warrants which were necessary to give effect to the treaties. Those persons who were supposed to possess the confidence of the young Prince of Wales and his mother, held very menacing language. In this perplexity Newcastle sent for Pitt, hugged him, patted him, smirked at him, wept over him, and lisped out the highest compliments and the most splendid promises. The King, who had hitherto been as sulky as possible, would be civil to him at the levee;—he should be brought into the Cabinet;—he should be consulted about every thing;—if he would only be so good as to support the Hessian subsidy in the House of Commons. Pitt coldly declined the proffered seat in the Cabinet,—expressed the highest love and reverence for the King,—and said that if his Majesty felt a strong personal interest in the Hessian treaty, he would so far deviate from the line which he had traced out for himself as to give that treaty his support. ‘Well, and the Russian subsidy,’ said Newcastle. ‘No,’ said Pitt, ‘not a system of subsidies.’ The Duke summoned Lord Hardwicke to his aid; but Pitt was inflexible. Murray would do nothing—Robinson could do nothing. It was necessary to have recourse to Fox. He became Secretary of State, with the full authority of

a leader in the House of Commons; and Sir Thomas was pensioned off on the Irish establishment.

In November 1755, the Houses met. Public expectation was wound up to the height. After ten quiet years there was to be an Opposition, countenanced by the heir-apparent of the throne, headed by the most brilliant orator of the age, and backed by a strong party throughout the country. The debate on the address was long remembered as one of the greatest parliamentary conflicts of that generation. It began at three in the afternoon, and lasted till five the next morning. It was on this night that Gerard Hamilton delivered that *single speech* from which his nickname was derived. His eloquence threw into the shade every orator except Pitt, who declaimed against the subsidies for an hour and a half with extraordinary energy and effect. Those powers which had formerly spread terror through the majorities of Walpole and Carteret were now displayed in their highest perfection before an audience long unaccustomed to such exhibitions. One fragment of this celebrated oration remains in a state of tolerable preservation. It is the comparison between the coalition of Fox and Newcastle, and the junction of the Rhone and the Saone. 'At Lyons,' he said, 'I was taken to see the place where the two rivers meet—the one gentle, feeble, languid, and, though languid, yet of no depth, the other a boisterous and impetuous torrent; but different as they are, they meet at last.' The amendment moved by the Opposition was rejected by a great majority, and Pitt and Legge were immediately dismissed from their offices. Lyttleton, whose friendship for Pitt had, during some time, been cooling, succeeded Legge as Chancellor of the Exchequer.

During several months the contest in the House of Commons was extremely sharp. Warm debates took place on the estimates—debates still warmer on the subsidiary treaties. The Government succeeded in every division; but the fame of Pitt's eloquence, and the influence of his lofty and determined character, continued to increase through the Session; and the events which followed the prorogation rendered it utterly impossible for any other person to manage the Parliament or the country.

The war began in every part of the world with events disastrous to England, and even more shameful than disastrous. But the most humiliating of these events was the loss of Minorca. The Duke of Richelieu, an old fop, who had passed his life from sixteen to sixty in seducing women, for whom he cared not one straw, landed on that island with a French army, and succeeded in reducing it. Admiral Byng was sent from Gibraltar to throw succours into Port-Mahon; but he did not think fit to engage

the French squadron, and sailed back without having effected his purpose. The people were inflamed to madness. A storm broke forth, which appalled even those who remembered the days of 'Excise' and of 'South-Sea.' The shops were filled with libels and caricatures. The walls were covered with placards. The city of London called for vengeance, and the cry was echoed from every corner of the kingdom. Dorsetshire, Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Somersetshire, Lancashire, Suffolk, Shropshire, Surrey, sent up strong addresses to the throne; and instructed their representatives to vote for a strict enquiry into the causes of the late disasters. In the great towns the feeling was as strong as in the counties. In some of the instructions it was even recommended that the supplies should be stopped.

The nation was in a state of angry and sullen despondency, almost unparalleled in history. People have, in all ages, been in the habit of talking about the good old times of their ancestors, and the degeneracy of their contemporaries. This is in general merely a cant. But in 1756, it was something more. At this time appeared Brown's 'Estimate,'—a book now remembered only by the allusions in Cowper's 'Table Talk,' and Burke's 'Letters on a Regicide Peace.' It was universally read, admired, and believed. The author fully convinced his readers that they were a race of cowards and scoundrels; that nothing could save them; that they were on the point of being enslaved by their enemies, and that they richly deserved their fate. Such were the speculations to which ready credence was given at the outset of the most glorious war in which England had ever been engaged.

