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THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW,

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JULY—DECEMBER.

NEW SERIES.

VOL. II.

Φιλοσοφίαν δὲ οὐ τὴν Στωικὴν λέγω. οὐδὲ τὴν Πλατωνικὴν, ἢ τὴν Ἐπικουρεῖον τε καὶ Ἀριστοτελικὴν· ἀλλ' ὅσα εἴρηται παρ' ἐκάστη τῶν αἵρεσέων τούτων καλῶς, δικαιούσνην μετὰ εὐσεβοῦς ἐπιστήμης ἐκδιδάσκοντα, τοῦτο σίμπαν το Ἐκλεκτικὸν φιλοσοφίαν φῆμι.

CLEM. ALEX. *Strom.* L. 1.

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THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR JULY, 1837.

Art. I. *Oxford University Calendar.* 1837.

AN ancient University, richly endowed, thronged with candidates for the learned professions, frequented by the aristocracy of the country, and the only theological school for half the clergy of the national church; is an Institution too efficient for good or evil to be looked at with indifference by a wise man and a Christian. Those who are not its members, must not be supposed to have no interest in its condition, and no right to desire its improvement. Whether it be or be not technically a *National* system, it is necessarily in effect national. Its estates lie in every county, its scholars come from every county; its graduates spread over the whole kingdom, bringing with them the lessons of good or evil which they have imbibed: and signally as a main fountain whence the national clergy are supplied, the University of Oxford affects the welfare of the nation.

It is idle then to pretend, that the nation may take no cognizance of so extensive and formidable an organization, because forsooth we must respect the last Wills and Testaments of certain founders and benefactors. If a man leaves his estates for purposes, which after several centuries are found to generate a public nuisance, is his Will to be respected? In truth, it is difficult to repress the thought, that only pure hypocrisy dictates such pretended reverence for the wills of founders. For it is well known, that all such statutes and clauses in the founders' enactments, as would give the college estates to *Roman Catholics*, have been cancelled by Act of Parliament; and the present holders enjoy their benefit only by virtue of such violation of the

founders' will. Yet this does not hurt their consciences; though any farther trespass is deprecated as an iniquity. Those who talk so much of the sacredness of wills, are not found anxious to give back into the hands of Roman Catholics the rich foundations which are come down to us from Papal times: nor do scruples of conscience often stand in the way, when mere convenience dictates to dispense with statutes. Yet, while this has all the appearance of hypocrisy, we believe that in the majority it is rather ignorance and party spirit. Many are little aware what are their own statutes; much less aware how widely different is the position now held by the colleges, from that in which they stood originally.

The Dissenters of England have another ground of interest in the National Universities. They look upon them as an inheritance of which they are unjustly defrauded, not by the University itself, but by the English Parliament. A founder perhaps has left estates for the benefit of the county of Hampshire; but a Hampshire man is excluded from the benefit, unless he will subscribe the Act of Uniformity. This Act was passed at a time, when *principles* of persecution were held and acted on: but now that such principles are disavowed, it appears but congruous to repeal all *acts* of persecution; of which this is but a part. No Oxonian can pretend that this is to be consecrated in deference to the *founders*; or that Parliament has *no right* to repent of its own persecuting act. If our exhortations could be heard, we would say, Let them be more cautious. A church raised against Romanism by State Patronage can ill afford to assume haughty airs against the State, her master.

It is also requisite for mere admission to the University, to subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion. We should have believed this to be *by Act of Parliament*, but that of late, when it was proposed to rescind it, in conformity with the opinion of the Chancellor, it does not appear that the opponents objected that the University had no power to repeal it, as being an act of the national legislature. If then the enactment is, as we infer, a bye-law of the University, it is a formal annulling, *on her part*, of the regulations of founders. For, even if the Act of Uniformity were repealed, this subscription would act as a prohibition on the Fellows of a College to admit Dissenters, though their founder had left no such prohibition; nay, though they should be founders' kin.

But, as regards Dissenters and their claims, we are not sure whether in a religious point of view they would not be losers, if they were admitted into the Universities without great reformatations having been effected. The moral scandals and dangers to young men, are too fearful to be passed over slightly, for the sake of literature or emoluments: and we think it highly desirable that

the public should gain a more detailed and accurate conception of the interior constitution of the Universities, and the working of their machinery: a matter on which the body of the nation, (even members of the Establishment,) are exceedingly in the dark. As we must presume that a large majority of our readers are Dissenters, we propose to devote this article to an analysis of the system of the University of Oxford; and think it expedient to do this with a minuteness which would be needless and tedious, except on the supposition that the reader has only vague acquaintance with the subject.

In the present article we must confine ourselves to the *University and College Systems*; intending, in a future number, to discuss other topics which are involved in the general subject.

I. The word University has been erroneously understood, to mean a place in which the 'universal' range of science is cultivated. Some attention was called to the topic, by the frivolous objection drawn from this source, against the London University; in which the science of Divinity is *not* studied. It was shown on the other hand, that celebrated Universities had existed, in which nothing was studied but Medicine, or nothing but Law; and that according to etymology, the word University is identical with Community; for, in Monkish Latin, *vestra universitas*, means 'your totality,' or 'all of you.' In fact, if the etymology so flippantly and pertinaciously urged against the London University, were allowed to decide the use of the term, Oxford must at once renounce the name.

It is generally difficult to make strangers understand the difference between the University and the Colleges; nor is it possible to explain it, without some reference to their history. The University is the chartered and privileged body, which originally was every thing; while the Colleges have been well compared to boarding-houses, instituted at first to afford lodging and food to needy students, either gratis, or at small expense. They rose one after another by the charity or ambition of rich individuals; a few by royal endowment; but in early times only a small number of University students were members of Colleges. It appears, however, that the institution is very ancient, by which the students were formed into bodies called Halls; over which some Master of Arts, said to have been chosen by the students themselves, presided: but as the number of such Halls could be multiplied indefinitely, or again extinguished, the system possessed a flexibility not found in it at present. For now, the Colleges take in *two* sorts of students; viz. not only those who receive pecuniary benefit from the founder, but others besides: and the number of the Halls is only five. Also, every student admitted in the University, is bound to enter himself simultaneously as a

member of some College or Hall. Thus at present, the Colleges and four Halls are the parts, the total of which make up the University. And each of the separate houses has its own laws on numerous points, while all are alike subject to the laws of the University. An American might compare the system to that of the United States; in which each state has its own constitution and legislative assembly, while in Congress all together legislate for all, without trenching on their separate liberties.

Convocation. The legislative power of the University resides in this body, which is composed of those who have attained the degree of Master of Arts—and the higher degrees. (It is not worth while to be here more explicit.) The Convocation has theoretically no limit to its power, so long as it keeps within the charter of the University, which of course it cannot violate.

The language talked in convocation is Latin. This was adopted naturally, at a time when all the learned men of Europe talked and wrote Latin; and it then greatly facilitated intercourse with foreign professors, who could teach at Oxford without any impediment from difference of language. But at present, when the speaking of Latin is not cultivated, the antiquated custom operates to prevent convocation from *deliberating* at all. They assemble, not to discuss, not to communicate opinions, but to give votes already decided. The result is what might be expected. No free intercourse of sentiment is obtained; the merits of measures cannot be generally understood, and undue weight is given to the party-feeling of particular Colleges. Perhaps what the Christ-Church men propose, causes jealousy at Oriel; or what the Oriel men would have, the Magdalen men are determined to reject. This is productive of no very manifest inconvenience in matters upon which there is no excitement felt; as the intercourse kept up in the common rooms and other opportunities, seems to supply the want of public deliberation. But doctrines repugnant to the general feeling cannot make their way, under a system which practically prohibits *public* discussion, and despoils truth and reason of their best arms.

We have known Oxonians zealously uphold the advantage of having the debates of convocation, (if such they can be called,) in Latin, by an argument which would seem insulting to the University, if it came from the mouth of an enemy. They say that it is undesirable to allow the Masters to speak in English, because so many foolish things would probably be said. We may well allow the probability of this; but if the evil were so desperate as to need such a remedy, it would imply that convocation consists of persons less orderly and less sensible than the commonest clubs.

It is well to remark, how uniformly the upholders of 'things

as they are,' fall into the mistake of admiring, as the emphasis of wisdom, what has been brought about by unforeseen circumstances. When Latin was made the language of the University, it was a language habitually familiar to the learned for the purposes of philosophic disputation. A change of circumstances has made the result different at present. The existing state of things is wholly opposed to that which once was; yet this is upheld by the fancied authority of antiquity, as though it were a wise institution of our ancestors.

Another disadvantageous circumstance is, that *non-resident* Masters possess votes in convocation, which are never used *except* in times of excitement such as we have spoken of. Habit, or laziness, or ignorance, or undue influence of personal feeling, has most extensively produced the result, that absent members vote as *their College* votes. The meaning is, that if the Head and resident Fellows of a College take a strong view on one side of a question, they write to their non-resident Masters, entreating them to come up and vote that way. This of course cannot be a thing of every day; as the trouble is too great. The result, however is, that the College which can count most votes, (by the accidental circumstance of the capacity of its walls,) has an undue power in convocation: moreover, it must often be a matter of accident, how many of these non-residents are present, or come on being summoned, and the legislative body is of a very shifting kind.

Attendance to speak in Latin, and vote on ordinary business, has so few charms, that it cannot be expected that many should frequent the convocation at all. Nor is it perhaps to be much regretted, that the chief business is practically settled before another tribunal, of which we shall presently speak.

Chancellor. At present it is thought to conduce to the dignity of the Universities, to have some distinguished nobleman with this title; the practical meaning of which is little different from that of *Patron*. How little is his real influence, may be seen by the contempt which was thrown on the proposal advocated by the present Chancellor, (the Duke of Wellington,) to substitute in place of Subscription to the Articles, a declaration that the young student is a member of the Church of England. The Chancellor has with the University a sort of *ξενία*, or friendship of occasional hospitality; and little more. His real duty is entirely performed by his deputy, the Vice-Chancellor; and it would be felt as unseemly for him to wish it otherwise, as for the King of England to carry on public business without ministers.

Board of Heads of Houses. By an arrangement comparatively modern, an Upper House has been formed, of the Heads of Colleges and Halls; who prepare all the matters to be laid

before convocation. This might seem likely to conduce to the dispatch of business; and in ordinary cases it is no doubt found convenient. But as no measures and no votes can be passed in convocation, unless they are first approved by the Board of Heads, it is in fact an entire revolution; a virtual suppression of the liberties of convocation, and a violation of the University charter. We believe it was originally a usurpation; but we do not wish to concern ourselves with mere antiquarian researches. If it is good, let it be sanctioned; or if it be bad, let it be altered; whether it was carried legally or not. It is, however, obvious, that the Heads of Houses could not originally have had any such power; for the Colleges did not exist when the convocation received its rights from the crown. At present, if the whole body of convocation desire a particular measure, it cannot be proposed, until the majority of the Heads consent to it. Neither can convocation amend the bills laid before them: from which we have understood that much inconvenience occasionally results.

Vice-Chancellor and Proctors. These three University officers are practically the most prominent, it being the duty of undergraduates to salute them in the street by taking off the cap; on which account they always appear in full dress, the Vice-Chancellor being likewise attended by persons bearing silver or gold 'pokers,' as they are familiarly called. The Vice-Chancellor is one of the Heads of Houses, appointed for four years, who is not only (as deputy of the Chancellor) President of Convocation, but likewise President of the Board of Heads, and of most of the subordinate University boards, which may be compared to permanent Committees of Parliament. The Proctors are two Masters of Arts, annually chosen, to perform the office of High Constable or Sheriff to the University. The employment is sufficiently unpleasant, to parade the streets, especially towards night, and apprehend for punishment any disorderly gownsmen. But, beside this, the Proctors have a seat in the Board of Heads, and have the singular right to stop the proceedings of convocation by their veto. This was an invention of the crown to bridle convocation.

Public Professors. It is at first rather puzzling to a student, when he finds University Professors as well as College Tutors. He is perhaps disposed to think the Professors a sort of *complement* to the Tutors. They appear to take up those more miscellaneous and irregular topics, which modern science has super-added. Thus he hears much of the Professors of Chemistry, of Mineralogy and Geology, of Astronomy and Geometry, of Sanscrit, of Political Economy. Yet, when he reflects that there are two Professors of Divinity, one of Poetry, one of Hebrew, and one of Greek, it is presently manifest that his first impression

was a mistake. And the truth is the very reverse.* The old system was to have Professors of different branches, with a suitable division of labour, who were tutors to the University at large: leaving it, however, to individuals, at their discretion, to seek additional instruction from any Master of Arts. The new system is to have College Tutors, who practically draw off the pupils from the Public Professors, so that only those who teach some modern popular science are able to get full classes; always excepting divinity professors, attendance at whose lectures is exacted by the bishops from candidates for ordination.

Public Preachers. The University sermons are, for the most part, preached in the parish church of St. Mary's. No public prayers are celebrated by the University, but in the separate College Chapels the ordinary services are conducted, and the University assembles only to hear sermons. Of these, two are preached every Sunday during term time, and one on every *red-letter* saints' day. Of the annual sermons thus required, a considerable number are preached by the Heads of Houses, or by the Canons of Christ Church. The rest are to be supplied by the Masters of Arts who are clergymen. The principle adopted is this: to let each take his turn, beginning with the seniors, and proceeding downwards to the juniors. But as the number of Masters every year ordained priests, has for some time past exceeded the number of annual sermons to be preached by them, we understand that the time falls later and later in life when they will be called on in their turn.

Select Preachers. A very disagreeable abuse gave rise to a new regulation. To defray the expense of travelling from the country, the sum of five guineas was very properly allotted to the preacher. But, whoever found it inconvenient to obey the summons to preach in his turn, would write to request some one of the residents at Oxford to become his substitute; and would generally choose one on whom he might depend. Some of the chaplains of the Colleges, and others who resided pretty closely in the University without much occupation, were thus led practically to profess themselves always ready to preach for the fee of five

* The list of Professors is as follows:—

Regius (or Royal) Professors—of Divinity, of Civil Law, of Medicine, of Hebrew, and of Greek.

Margaret Professor of Divinity—(founded by the mother of Henry VII.)

Professors of Natural Philosophy, of Geometry, of Astronomy, of Moral Philosophy, of Ancient History, of Music, of Arabic, of Botany, of Poetry, of Modern History and Languages, of Anglo-Saxon, of Common Law, of Clinical Practice, of Medical Practice, of Anatomy, of Chemistry, of Political Economy, of Sanscrit.

Lecturers in Arabic, Anatomy, Experimental Philosophy, Mineralogy, and Geology.

In all, Twenty-four Professorships, and Five Lectureships.

guineas. In consequence, for a length of time sermons were inflicted on the University, having nothing to recommend them, unless antiquity and frequent repetition could convert trash into valuable matter. Early in this century the University did at last wake to a sense of the disgrace, and a number of Select Preachers is now annually appointed by authority, who shall preach in turn whenever he to whom it falls in rotation shall decline to officiate in person. It is generally admitted that the result of the change has been greatly for the better. There may be many opinions as to the orthodoxy of the Select Preachers, in the true sense of the word orthodoxy; but they cannot easily be inferior in this respect to their predecessors the Chaplains, while in intellect they are greatly superior.

Public Examiners. These also are a race of men newly appointed, and now fill a most important station. Within the memory of persons not old, there was no systematic examination of candidates for degrees: but every candidate got some friend who was a Master of Arts to put a few simple questions to him; and another friend (we believe) to testify to his merits; after which ordeal he was approved. At present there are two public examinations in the course of the first four years, prior to taking the Bachelor's degree. The earlier and minor examination, called 'responsions,' (or popularly, *little go*,) is under the management of the *Masters of the Schools*, as they are named in contrast to the *Examiners*, the latter title being reserved for those who hold the higher place. It is only at the later examination that any classification of the candidates according to their literary merits, takes place. They are now separated into five 'classes,' of which the lowest contains those adjudged worthy of a degree, but of no peculiar honour. Those who distinguish themselves for mathematical acquirements are also honoured by having their names printed in separate classes. Hence a 'double first,' or 'double second' class, is familiarly used of a student whose name is found in the first or in the second class of *each* branch. But of the details of study more will be said afterwards.