Newcastle now began to tremble for his place, and for the only thing which was dearer to him than his place—his neck. The people were not in a mood to be trifled with. Their cry was for blood. For this once they might be contented with the sacrifice of Byng. But what if fresh disasters should take place? What if an unfriendly sovereign should ascend the throne? What if a hostile House of Commons should be chosen?

At length, in October, the decisive crisis came. Fox had been long sick of the perfidy and levity of Newcastle, and now began to fear that he might be made a scapegoat to save the old intriguer, who, imbecile as he seemed, never wanted dexterity where danger was to be avoided. He threw up his office. Newcastle had recourse to Murray; but Murray had now within his reach the favourite object of his ambition. The situation of Chief-Justice of the King's Bench was vacant; and the Attorney-General was fully resolved to obtain it, or to go into Opposition. Newcastle offered him any terms—the Duchy of Lancaster for

life—a tellership of the Exchequer—any pension that he chose to ask—two thousand a-year—six thousand a-year. When the ministers found that Murray's mind was made up, they pressed for delay—the delay of a session, a month, a week, a day. Would he only make his appearance once more in the House of Commons? Would he only speak in favour of the address? He was inexorable; and peremptorily said that they might give or withhold the Chief Justiceship, but that he would be Attorney-General no longer.

Newcastle contrived to overcome the prejudices of the King, and overtures were made to Pitt, through Lord Hardwicke. Pitt knew his power, and showed that he knew it. He demanded as an indispensable condition that Newcastle should be altogether excluded from the new arrangement.

The Duke was now in a state of ludicrous distress. He ran about chattering and crying, asking advice and listening to none. In the meantime, the Session drew near. The public excitement was unabated. Nobody could be found to face Pitt and Fox in the House of Commons. Newcastle's heart failed him, and he tendered his resignation.

The King sent for Fox, and directed him to form the plan of an administration in concert with Pitt. But Pitt had not forgotten old injuries, and positively refused to act with Fox.

The King now applied to the Duke of Devonshire, and this mediator succeeded in making an arrangement. He consented to take the Treasury. Pitt became Secretary of State, with the lead of the House of Commons. The Great Seal was put into commission. Legge returned to the Exchequer; and Lord Temple, whose sister Pitt had lately married, was placed at the head of the Admiralty.

It was clear from the first that this administration would last but a very short time. It lasted not quite five months; and, during those five months, Pitt and Lord Temple were treated with rudeness by the King, and found but a feeble support in the House of Commons. It is a remarkable fact, that the Opposition prevented the re-election of some of the new Ministers. Pitt, who sate for one of the boroughs which were in the Pelham interest, found some difficulty in obtaining a seat after his acceptance of the seals. So destitute was the new Government of that sort of influence, without which no government could then be durable. One of the arguments most frequently urged against the Reform Bill was that, under a system of popular representation, men whose presence in the House of Commons was necessary to the conducting of public business, might often find it impossible to find seats. Should this inconvenience ever be felt, there cannot

be the slightest difficulty in devising and applying a remedy. But those who threatened us with this evil ought to have remembered that, under the old system, a great man called to power at a great crisis, by the voice of the whole nation, was in danger of being excluded, by an aristocratical *coterie*, from that House, of which he was the most distinguished ornament.

The most important event of this short administration was the trial of Byng. On that subject public opinion is still divided. We think the punishment of the Admiral altogether unjust and absurd. Treachery, cowardice, ignorance, amounting to what lawyers have called *crassa ignorantia*, are fit objects of severe penal inflictions. But Byng was not found guilty of treachery, of cowardice, or of gross ignorance of his profession. He died for doing what the most loyal subject, the most intrepid warrior, the most experienced seaman, might have done. He died for an error in judgment,—an error, such as the greatest commanders, Frederick, Napoleon, Wellington, have often committed, and have often acknowledged. Such errors are not proper objects of punishment; for this reason,—that the punishing of them tends not to prevent them, but to produce them. The dread of an ignominious death may stimulate sluggishness to exertion, may keep a traitor to his standard, may prevent a coward from leaving the ranks, but it has no tendency to bring out those qualities which enable men to form prompt and judicious decisions in great emergencies. The best marksman may be expected to fail when the apple, which is to be his mark, is set on his child's head. We cannot conceive any thing more likely to deprive an officer of his self-possession at the time when he most needs it, than the knowledge that, if the judgment of his superiors should not agree with his, he will be executed with every circumstance of shame. Queens, it has often been said, run far greater risk in childbed than private women, merely because their medical attendants are more anxious. The surgeon who attended Marie Louise was altogether unnerved by his emotions. ‘Compose yourself,’ said Buonaparte—‘Imagine that you are assisting a poor girl in the Faubourg St Antoine.’ This was surely a far wiser course than that of the Eastern king in the ‘Arabian Nights’ Entertainments, who proclaimed that the physicians who failed to cure his daughter should have their heads chopped off. Buonaparte knew mankind well; and, as he acted towards this surgeon, he acted towards his officers. No sovereign was ever so indulgent to mere errors of judgment; and it is certain that no sovereign ever had in his service so many military men fit for the highest commands.