The examinations were originally intended to have been chiefly carried on by interrogation and reply, the candidate also translating aloud any portion of a book pointed out to him by the Examiner. This is still the most essential part of the ordeal, for obtaining the degree. But more and more stress has been laid on the *paper work*, in the case of candidates for honours; so that one who is candidate for a first class may probably be in the schools for five or six days together, and six hours each day; while he is engaged directly with the Examiner for only half a day. The schools are always open, even to strangers; so that even the public reporters might take down the examinations, if they were capable of understanding them well enough.

A great practical difficulty has been experienced in the University from the existing plan. *Four* new examiners are every year required. They ought, for the most part, not only to be men of real talent and acquirements, but to have obtained high 'classes' themselves; as without this it is but seldom that they can obtain public confidence. But experience has seemed to show, that of the yearly classmen less than four on an average are annually added to the residents at Oxford. This is a difficulty that might easily be removed, were there less dread of innovation, or more opportunity of bringing about agreement between different views. If the Examiners were paid more liberally, many would take the office more than once; some would come up from 'the country,' (that is, in Oxford dialect, from all other parts of the kingdom,) for the special object. But now it is so laborious, so ill paid, and so thankless, that few will take it more than once; whether as a sort of duty to the University, which they are ashamed to refuse, or as a means of adding a little more lustre to their names.

Another mode of relieving the Examiners might prove far better; viz. by a greater distribution of the labour into numerous hands. We believe that at Cambridge the chief Examiners are permitted to call in assistants, to perform the drudgery of the easier papers; while they reserve for themselves the judgment of all the more difficult and important. As far as we are aware, the Oxonians still labour under the want of some such regulations. It has been said, that the Board of Heads is so behind public opinion, that the changes made from time to time are generally many years too late, and new changes still seem needed, to the annoyance or triumph of those who declaim against innovation as useless or pernicious.

Degrees. The University has the power of bestowing degrees in four different 'faculties;' *in Arts, in Law, in Medicine, and in Divinity.* Indeed we must add, *in Music*, strange as it may sound. There is no 'Doctor of Arts,' but there is a 'Doctor of Music.' By *Arts* is understood all the non-professional education which is considered proper for students in general; to speak roughly, Latin and Greek, and a little Mathematics. But while degrees are bestowed in all these faculties, the University has no examination, and almost no instruction in any of them except Arts. A person who has become a Bachelor of Arts, passes as a thing of course to the degree of Master of Arts, Bachelor of Law, Doctor of Medicine, or if he be a clergyman, to Bachelor and Doctor of Divinity. We believe he has to compose and play a piece of music, before he can be made Doctor of Music. That no instruction is obtainable in Law or Medicine at the University, such as to qualify a person for mediocrity in either department, is notorious. A medical school is deprecated by many, as

a source of moral corruption to the place. Under such circumstances, it may seem marvellous that they can continue to bestow degrees in these faculties; or rather marvellous, that the public are ignorant enough to give the value of a straw to such degrees. But the Divinity degrees are no better. As there is no examination in divinity, *so neither is there any education in it.* Biblical antiquities and Hebrew criticism do not enter the University system of study, so as to be incumbent on those who are to take degrees in divinity: and, in spite of the desires and exertions of several recent professors, the titles, Bachelor and Doctor of Divinity, are attainable with no more knowledge of the subject than is needed to press through the first degree of B.A. The candidate and the Professor carry on (in theory) a Latin disputation; which is an old form passed from hand to hand, and we believe, generally read out by *one* party only. By statute it is requisite that the disputation shall occupy a full hour. If the reader finish too soon, he begins again, and continues reading till the time is up. We are not aware that there has been any recent improvement in this matter.

It is thus clear that the only degree *worth having* which the University bestows, (except that fine titles dazzle the ignorant,) is that of Bachelor of Arts. This alone is preceded by a really honest examination, or has any thing to do with intellectual attainments. Numerous objections are urged against examining any who have passed out of pupillage; but if they prove any thing, they prove the uselessness of all farther degrees.

When a foreigner or an Englishman, unacquainted with Oxford, hears that a certain clergyman has received the degree of Doctor of Divinity, it is naturally imagined that such a one has eminently distinguished himself as a divine. He must surely be a celebrated preacher, or theological writer; a commentator on the Scriptures; an ecclesiastical historian; or at least, it must have been ascertained that he has superior biblical knowledge? But no. His degree avails nothing to show that he is not *Doctor sine doctrinâ*, as well as *Doctor sine discipulis*; one who neither does teach, nor could teach, nor means to teach Theology.

The degree of Master of Arts must be taken, before the student is considered to have finally passed out of pupillage, and to be capable of holding any public offices. It may be worth remarking, that if, in place of the title *Master of Arts* we were to substitute *Doctor of Arts*, (as the Germans say, *Doctor of Philosophy*, of those in a corresponding stage,) it might express the sense better. We do not know why *Master of Medicine*, *Master of Law*, &c., should be never used; nor, *Doctor of Arts*: but *Master* is 'Magister,' which seems to mean the same as 'Doctor,' viz. Teacher. Also at the taking of the Master's Degree, formal leave is given by the Vice-Chancellor to 'read' certain

books, as Aristotle, &c. This is explained, and no doubt correctly, to mean that the Master is at liberty to *lecture* publicly on these subjects: so that he is properly styled *Doctor*. The room which is named the Metaphysical School, (in which the public examinations are now conducted,) was once peculiarly used for the disputations and lectures of the Masters. Nor only so; but any Master was at liberty to receive the invitation of any number of students to become their public Lecturer; which was a check upon incapacity or indolence in a Public Professor. Any such deficiency would soon empty his benches, when more competent teachers could so readily be substituted.

The modern changes have not only suppressed the liberties of convocation, but have nullified the rights of the Masters. It is useless to give them in name such rights, while the Metaphysical School is closed against them, and the Colleges forbid the attendance of pupils.

University Scholarships. Recent benefactors have usefully added to the former system different scholarships open to the competition of all under-graduates (or sometimes bachelors) of the University; for proficiency in Greek and Latin, in Law, in Hebrew, in Mathematics. By holding these, a person does not enter a new College. They are, in fact, little more than a public honour, and an annual pecuniary benefit: and are generally held for a short period of years.

Public Libraries. The celebrated Bodleian Library, we need hardly say, is one of the finest in Europe; if the number and rarity of the books and other curiosities be the measure of excellence. But owing in part to the restrictions of Sir T. Bodley, the founder, in part to the spirit of the place, it is almost of no utility to the common residents. Indeed, most Colleges have far better libraries than are wanted or cared for by the vast majority; and the Bodleian is accessible only at hours when those cannot frequent it who are actively employed. In winter it is open from ten to three o'clock, in summer from nine to four, to Bachelors and those of higher degrees. It is unlawful to take any book out of it, or to have fire or candle within the walls. The building is heated by hot air conveyed from without, which painfully affects the heads of many persons, perhaps added to the smell of the books. A few solitary students reside in Oxford for the purpose of reading in the Bodleian: one or two Professors spend much time there; or a straggling man of letters from foreign parts. But as if to secure that even these shall get as little good as possible out of the magnificent collection, the catalogues are so defective that no one can learn what books are there; nor, we believe, will the librarians venture to guess within twenty thousand *how many* they have. The cause is this; that the funds for buying books are very ample, while no fund exists

for paying librarians. The curators of the funds are buying year by year more new books, than the librarians (who are meanly paid and overwhelmed with work,) can possibly enrol in the catalogue. The University does not choose to be at greater expense to provide under-librarians, half a dozen of whom might probably be kept in full work by mere cataloguing alone; while scruples of conscience, or dread of change, forbid the employment of the funds destined for *buying* books, to the purpose of making them efficient when bought. As far as we are aware, the difficulties of the librarians are in consequence, up to this day, on the increase.

This state of things is one of which the nation has a peculiar right to complain; since a heavy, indeed an oppressive tax, has long been levied, to increase the enormous weight of books under which the walls of the building were once giving way, until new iron fastenings of vast strength were erected, to sustain the shelves and relieve the walls. And again, of late the roof was thought to be splitting by the pressure outwards, and props were run up from top to bottom through the apartments, until farther measures of security could be taken. In such a state, and with catalogues so incomplete, how ridiculous it seems to force every author to send to this library a copy of his work, the best and most expensive of its kind; and of every successive edition.

The other public library in Oxford is called the *Ratcliffe*; but it has nothing to put it in comparison with the Bodleian. It is generally understood to contain chiefly medical books. Probably the three or four physicians who divide Oxford practice among them, may make occasional use of this library; but if they do, this seems the extent of its usefulness. It was here that the Sanscrit MSS. were as it were buried and lost, and one actually rotted away, until found by the diligence of a German scholar.

Printing Establishment. The printing of the University is carried on at the 'Clarendon press;' which is now transferred to a magnificent building, recently erected; the former having proved unequal to the vast increase of business. The new printing-house has two wings, or rather sides, in one of which the Bibles are printed, in the other miscellaneous books. This establishment having the privilege of paying no duty on paper, is able to undersell the ordinary booksellers whenever it pleases. For this reason it would not be right to compete with the common course of trade. The Clarendon printing is very properly restricted to classic works, and to those who are considered 'standard' English authors, especially in divinity. Occasionally the works of living divines are honoured by being published at this press; but it is seldom that the merits of a work can be adequately known while yet in MS., to entitle it to such a distinction. The lectures of University professors, we believe, are

often thus adopted. All such matters are judged of by a board of officers, called Delegates of the Press.

University Funds. The Clarendon Press and Bodleian Library have estates appropriated to themselves; as have other University establishments, respecting which we cannot speak particularly. But the University is likewise a Municipal Corporation within itself, having a police establishment, (we mean that of the Proctors,) with a Mayor (the Vice-Chancellor); and even superintending such matters as paving and lighting. When we reflect how shamefully all corporate property becomes abused, when entrusted to irreponsible hands, it is difficult to suppress the suspicion, that discoveries of this kind might be made even in Oxford. In saying which, we do not impute to them the being worse than other men; but if it should prove that the funds are *not* extensively and shamefully abused, we shall give them credit as being purer and firmer in virtue than the generality. However, in Oxford itself there is an impression that the University is very poor; that she keeps down her taxation of undergraduates to a minimum; and that for this purpose the salaries of the Public Examiners, and Librarians of the Bodleian, are rightly set so low. But the case of 'Librarians *versus* Library,' offers a strong analogy to convince us, that there need be no lack of money, if interest, or habit, or false scruples of conscience, did not prevent its being applied aright. The undergraduates and bachelors, though 'rate-payers,' have of course no control over the expenditure.

University Oaths. At every degree, and at entrance into the University, it is requisite to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion. At entrance, moreover, the young man has to swear to observe all the statutes of the University; of which a certain selection is always given him in a printed Latin book. A part is marked out for him to read in presence of the Vice-Chancellor, before the oath is administered; which part describes some of the duties especially incumbent on him.

It is lamented by those who wish well to the University, and who grieve to see the conscience entangled, or the standard of truth lowered, that the form of subscription is what it is. Many parts of the statutes are notoriously superannuated; so that a person who seeks to observe them becomes ridiculous or offensive. When a young man of scrupulous conscience inquires what he is to do or think, he is pointed to a postscript, in which it is declared, that if he should violate any of the statutes, he will yet be considered to have observed them, if he humbly and decently submit to the punishment which shall be inflicted on him for it by proper authority. Hence it is argued, that even after swearing to the statutes, he may conscientiously transgress any of them, so long as the transgression is winked at. How

insulting to the honour and majesty of an oath, made in the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, is this shuffling! Why must two persons contract before God, and say one thing, but mean another? And why need those who have the scourge in their hand, force their humble servants to swear that they will obey; when they can chastise disobedience so severely, with or without the oath? The reply is, that Oxford does not choose to change, let times change ever so much.

On taking the Bachelor's degree, and receiving leave to read in the Bodleian, an oath is likewise administered to secure the books from damage. It is remarkable for the ingenious endeavour to enumerate all the possible ways of injuring books; since the person promises not to tear them, cut out pieces, dirty them, mark them, double them, grease them, burn them, &c., &c., with more to this effect; though we have not the words before us.

II. So much having been said concerning the *University*, we proceed to develop more of the interior of the *College* system.

Halls different from Colleges. The five houses called Halls, have no estates attached to them. A Principal superintends them, who has a seat among the Board of Heads. His sources of income are understood to be from the rent of the rooms, (as he is proprietor for life of the buildings,) and if he officiate as Tutor, he of course receives a Tutor's recompence. But at the Colleges this is never the case. These Institutions were originally founded, to furnish needy students with partial help, or to afford to men of learning the means of literary leisure, generally with an express reference to the interests of religion. The prevailing system is, to have a Head, Fellows, and Scholars. The Scholars are the youngest, and generally are undergraduates, though in various cases if a Scholar be not elected Fellow, he may retain his scholarship for a length of time; and in a few cases undergraduates may become Fellows. At Christ Church the names Fellow and Scholar are merged in the single term *Student*. Thus 'the Students of Christ Church' does not mean the same to the ear of the public as to that of Oxonians; since the latter understand by it, those who are admitted as proprietors of the Christ Church estates, and who are (as it is called) 'on the foundation.'

Celibacy of Fellows. The Fellows and Scholars are forbidden to marry; although no such prohibition is enforced on the Head. In Roman Catholic times this was a thing of course, as in all the early endowments literary men were identified with clergy; and in many it is distinctly required that they should take orders. Yet in one of the oldest colleges (Merton) the Head may be a layman: also at All Souls (founded by Archbishop Chicely, in the reign of Henry V.,) the Fellows, in

number forty, may be laymen. Hence it would seem that there is some other cause for the general celibacy of the Fellows. It may be said, that there is no room provided for wives and children in the college walls; and that this led to the prohibition. Certainly for this reason, the Heads, who have uniformly a house to themselves, found it easier to marry at the time of the Reformation, and by early using their privilege, established it as right, in spite of the opposition of Queen Elizabeth.

The public are not wrong in attributing considerable effects to what is called the 'monkery' of the Oxford system, though perhaps it works differently from what is generally supposed. That the *esprit de corps* of the Fellows would be lessened by marriage, may be doubted; nor are we aware that it exists less in Canons and Chapters than in Oxford Colleges. But the effect of this restriction is often injurious in another way. We may divide the Fellows into two portions; those who marry off quickly, and those who will hold their fellowships to the day of death, unless an acceptable living lead them to resign it. Of these it is to be expected, that the latter will be (as a class) greatly the inferior in talent. After making allowances for other causes which sometimes lead men to decline marriage, it may be safely said that a majority of men who remain unmarried, do so from pecuniary reasons; and while these may occasionally operate as a hindrance to men of talent, it is much oftener the case with those of mean capacity. If a person who has neglected all means of improvement, be once elected Fellow any where, he is far less likely to give up his advantage by marriage, than a man of cultivated and powerful mind. The former has looked to his fellowship as his maintenance, and thinks that if he lose it, he shall never get so good a thing again. Thus the natural inclination to marry, thwarted by the Oxford law of restriction, cannot but operate to draw off from the Colleges just those men whom the University should wish to keep; and if those who remain clinging to her through life are but the refuse intellect of the place, it is not to be much wondered at. We believe that the Colleges which have the cleverest body of Fellows, generally find them pass off most quickly, either by marriage or by other appointments. This appears more desirable than stagnation; yet a quick succession of very young tutors is by no means desirable. On the present plan the two evils co-exist to a great degree.

Another circumstance that acts irregularly and vexatiously, and sometimes draws able persons prematurely away from Oxford, is, that many of the fellowships are vacated by the possession of other property. If a gentleman become master of one or two hundreds a year in his own right, he perhaps loses his fellowship;

while, if his father be alive, and possess many thousands a year, the son may keep the fellowship.