Pitt certainly acted a brave and honest part on this occasion.

He ventured to put both his power and his popularity to hazard, and spoke manfully for Byng, both in Parliament and in the royal presence. But the King was inexorable. 'The House of Commons, Sir,' said Pitt, 'seems inclined to mercy.'—'Sir,' answered the King, 'you have taught me to look for the sense of my people in other places than the House of Commons.' The saying has more point than most of those which are recorded of George the Second; and, though sarcastically meant, contains a high and just compliment to Pitt.

The King disliked Pitt, but absolutely hated Temple. The new Secretary of State, his Majesty said, had read Vatel, and was tedious and pompous, but respectful. The First Lord of the Admiralty was grossly impertinent. Walpole tells one story, which, we fear, is much too good to be true. He assures us that Temple entertained his royal master with an elaborate parallel between Byng's behaviour at Minorca, and his Majesty's behaviour at Oudenarde. The advantage was all on the side of the Admiral; and the obvious inference was, that if Byng ought to be shot, the King must richly deserve to be hanged.

This state of things could not last. Early in April, Pitt and all his friends were turned out, and Newcastle was summoned to St James's. But the public discontent was not extinguished. It had subsided when Pitt was called to power. But it still glowed under the embers; and it now burst at once into a flame. The Stocks fell. The Common Council met. The freedom of the city was voted to Pitt. All the greatest corporate towns followed the example. 'For some weeks,' says Walpole, 'it rained gold boxes.'

This was the turning point of Pitt's life. It might have been expected that a man of so haughty and vehement a nature, treated so ungraciously by the Court, and supported so enthusiastically by the people, would have eagerly taken the first opportunity of showing his power, and gratifying his resentment; for an opportunity was not wanting. The members for many counties and large towns had been instructed to vote for an enquiry into the circumstances which had produced the miscarriage of the preceding year. A motion for enquiry had been carried in the House of Commons, without opposition; and, a few days after Pitt's dismissal, the investigation commenced. Newcastle and his colleagues obtained a vote of acquittal; but the minority was so strong, that they could not venture to ask for a vote of approbation, as they had at first intended; and it was thought by some shrewd observers, that, if Pitt had exerted himself to the utmost of his power, the enquiry might have ended in a censure, if not in an impeachment.

Pitt showed on this occasion a moderation and self-government which were not habitual to him. He had found by experience, that he could not stand alone. His eloquence and his popularity had done much,—very much for him. Without rank, without fortune, without borough interest,—hated by the King, hated by the aristocracy,—he was a person of the first importance in the state. He had been suffered to form a ministry, and to pronounce sentence of exclusion on all his rivals,—on the most powerful nobleman of the Whig party,—on the ablest debater in the House of Commons. And he now found that he had gone too far. The English Constitution was not, indeed, without a popular element. But other elements generally predominated. The confidence and admiration of the nation might make a statesman formidable at the head of an Opposition,—might load him with framed and glazed parchments, and gold boxes,—might possibly, under very peculiar circumstances, such as those of the preceding year, raise him for a time to power. But, constituted as Parliament then was, the favourite of the people could not depend on a majority in the people's own House. The Duke of Newcastle, however contemptible in morals, manners, and understanding, was a dangerous enemy. His rank, his wealth, his unrivalled parliamentary interest, would alone have made him important. But this was not all. The Whig aristocracy regarded him as their leader. His long possession of power had given him a kind of prescriptive right to possess it still. The House of Commons had been elected when he was at the head of affairs. The members for the ministerial boroughs had all been nominated by him. The public offices swarmed with his creatures.

Pitt desired power—and he desired it, we really believe, from high and generous motives. He was, in the strict sense of the word, a patriot. He had no general liberality,—none of that philanthropy which the great French writers of his time preached to all the nations of Europe. He loved England as an Athenian loved the City of the Violet Crown,—as a Roman loved the ‘maxima rerum Roma.’ He saw his country insulted and defeated. He saw the national spirit sinking. Yet he knew what the resources of the empire, vigorously employed, could effect; and he felt that he was the man to employ them vigorously. ‘My Lord, he said to the Duke of Devonshire, ‘I am sure that I can save ‘this country, and that nobody else can.’

Desiring, then, to be in power, and feeling that his abilities and the public confidence were not alone sufficient to keep him in power, against the wishes of the Court and the Aristocracy, he began to think of a coalition with Newcastle.

Newcastle was equally disposed to a reconciliation. He, too,

had profited by his recent experience. He had found that the Court and the Aristocracy, though powerful, were not every thing in the state. A strong oligarchical connexion, a great borough interest, ample patronage, and secret service-money, might, in quiet times, be all that a minister needed; but it was unsafe to trust wholly to such support in time of war, of discontent, and of agitation. The composition of the House of Commons was not wholly aristocratical; and, whatever be the composition of large deliberative assemblies, their spirit is always in some degree popular. Where there are free debates, eloquence must have admirers, and reason must make converts. Where there is a free press, the governors must live in constant awe of the opinions of the governed.

Thus these two men, so unlike in character, so lately mortal enemies, were necessary to each other. Newcastle had fallen in November, for want of that public confidence which Pitt possessed, and of that parliamentary support which Pitt was better qualified than any man of his time to give. Pitt had fallen in April, for want of that species of influence which Newcastle had passed his whole life in acquiring and hoarding. Neither of them had power enough to support himself. Each of them had power enough to overturn the other. Their union would be irresistible. Neither the King, nor any party in the state, would be able to stand against them.

Under these circumstances, Pitt was not disposed to proceed to extremities against his predecessors in office. Something, however, was due to consistency; something was necessary for the preservation of his popularity. He did little; but that little he did in such a manner as to produce great effect. He came down to the House in all the pomp of gout; his legs swathed in flannels, his arm dangling in a sling. He kept his seat, through several fatiguing days, in spite of pain and languor. He uttered a few sharp and vehement sentences; but, during the greater part of the discussion, his language was unusually gentle.

When the enquiry had terminated, without a vote either of approbation or of censure, the great obstacle to a coalition was removed. Many obstacles, however, remained. The King was still rejoicing in his deliverance from the proud and aspiring minister, who had been forced on him by the cry of the nation. His Majesty's indignation was excited to the highest point, when it appeared that Newcastle, who had, during thirty years, been loaded with marks of royal favour, and who had bound himself, by a solemn promise, never to coalesce with Pitt, was meditating a new perfidy. Of all the statesmen of that age, Fox had the largest share of royal favour. A coalition between Fox and New-

castle was the arrangement which the King wished to bring about. But the Duke was too cunning to fall into such a snare. As a speaker in Parliament, Fox might perhaps be as useful to an administration as his great rival; but he was one of the most unpopular men in England. Then, again, Newcastle felt all that jealousy of Fox which, according to the proverb, generally exists between two of a trade. Fox would certainly intermeddle with that department, which the Duke was most desirous to reserve entire to himself—the jobbing department. Pitt, on the other hand, was quite willing to leave the drudgery of corruption to any who might be inclined to undertake it.

During eleven weeks England remained without a ministry; and, in the meantime, Parliament was sitting, and a war was raging. The prejudices of the King, the haughtiness of Pitt, the jealousy, levity, and treachery of Newcastle, delayed the settlement. Pitt knew the Duke too well to trust him without security. The Duke loved power too much to be inclined to give security. While they were haggling, the King was in vain attempting to produce a final rupture between them, or to form a Government without them. At one time he applied to Lord Waldgrave, an honest and sensible man, but unpractised in affairs. Lord Waldgrave had the courage to accept the Treasury, but soon found that no administration formed by him had the smallest chance of standing a single week.

At length the King's pertinacity yielded to the necessity of the case. After exclaiming with great bitterness, and with some justice, against the Whigs, who ought, he said, to be ashamed to talk about liberty, while they submitted to be the footmen of the Duke of Newcastle, he notified his submission. The influence of the Prince of Wales prevailed on Pitt to abate a little, and but a little, of his high demands; and all at once, out of the chaos in which parties had for some time been rising, falling, meeting, separating, arose a government as strong at home as that of Pelham, as successful abroad as that of Godolphin.