Perhaps the occasional *juvenility* of those whose energies give much impulse to the conduct of the Oxonians, may account for the want of good sense and discretion, which is so surprising to sober Englishmen. An Oxford student may often become a Master at the age of twenty-three, ordinarily at twenty-five; and then in Oxford estimation he is decidedly one of the seniors. At twenty-seven he is perhaps Dean of the College, the Censor of Morals. Before thirty he probably becomes Public Examiner, Proctor, or Vice-Proctor; or in some other public station is invested with consequence. From those immediately beneath him he receives so much respect and implicit obedience, and is so tutored to assume airs of state, (without which it is perhaps rightly said that men so young, could not rule so arbitrarily,) that the character is formed which technically is called a *Don*. When this 'Donnism' is found in more advanced years, it has more excuse, and is less hurtful; but when the pooriness of Fellowships or any other cause leads to very rapid promotion, the precipitation of youth may easily be combined with the pomp and assumption of old age.

In the celibacy of the Fellows we have another example how strongly the Oxonians are persuaded, that *whatever is is best*. 'If you permit them to marry,' it is said, 'you will have them as 'an incubus on the University all their lives.' Indeed this happens even as it is; and in a past generation, not all were the more moral for not marrying. But why are the *Heads* permitted to marry? Are they never an incubus? If it be desirable to have a succession, let the fellowships be *not* made a provision for life; let them be for five or ten years. But where is the propriety of making resignation contingent on marriage? Why should it not be equally proposed to forbid the Public Professors and Canons of Christ Church to marry? In truth, we believe that the hatred of innovation is so great, that the same persons who would now vehemently deprecate enforcing this prohibition, would be as vehement in deprecating its removal, if the prohibition had been acted on for a century or two.

Residence of the Fellows. In some Colleges, the statutes require from the Fellows a residence in Oxford for a certain number of months in the year; in others a premium is given to residence by various pecuniary advantages rising out of it: but we believe that in a majority of cases no residence is obligatory.

Electors of Fellows and Scholars. With very few exceptions, the choice is vested in the existing Fellows and Head; and the Head is chosen by the Fellows from the number of the Fellows, or of those who once were Fellows. It is a self-perpetuating system. This was natural, if not necessary, looking to the origin

of it. The founder would generally prefer to trust the Fellows, who were in a manner his own children, rather than any from outside his walls, to replenish the vacant places. The result might have been foreseen, that like begets its like; and that if sometimes the system secure a series of able and good men, it is infinitely more effective in the opposite way.

In defence it is urged, that the Colleges do not propose mere prizes for literary merit, but *homes* for their Fellows; they are, in fact, to live together as families; it would be unkind to endeavour to force into contact uncongenial minds. Men may be both estimable and able, and yet so ill-matched, that they could not usefully work together. For this reason it is essential to lodge the choice of the new Fellows in the old ones.

We cannot pretend to be satisfied with this reasoning. The evils of self-election are great and obvious, as all experience shows. Those in possession of power will not like to be thwarted by the new comers; and those conscious of intellectual weakness would rather not elect men who may become their masters. A body of narrow-minded persons are certain to propagate their species; and well-meaning men, without intending it, turn their society into a school that echoes their own opinions. The difficulties alleged against any other plan are quite imaginary. The students at Oxford must be made of very perverse or inflammable stuff, if they cannot live in peace and carry on a public system in common, when appointed to their stations by some grave and competent authority. Christ Church students become such by the nomination of the Dean and others—not by self-election; the Deanery itself is in the gift of the crown; yet there is no want of concord at Christ Church, nor is their literary fame the lower for it. It is almost ludicrous that those who are satisfied to have bishops imposed upon the clergy without the choice of the clergy, and who inculcate that laymen are to be satisfied with a clergyman imposed by a patron, should yet speak as though it would be a hardship to the Fellows of a College to have associates given them by any other authority than themselves. We have, however, recently seen, that the authority placed above them is only relished while it obeys their wishes. Let a divinity professor whom they do not like, be appointed to the public chair, and they act as the sinful laymen, who rebel against the church, when a clergyman whom they do not approve is set over them.

Qualifications of Candidates for Fellowship. It is a very natural error in persons little acquainted with Oxford, to suppose that the possession of a fellowship is a sort of University honour, and a testimony to literary merit. This is very far from being the case; and Oxonians themselves well know how to distinguish, whether in any given case literary merit has much to do with the matter. But the qualifications at different Colleges

are too various, to allow of more than general statements in this place. They are sometimes :

- (1.) Birth in particular counties.
- (2.) Being *founders' kin* : a comparatively rare case.
- (3.) Education at particular county schools.

Such are usually called *close* Colleges, but it depends on the spirit of the electors to a great extent, how they are filled. New College elects its Fellows from Winchester School; and by a singular privilege all its members are exempted from public examinations at the University. This makes it difficult to ascertain their acquirements. Popular opinion seems to testify that no large portion perseveres in study; yet, the original choice having been good, many gentlemen of this Society are ornaments to the University. But we believe we only echo the conviction entertained at Oxford, in saying that the county schools and county privileges fill her colleges with Fellows, the majority of whom, have no special recommendations, literary or religious; while some are remarkable neither for good breeding nor for public decorum. The number of the last is doubtless dying away. The past generation could have told a scandalous tale; but as public opinion has gained strength, it has simultaneously been engaged in purifying the Church, the Parliament, and the University, with various degrees of success.

But the fellowships called *open* are not, therefore, assuredly awarded to literary accomplishment. The large College of All Souls, with forty Fellows, (of whom we believe all may be laymen,) avowedly elects only persons of aristocratic birth. And this is in conformity with the founder's intention, who prescribes that the persons elected be 'well born, well clothed, and moderately skilled in music;' ('*modicè docti in arte musicâ*'—so says Oxford report). Magdalen College, with forty Fellows and thirty *Demies*, with the reputation of being among the richest Colleges in the University; as also Merton, with twenty-four Fellows and fourteen *Postmasters*; avowedly elect men of good breeding and agreeable companionship, with little regard to other qualifications. Other Colleges which are called 'open,' although they have honest and difficult examinations, often look very considerably to the religious opinions of a candidate, as well as to his intellectual powers: (we do not now say whether this is right or wrong, but we state the fact:) while some will try to elect a clever man, only when they happen to want a tutor; since even the most negligent Colleges have become sensible, that their rank and respectability is ill kept up without good tutors. On the whole, it is hard to mention three or four Colleges, where the possession of a fellowship is a reward of mere intellectual and moral qualifications.

College Revenues. On this subject little can be said applicable

to all. The original founder uniformly left an estate in land for the purposes of his Institution; but, in many cases, the rich additions by benefactors have eclipsed the liberality of the founder. We have heard the report, that one College (Baliol) has not an acre of land originally bequeathed it; all the lands having been despoiled and taken away during the Scotch border wars. Yet the statutes of the founder have just the same force, as though the whole emoluments of the College were derived from him.

The College Buildings are kept up out of the estates; as the house of every landed proprietor must be. But as a large part of these buildings is occupied by students who pay rent, a fixed annual sum of considerable amount hence arises. An ordinarily good set of rooms, (sitting-room, bed-room, and perhaps a small study,) is charged at from £12 to £16 a year, unfurnished. Thus a College which has fifty undergraduates within walls, receives probably £700 or £800 a year as rent. But this is generally regarded as the private property of the Fellows for the time being, and does not form a fund for building or repairs. On this account many Societies have to make sacrifices from time to time, when building becomes essential.

In some cases the College Library is sustained by the contributions of the undergraduates; but as they are seldom allowed the use of the library, (nor are capable of profiting by it,) some Colleges are scrupulous enough to decline this tax. Numerous minor expenses are often supported by special bequest or gift.

Capacity of the College Buildings. The rule being now established, that no one may remain on the University books, without being entered likewise at some College; while another rule forbids undergraduates to lodge outside the College walls, without special leave of the Vice-Chancellor; the number of undergraduates in the University is practically determined by the capacity of the College buildings. At present the whole number of University members is between five and six thousand; of whom probably less than 1,200 are undergraduates; and as these are seldom resident more than three out of their four years, we may infer that there are not more than 900 undergraduates in residence at once, in the nineteen Colleges and five Halls. So small a number may seem surprising, in a country such as England. But, in fact, there would be many more, if there were more accommodation. All the Colleges have been long under great pressure for the admission of members, and those of greatest note frequently have their books full of names that *are to be* admitted, for three or four years beforehand.

In such a state of things, the most slovenly management of affairs does not impede a College in keeping its rooms full: their monopoly is complete. In Cambridge it is otherwise. Since it

is there permitted to undergraduates to lodge in the town, any College may take an unlimited number of students. Hence there is a great thronging of persons to the Colleges which have the greatest literary fame; and we believe that in this way a certain check is given to tutorial neglect or incapacity.

College Patronage. Most Colleges, in their character of landlords, are entitled to the patronage of various 'livings.' They have become patrons of many more, by gift or purchase; which practically are become retiring pensions for the elder Fellows, and for those disposed to marry.

The abuses of patronage in the Church of England are so universal and so shameful, that each part may be defended by all the rest. The crown patronage is the great point of attack with one portion of the Oxford divines, because party politics are said to bias it; (an evil of which they did not complain during Tory rule, when it was most flagrant). Private patronage, *as such*, is cried down as an abuse by another portion of them; as if it were not coeval with the establishment itself. Episcopal patronage has equally proved a disgrace to the church, by being made a fund for family emolument. Under these circumstances it might seem wonderful, if the Colleges bestowed their patronage any better. They generally have a bye-law, by which the livings, as they fall vacant, are offered to themselves in rotation. A 'bad' living is passed by; especially if an old man is soon likely to die and vacate a 'good' one. Those which are too poor to induce any of the Fellows to resign, are not given to any worthy curate who might be glad to get them, but are held by the Fellows in conjunction with their fellowships. Thus in the head-quarters of the Church of England the principle is avowed and acted on, that church patronage is not a trust, exercised *for the benefit of those who are to be taught*, but is a marketable commodity and a provision. To use the words of St. Paul, 'They account that godliness is a livelihood,' *ποροισμὸν εἶναι τὴν εὐσέβειαν.*

College Oaths. Upon being admitted on the foundation of a College, it is necessary to subscribe the Act of Uniformity, and other political tests; besides, we believe it is, without exception, requisite to swear to observe the statutes of the founder. In most statutes there is a provision for continuing the system by administering the same oaths to others; so that a person virtually swears that he will do his best to secure a perpetual observance of the same statutes, and this, in all their details. *One* founder only is said to have given his Fellows leave to modify his statutes; (the founder of Oriel College;) but we do not know to what extent.

This single fact might suffice to show the hopelessness of expecting that any adaptation of the College system to changed

circumstances, will be made by the Heads and Fellows themselves. Lord Melbourne lately remarked, in his place in the House of Lords, on the mistake of a right reverend prelate, who seemed to think that reforms of an Institution ought to come from those, who have sworn that they will *not* reform it. Yet such are the Utopian hopes by which many are deceived.

College Officers. The resident Fellows distribute among themselves the various College offices; which only in extreme cases are given to any who are not 'on the foundation.' The most troublesome, necessary, and lucrative office, is that of Bursar or Treasurer. Equal in importance, but different in kind, is that of the Tutors. Next, there is the Deputy of the Head, called Vice-Principal, Vice-President, or other such name. The Dean, (or Censor of Morals) completes what may be called the ordinary *staff*. In the smaller Societies, the same Fellow occasionally monopolizes several offices, being perhaps at once Vice-Principal, Dean, and Tutor. It would seem that the maxim acted on has been, to endure any inconvenience rather than allow any College emolument to fall to the independent Masters.

It was stated above that the University affords Public Professors in every branch. And when each Professor bestows his mind in one department, it is to be believed that far greater proficiency is attainable. Moreover, the Professors, not vacating their places by marriage, are seldom too young. They are appointed at an age when the intellect has had time to ripen, and not having their attention distracted by College duties, have time to prosecute their own studies and continue to improve themselves and their pupils. But they are practically set aside by the College Tutors; who are placed at every disadvantage as compared with them. Their history may be sketched as follows: A young man at twenty-two or twenty-three years old takes an honourable degree, and forthwith becomes a *private* tutor. His time is now so occupied in teaching, that his farther progress is considerably impeded. In three or four years more, after taking his Master's degree, he becomes a College Tutor. In this capacity he is to teach Latin and Greek, History and Philosophy, Rhetoric and Logic, Antiquities and Poetry, and often Mathematics likewise. His mind is too distracted among the multiplicity of subjects, to attain the greatest eminence in any: and though individuals of remarkable talent may grapple successfully with these difficulties, this cannot happen with the mass. If he have energy and perseverance to continue his private studies, he may in ten years time make some progress towards the character of a universal Professor. But few hold the office so long. They retire to a living or marry, and a raw successor has to go through the same career.

Indeed, it seems to be a prevalent opinion at Oxford, that after ten years' service, a College tutor is *effète*; and probably expe-

rience has led to this conclusion. For it is no large share of time that is often devoted to their own literary improvement. A considerable proportion of them being clergymen, have curacies or other ecclesiastical duties. Some are conscientiously distressed, if without such employment; and are glad to escape from Greek and Latin to the holier occupations of practical Christianity. Some are engaged as Public Examiners; others hold subordinate College offices. Besides, a variety of duties eat up their time; College estates demand attention; the common room must not be deserted; society is to be cultivated; University business is to be attended, and College discipline makes large demands occasionally. Under such disadvantages, Tutors are not to be blamed, but the system, if even the ablest men are comparatively incompetent and add but little to the stock of knowledge which they acquired before taking their Master's degree. An eminent ornament of the University compared the young Tutors to poor children in cottages, who carry about their little brothers and sisters in their arms. The nurse's back is permanently injured by the effort, and the big baby gets many a mischievous fall.

The College system also wantonly throws away the vast advantage of good classification, attainable in a University where the number of students is so large. For, in small Colleges, the lectures are apt to be very unprofitable (in spite of the lecturer's efforts) both to the most advanced and least advanced students. The lecture must be accommodated to the majority; and any one who is above or below the medium needs the expense of private tuition. He is deprived of the benefit of the Public Professors, because the professorial system has been superseded by the College Tutors; next, the Tutor's lectures proving inadequate, the pupil not only loses his time and money, but has at a higher rate still to get private help as he can. Many feel the scandal of this, and try to discourage private tutors; but the only way of suppressing them, is, to make the College lecturing efficient. Some Colleges have been unblushing enough to try to monopolize the private tuition as a fund for supporting their own Bachelors, by forbidding the undergraduates to employ any private tutor who is not of the College; but we believe that this seldom succeeds.

Such are the difficulties and evils of the system, even when men of undoubted talent and energy occupy the place of Tutor. But we must add, that the tutorial office itself is made a piece of patronage for the Fellows, to be distributed among them as are the College livings. It is rare indeed, that any incapacity of the Fellows, however great, leads to the result of appointing to the tutorship an independent Master; and it is but too well known in Oxford, how very often the office is held by incompetent per-

sons. A father wishing to enter his son at some college, asks advice what college he shall select; and the reply is, 'At such or such a college they have good Tutors;' this being an important element of the inquiry. We believe, however, that public opinion for twenty years past has steadily continued to make all prostitution of the tutorship increasingly disreputable; insomuch that, before long, probably every College will desire to fill the office efficiently, and to this intent, to elect from time to time such Fellows as may prove competent. But many of the close Colleges are disabled from thus electing; if it be indeed certain that they possess discrimination to elect; nor is there much hope that the tutorship will cease to become the peculiar possession of the Fellows.