Newcastle took the Treasury: Pitt was Secretary of State, with the lead in the House of Commons, and the supreme direction of the war and of foreign affairs. Fox, the only man who could have given much annoyance to the new Government, was silenced with the office of Paymaster, which, during the continuance of that war, was probably the most lucrative place in the whole Government. He was poor, and the situation was tempting; yet it cannot but seem extraordinary, that a man who had played a first part in politics, and whose abilities had been found not unequal to that part,—who had sate in the Cabinet, who had led the House of Commons, who had been twice intrusted

by the King with the office of forming a ministry, who was regarded as the rival of Pitt, and who at one time seemed likely to be a successful rival,—should have consented, for the sake of emolument, to take a subordinate place, and to give silent votes for all the measures of a government, to the deliberations of which he was not summoned.

The first measures of the new administration were characterised rather by vigour than by judgment. Expeditions were sent against different parts of the French coast, with little success. The small island of Aix was taken, Rochfort threatened, a few ships burned in the harbour of St Maloes, and a few guns and mortars brought home as trophies from the fortifications of Cherbourg. But before long, conquests of a very different kind filled the kingdom with pride and rejoicing. A succession of victories, undoubtedly brilliant, and, as it was thought, not barren, raised to the highest point the fame of the minister to whom the conduct of the war had been intrusted. In July 1758, Louisburg fell. The whole island of Cape Breton was reduced; the fleet to which the Court of Versailles had confided the defence of French America was destroyed. The captured standards were borne in triumph from Kensington palace to the city, and were suspended in St Paul's church, amidst the roar of guns and kettledrums, and the shouts of an immense multitude. Addresses of congratulation came in from all the great towns of England. Parliament met only to decree thanks and monuments, and to bestow, without one murmur, supplies more than double of those which had been given during the war of the Grand Alliance.

The year 1759 opened with the conquest of Goree. Next fell Guadaloupe; then Ticonderoga; then Niagara. The Toulon squadron was completely defeated by Boscawen off Cape Lagos. But the greatest exploit of the year was the achievement of Wolfe on the heights of Abraham. The news of his glorious death, and of the fall of Quebec, reached London in the very week in which the Houses met. All was joy and triumph; envy and faction were forced to join in the general applause. Whigs and Tories vied with each other in extolling the genius and energy of Pitt. His colleagues were never talked of or thought of. The House of Commons, the nation, the colonies, our allies, our enemies, had their eyes fixed on him alone.

Scarcely had Parliament voted a monument to Wolfe, when another great event called for fresh rejoicings. The Brest fleet, under the command of Conflans, had put out to sea. It was overtaken by an English squadron, under Hawke. Conflans attempted to take shelter close under the French coast. The shore was rocky—the night was black—the wind was furious—the Bay of

Biscay ran high. But Pitt had infused into every branch of the service a spirit which had long been unknown. No British seaman was disposed to err on the same side with Byng. The pilot told Hawke that the attack could not be made without the greatest danger. 'You have done your duty in remonstrating,' answered Hawke; 'I will answer for every thing. I command you to lay me alongside the French admiral.' The result was a complete victory.

The year 1760 came, and still triumph followed triumph. Montreal was taken; the whole province of Canada was subjugated; the French fleets underwent a succession of disasters in the seas of Europe and America.

In the meantime, conquests equalling in rapidity, and far surpassing in magnitude those of Cortes and Pizarro, had been achieved in the East. In the space of three years the English had founded a mighty empire. The French had been defeated in every part of India. Chandernagore had yielded to Clive, Pondicherry to Coote. Throughout Bengal, Bahar, Orissa, and the Carnatic, the authority of the East India Company was more absolute than that of Acbar or Aurungzebe had ever been.

On the continent of Europe the odds were against England. We had but one important ally, the King of Prussia, and he was attacked, not only by France, but by Russia and Austria. Yet even on the continent the energy of Pitt triumphed over all difficulties. Vehemently as he had condemned the practice of subsidizing foreign princes, he now carried that practice farther than Carteret himself would have ventured or would have wished to do. The active and able Sovereign of Prussia received such pecuniary assistance as enabled him to maintain the conflict on equal terms against his powerful enemies. On no subject had Pitt ever spoken with so much eloquence and ardour as on the mischiefs of the Hanoverian connexion. He now declared, not without much show of reason, that it would be unworthy of the English people to suffer their King to be deprived of his electoral dominions in an English quarrel. He assured his countrymen that they should be no losers, and that he would conquer America for them in Germany. By taking this line he conciliated the King, and lost no part of his influence with the nation. In Parliament, such was the ascendancy which his eloquence, his success, his high situation, his pride, and his intrepidity had obtained for him, that he took liberties with the House, of which there had been no example, and which have never since been imitated. No orator could there venture to reproach him with inconsistency. One unfortunate man made the attempt, and was so much disconcerted by the scornful demeanour of the minister, that he stam-

mered, stopped, and sat down. Even the old Tory country gentlemen, to whom the very name of Hanover had been odious, gave their hearty *ayes* to subsidy after subsidy. In a lively contemporary satire,—much more lively indeed than delicate,—this remarkable conversion is not unhappily described.

‘ No more they make a fiddle-faddle
About a Hessian horse or saddle.
No more of continental measures.
No more of wasting British treasures.
Ten millions, and a vote of credit—
'Tis right. He can't be wrong who did it.’

The success of Pitt's continental measures was such as might have been expected from their vigour. When he came into power, Hanover was in imminent danger; and before he had been in office three months, the whole electorate was in the hands of France. But the face of affairs was speedily changed. The invaders were driven out. An army, partly English, partly Hanoverians, partly composed of soldiers furnished by the petty princes of Germany, was placed under the command of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick. The French were beaten in 1758 at Crevelt. In 1759, they received a still more complete and humiliating defeat at Minden.

In the meantime, the nation exhibited all the signs of wealth and prosperity. The merchants of London had never been more thriving. The importance of several great commercial and manufacturing towns, Glasgow, in particular, dates from this period. The fine inscription on the monument of Lord Chatham, in Guildhall, records the general opinion of the citizens of London, that under his administration commerce had been ‘ united with
' and made to flourish by war.’

It must be owned that these signs of prosperity were in some degree delusive. It must be owned that some of our conquests were rather splendid than useful. It must be owned that the expense of the war never entered into Pitt's consideration. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that the cost of his victories increased the pride and pleasure with which he contemplated them. Unlike other men in his situation, he loved to exaggerate the sums which the nation was laying out under his direction. He was proud of the sacrifices and efforts which his eloquence and his success had induced his countrymen to make. The price at which he purchased faithful service and complete victory, though far smaller than that which his son, the most profuse and incapable of war ministers, paid for treachery, defeat, and shame, was severely felt by the nation.

Even as a war minister, Pitt is scarcely entitled to all the praise which his contemporaries lavished on him. We, perhaps from ignorance, cannot discern in his arrangements any appearance of profound or dexterous combination. Several of his expeditions, particularly those which were sent to the coast of France, were at once costly and absurd. Our Indian conquests, though they add to the splendour of the period during which he was at the head of affairs, were not planned by him. He had great energy, great determination, great means at his command. His temper was enterprising, and, situated as he was, he had only to follow his temper. The wealth of a rich nation, the valour of a brave nation were ready to support him in every attempt.

In one respect, however, he deserved all the praise that he has ever received. The success of our arms was perhaps owing less to the skill of his dispositions than to the national resources and the national spirit. But that the national spirit rose to the emergency,—that the national resources were contributed with unexampled cheerfulness,—this was undoubtedly his work. The ardour of his spirit had set the whole kingdom on fire. It inflamed every soldier who dragged the cannon up the heights of Quebec, and every sailor who boarded the French ships amidst the rocks of Brittany. The minister, before he had been long in office, had imparted to the commanders whom he employed his own impetuous, adventurous, and defying character. They, like him, were disposed to risk every thing,—to play double or quits to the last,—to think nothing done while any thing remained,—to fail rather than not to attempt. For the errors of rashness there might be indulgence. For over-caution, for faults like those of Lord George Sackville—there was no mercy. In other times, and against other enemies, this mode of warfare might have failed. But the state of the French government and of the French nation gave every advantage to Pitt. The fops and intriguers of Versailles were appalled and bewildered by his vigour. A panic spread through all ranks of society. Our enemies soon considered it as a settled thing that they were always to be beaten. Thus victory begot victory; till, at last, wherever the forces of the two nations met, they met with disdainful confidence on the one side, and with a craven fear on the other.

The situation which Pitt occupied at the close of the reign of George the Second was the most enviable ever occupied by any public man in English history. He had conciliated the King; he domineered over the House of Commons; he was adored by the people; he was admired by all Europe. He was the first Englishman of his time; and he had made England the first country in the world. The Great Commoner—the name by

which he was often designated—might look down with scorn on coronets and garters. The nation was drunk with joy and pride. The Parliament was as quiet as it had been under Pelham. The old party-distinctions were almost effaced; nor was their place yet supplied by distinctions of a yet more important kind. A new generation of country-squires and rectors had arisen who knew not the Stuarts. The Dissenters were tolerated; the Catholics not cruelly persecuted. The Church was drowsy and indulgent. The great civil and religious conflict which began at the Reformation seemed to have terminated in universal repose. Whigs and Tories, Churchmen and Puritans, spoke with equal reverence of the constitution, and with equal enthusiasm of the talents, virtues, and services of the minister.