Mode of College Lecturing. The title 'Lectures' is apt to give a false conception of the matter, for the lecturer or tutor plays a very secondary part. Suppose that the book lectured on is Thucydides or Aristotle. The pupils assemble, bringing their books, and sit round the lecture table, at the end of which sits the tutor. From ten to sixteen is an ordinary class; though more than twelve is counted rather large. The tutor calls on the pupils to read and translate in turn. If they perform their part well, he is under no necessity of uttering a word. Etiquette strictly forbids that they ply him with questions; and if a condescending tutor lay himself open to them, it is still felt that the liberty must be very sparingly used. An ignorant or lazy tutor may do almost as little as he likes, and there is no power in the University or in the College that can take cognizance of it. If the book be difficult, he is at liberty to read out occasional illustrations from some printed book, and thus pass over whatever he is unable to explain. Of course it is not our intention to imply, that the lectures of able and energetic men, such as are occasionally found in the tutorial office, are of this empty kind; yet, even these, when engaged to hammer out a piece of Greek, with many in the class who are not at home in the language, seem often to find but little time for any thing beyond mere verbal comment and translation.

Religious Instruction. A great outcry was made at Oxford against the London University, because it did not undertake to give religious instruction to its pupils. The defence made was as follows: That religion may be viewed as a science, or as a practical matter: that in the former light, it is not incumbent on all to study or teach it; nor did the London University teach it: that in the latter point of view the responsibility lay with parents, or with others who undertook the moral charge of pupils. Such a reply cannot be made at all by the Oxford Colleges, because they are themselves the persons who take what they call the

'moral charge.' Let us then hear how they perform that duty, which they reproach others for not professing to undertake.

It is incumbent on undergraduates to be present once a day in College Chapel, and twice on Sunday, to hear the Church of England service (for morning or evening) read; in which are contained two chapters of the Bible. A few Colleges exact attendance once every Sunday at the University sermon. Every week (probably) the student has to attend a College 'Divinity Lecture;' and once a term he must receive the Sacrament in the College chapel. Before taking his degree, he has to *read out* the Thirty-nine Articles to the College Dean; merely to *read* them; because the said Dean has to depose on presenting him, that to his personal knowledge the candidate has 'read' the Articles to which he is about to swear. Such are the sources of religious instruction to the undergraduate.

The value of the whole manifestly depends on the quality of the University Sermons and of the Divinity Lectures; concerning which, it might seem rash to make any universal assertions. Yet we believe that no evangelical Oxonian will contradict us, when we say that the character of all is *eminently unpractical*.

The University sermons generally consist of critical divinity; the discussion of a hard text; the reconciling of passages that seem discordant in two Gospels; a vindication of one text from the inference of Calvinists, of another from the interpretation of Socinians; a reinforcement of some part of Paley's Evidences; the defence of some practice or doctrine peculiar to the Church of England; a proof that St. Paul did not hold Antinomian doctrine, or that the fathers believed in Christ's descent into hell. We not mean to speak lightly of these discussions, in their proper place; while we do not think many of them tend to make undergraduates more religious. If we wished to draw a black picture, we might speak of popish and other false doctrine inculcated from St. Mary's pulpit. It is, however, well known in Oxford, that a University sermon is decried, if it be too like a 'parish sermon;' and when one good man dared to preach a series of experimental sermons not many years back, they were derided by the elder residents as *Tommy* ——'s *confessions*. In preaching to a congregation of clergymen, it is thought indecent to press plain practical duties; to expose sin or dwell on fundamental topics of personal religion; and if ever such a thing be done, it is quite an exception to the common course. After all, very few Colleges think it wise to *enforce* attendance at St. Mary's; and we presume that the students at the London College, if they please, may attend numerous parish sermons.

The Divinity lectures at many Colleges consist in reading through the four Gospels in Greek, while the tutor occasionally

deals out remarks taken from Elsley's Annotation. More zealous teachers lecture on the Thirty-nine Articles; and here their principal work is to supply texts for proving each article in turn, with other matter from Burnet. It is true that little books abound in Oxford, with such texts all collected; but we would not deny that much opportunity is offered for useful remark by a judicious tutor. A serious defect, however, seems inevitably to accompany the system. For the mind is never directed to the question, 'What is the truth?' but, 'How can we prove the point?' nor again is it material to the pupils what the texts really mean, but, what they will be taken to mean in the schools. We need not lay stress on the argument, that such lectures can hardly be otherwise than of a party cast. The same might be speciously objected to the divinity lectures of any school,—though not always with truth. But so much it seems fair to observe, that if the tutor be ever so pious, his lectures cannot be much addressed to the conscience of those present. He often knows or suspects that the habits of some are far from moral; occasionally, that they are really scandalous. He fears to seem to upbraid them personally with something; he cannot speak from a distance, as from the pulpit, before so small a class; nor yet as in entire privacy. It is not then with the object of blaming the individual tutors, that we express a doubt, whether the divinity lectures have the least tendency to improve young men of loose morals. We regard it as a problem as yet unsolved, how to conduct a University on a large scale, consistently with a due superintendence of the moral and religious welfare of the younger students. But when we know the profligate expense, the rioting and revelling, the low, abandoned and impure company, the frequent profanity and noisy drunkenness, of the Oxford students, it seems a sort of infatuation in the leading persons of that University, to cry out against other bodies as deficient in the means of religious instruction. It were better to profess to do nothing in this way; than deceive credulous parents, or ease the consciences of the careless, by professing what they cannot perform, namely, 'to superintend the moral and religious education of the young men.'

The chapel attendance is full as likely to produce harm as good, on those who are averse to religious worship. A long formal service, repeated day after day, with attendance enforced by College penalties, has nothing in it to draw the affections to God and to religion. Nor is it wonderful that the habit of so often reading the same prayers leads, unawares, (especially in regular chaplains,) to so rapid an enunciation, as carries to strangers * a strong ap-

* A gentleman of our acquaintance being at Oxford, went to the chapel of Magdalen College to hear the music. He afterwards asked a friend in the

pearance of irreverence. A pious reader who happens to be slow, brings odium on himself from the young men, for prolonging the time of service; and makes them fret yet worse under the yoke.

Moral Discipline. Much talk is often made on this subject, as one on which the University of Oxford holds a proud pre-eminence. We will try to explain of what nature it is. Outward respect to official superiors, is very successfully enforced. Nothing can be more exemplarily decorous than the behaviour of the young men before the College authorities. In the lecture-room the youngest tutor is heard with profound respect by his pupils; and the whole procedure is most pleasant and gentlemanly. But when out of sight, all *moral* control seems to have vanished. Doubtless numbers of young students are too well disposed to need any particular control; the rest are kept in order just as are felons and pickpockets, by fear of the constable. Great attention is paid to evening hours. At nine o'clock the College gates are shut, and all names are taken down of those who come in at a later hour. To be after twelve without special leave is considered an offence; and a notion is formed of the habits of students by their ordinary hours. The bed-maker (or personal servant) is under oath to declare if any undergraduate is absent a whole night. After nine the Proctors (or high constables) patrol the streets with their beades, and have power to enter even private houses, if they suspect gownsmen to be within. Such are the 'moral' engines necessary for University discipline. It is to be supposed that without them things would be yet worse than they are.

In a pamphlet written some years back by a respected member of the University, (which we have every reason to believe correct,) it was stated that on a recent occasion the Proctors had exerted themselves so energetically, as almost to clear the streets of the abandoned women who frequent them, and to lodge them in jail. But the only effect was, to bring a large additional importation of similar characters from London. The writer inferred, that the evil is wholly incurable by such severity; and indeed it needs all the wisdom of all parties, to devise such changes in the organization of the system as shall be of avail. It may be feared that so long as parents bring up their children carelessly, and schools are irreligious and corrupting, no University system can prevent the grossest vice in young men, recently set

University the reason of the singular custom of *reading only the alternate verses* in the Psalms. The responses were made by nobody; and the reader made so short a pause, as to sound like reading continuously, though skipping the odd verses.

free from family constraint, with unlimited facility of getting into debt.

College Examinations. There are nominally four, but practically three terms in the year, during which the Colleges are assembled; averaging about nine or ten weeks each. At the close of each is held a College Examination, called *Collections*, which professes to inquire what use has been made of the time during term. At most Colleges they constitute a very slight ordeal; but at some few they are a most efficient instrument of training for the schools.

We hope to resume the subject in our next number, when we shall treat also on the remedies and the *Reform* which this concise review of the state of things may suggest.