A few years sufficed to change the whole aspect of affairs. A nation convulsed by faction, a throne assailed by the fiercest invective, a House of Commons hated and despised by the nation, England set against Scotland, Britain set against America, a rival legislature sitting beyond the Atlantic, English blood shed by English bayonets, our armies capitulating, our conquests wrested from us, our enemies hastening to take vengeance for past humiliation, our flag scarcely able to maintain itself in our own seas,—such was the spectacle Pitt lived to see. But the history of this great revolution requires far more space than we can at present bestow. We leave the 'Great Commoner' in the zenith of his glory. It is not impossible that we may take some other opportunity of tracing his life to its melancholy, yet not inglorious, close.

No. CXIX. will be published in April.

ERRATA.

Page 322, line 20, for 'If consulting to levy even,' read 'If consulting to levy war.'

Page 333, line 20, for 'clogged with attendants,' read 'clogged with dependents.'

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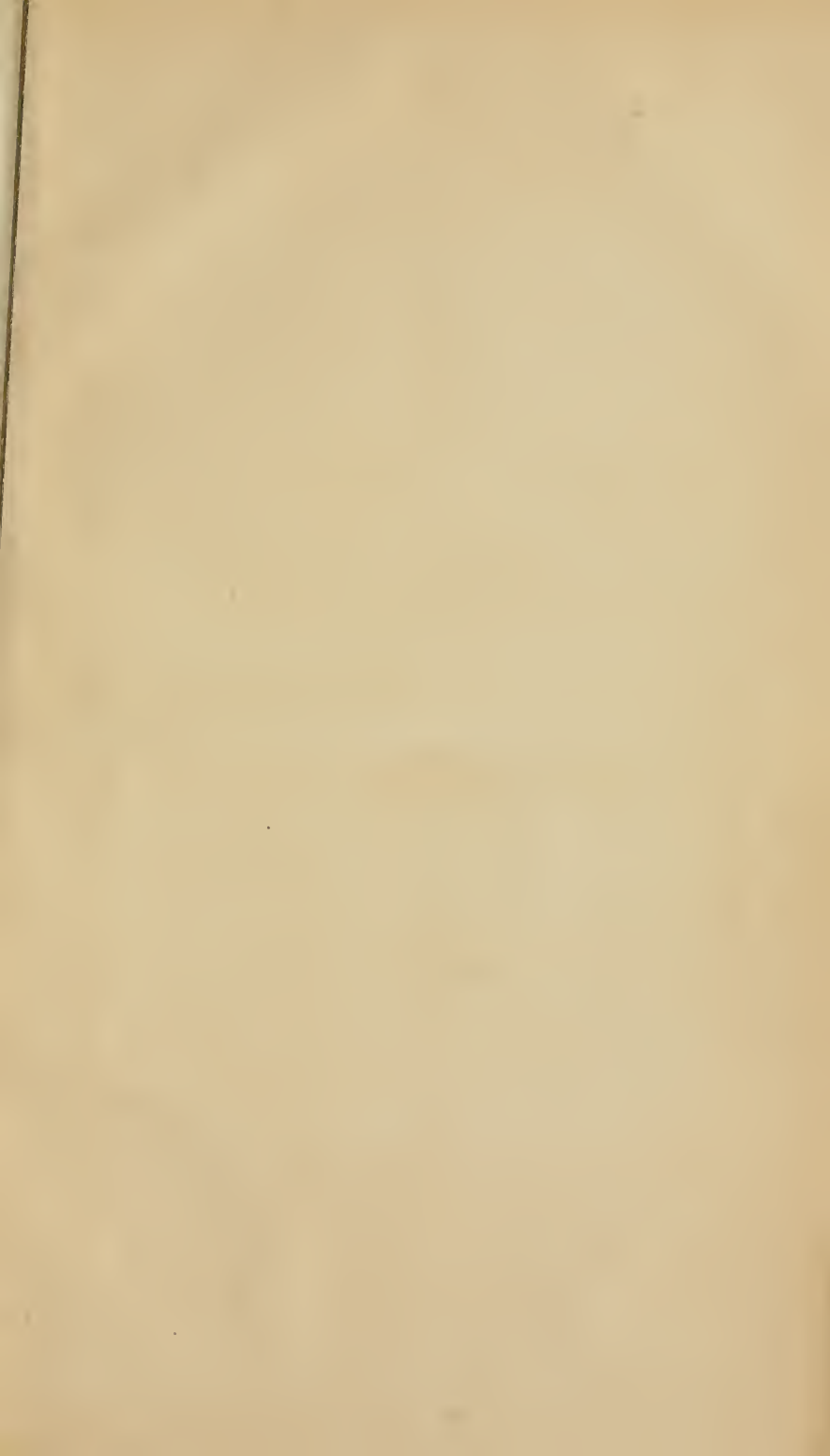
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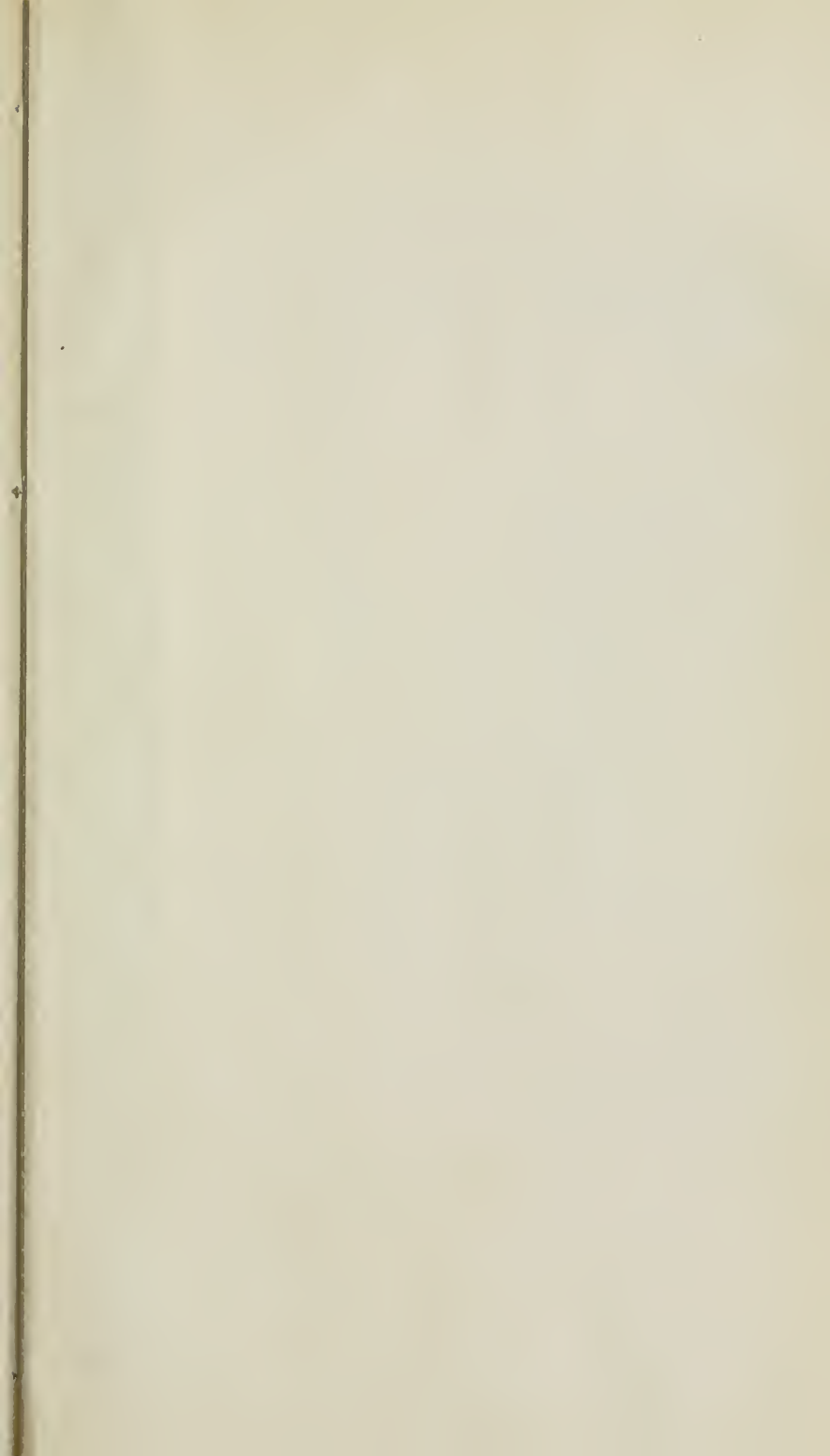
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Author ..Edinburgh Review

Title ..Vol. 58. July 1833-Jan. 1834.

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