Art. II. *The Miscellaneous Works of Oliver Goldsmith, M.B., including a variety of Pieces now first collected.* By JAMES PRIOR, Author of the Life of Goldsmith, &c. London: Murray. 4 vols. 8vo.

IN the review of Prior's Life of Goldsmith, (inserted in our February number,) we gave some account of the history and general character of the celebrated writer who formed the subject of it; we, at the same time, expressed our intention to enter upon a more extended examination of Goldsmith's intellectual peculiarities, and of his merits as an author, as soon as the new edition of his works, then announced as preparing for the press under Mr. Prior's superintendence, should appear. That edition is before us, and it is but just to the publisher to say that, beautiful as Goldsmith's productions are, they are now presented to the public in a form well worthy of them. It is by far the most complete and accurate which has been put forth; in point of *elegance* there can of course be no comparison between this and previous editions, for there never before was an edition of Goldsmith's whole works which could make the slightest pretensions to be considered elegant; indeed this edition of his *whole* works is more beautiful than any which has hitherto appeared of *any one* of them separately.

We mentioned in our former article, that this new edition was to contain many pieces which had never before been collected; pieces reclaimed from the periodicals in which they had been first inserted, or rather, in which they had been entombed. On the degree of value which attaches to these fugitive pieces, we shall speak presently. We shall first, however, say what little we have to say on Goldsmith's intellectual peculiarities, and the position he is entitled to occupy as an author.

We only express an opinion which we have long formed when we say, that in that which constitutes *genius*—inventive and creative power—there was none amongst Goldsmith's celebrated contemporaries, (fertile as the age was in genius, and splendid as are the names which flash upon us at the very mention of Johnson's club,) who can be said to equal him, with the solitary exception of Burke. We are not, be it recollected, comparing the genius he possessed with that of any other men in *kind*, but as to the *degree* in which it characterized his intellect. *Genius*, in the widest sense, in other words originality, or inventive power of mind may, it is true, be exhibited in different men, in widely different directions. It may be displayed in mathematics; in mental science; in political speculation; in poetry; and in various other departments of intellectual exertion. Now, it must be of course admitted, that this various and multiform genius does not admit of comparison in its several *kinds*, since the objects to which it is addressed are totally distinct. But it may be, and is, very possible to compare the *degree* in which two or more different minds are pervaded by it; the extent to which originality and spontaneity constitute their *character*; the degree, in fact, in which they are capable of originating new combinations and modes of thought, in that particular department of exertion (no matter what) to which the man is adapted, and to which he restricts himself. In this sense then we think it quite possible to compare the degree in which different intellects are characterized by this attribute, however different the directions it may take; and in this sense we say again that, with the exception of Burke, we do not believe that there was any of Goldsmith's contemporaries who can be at all compared with him in that spontaneity, and originality of mind, which constitute genius.

The only other individual, so far as we recollect, who can be compared with him in this respect, is Johnson. Let it be remembered, however, that it is in this *single point* we are comparing them. It would be simply absurd of course to institute any further comparison between them. If we look then simply at the degree in which genius, as we have defined it, *characterized* the two men—the degree in which it might be said to imbue and pervade the mind,—we cannot hesitate for a moment in saying that Goldsmith had more genius than Johnson. That Johnson possessed great genius too, cannot be denied; but we think it is as little to be denied that there were qualities of his mind quite as strongly, if not more strongly characteristic of him. His erudition, his memory, his powers of acquisition, are at least as prominent as his genius; and if we frequently admire him for sentiments, thoughts, or illustrations, entirely his own, we admire him much more frequently for the felicity, force, and vigour with which he has expressed such as are already known, nay, often trite and

familiar. In that which has generally been called *genius*, in a more restricted sense, we mean in the power of *poetical* creation and combination, there is of course no comparison between them. But take genius in the widest sense—in that which we have given it in this article—and we think it must be admitted that it was much less the characteristic and main feature of the mind of Johnson than of that of Goldsmith. In all other points comparisons are not only, according to the old saying, ‘odious,’ but ridiculous. In harmony, solidity, dignity, power, and utility, Johnson’s mind would make twenty of Goldsmith’s. The two men were truly, though somewhat spitefully described by Graham, the Eton master, *Doctor Major* and *Doctor Minor*.

Goldsmith’s genius, in his own department, was as various as it was beautiful. He has produced the two most finished didactic poems, one of the very best novels, and perhaps on the whole, the two most perfect comedies in our language. ‘*She Stoops to Conquer*,’ and ‘*The Good-natured Man*,’ never weary. They may be read again and again with ever fresh delight. It is still higher praise to say that they derive none of their popularity and interest from those impurities to which the successful dramatist has been so often infamously indebted, and which so deeply taint almost the whole range of British comedy.

In almost every department of imagination and humour, Goldsmith appears to equal advantage. His descriptions of natural scenery are full of truth and poetical effect; his delineations of character most true to nature, and indicating a most keen and observant eye for the peculiarities which constitute it. His imagery is characterized equally by originality, chasteness, and elegance. He is capable of the most simple and tender pathos, and of the most varied exhibitions of wit and humour; humour sometimes as broad as caricature, and now as delicate, refined, and subtle as that of Addison or Cowper. With these qualities he conjoined a taste most pure and chaste, and a style, which, for purity, simplicity, and elegance, has never been surpassed, and which, perhaps none, with the exception of Addison and Cowper, have equalled. It is true that he would never have excelled in the higher departments of the epic or the tragic muse; for these he wanted comprehensiveness and grasp of mind; richness of invention, power of combination, and depth of passion. The characteristics of his mind were beauty, elegance, and flexibility; but he wanted *power*.

Take him out of his own department, and that want of *power* is at once evident. Nothing can be more feeble than are often his attempts at reasoning; nothing more trite or jejune than his efforts at any thing in the shape of philosophical reflection. We see the same want of power in his literary and historico-literary productions; as, for example, in his ‘*Inquiry into Polite Learn-*

ing.' The critical articles also, now for the first time included in Mr. Prior's edition, display too often a total absence of analytical skill. It is true, that in these respects Goldsmith never did himself justice; never properly cultivated and disciplined the powers he had. First, he was too thoroughly the bookseller's hack; wrote too much in '*the penny-a-line way,*' to permit him calmly to investigate the subjects on which he wrote, or to mature his views upon them. He was often tempted to take what was trite, familiar or indisputable; and, for this very reason, which call for no investigation, and involves little discussion. We see occasionally in his essays, and in the *Tatlers* of Steele, aye, and even in the *Ramblers* of Johnson, trite and familiar thoughts insisted on, and expanded *ad nauseam*, evidently for the sake of filling up a few paragraphs, and perhaps sometimes—alas! that it should have been so—in order to make sure of the next day's meal. Secondly, Goldsmith was unconquerably indolent. Not that he did not work hard; but his was not a mind which could submit to the necessity of prolonged investigation or severe and patient thought. For this reason his reading, though various, was never profound. His histories never display the slightest appearance of original investigation—never manifest the slightest disposition to verify any point by more extended and diligent research. He is contented to take the materials which are ready to his hand, and to work them up in his own exquisite style. In his own department he could design and build too; in every other he could only build; in the former case he was a great genius and original author; in all others he was but a 'drawer of water,' although it must be confessed that the vase in which he fetched it from the spring was as beautifully fashioned as any which the Grecian maidens carried to the fountain. He was here a bookseller's hack; a mere compiler, drudging for his daily bread.

The above observations are well illustrated by the account of the manner in which Goldsmith composed his *History of England*, which we here cite from Prior's life:

'In the morning he read Hume, Rapin, Carte, and Kennet; made a few memoranda for his guidance; walked out with a friend or two for a country excursion, of which he was always fond; returned to a temperate dinner, and a cheerful evening, and seized a few hours from sleep to write as much as he had contemplated by the studies of the morning. He professed to derive advantage in facility of composition, an easier style and more perfect knowledge of the subject, by thus having more time to revolve it; but we may believe in this case that his memory was more taxed than his authorities; and if the former misled him at the moment, the error of the night was forgotten to be rectified by recurrence to more certain guides, those of books, in the morning.'—p. 495.

The charm of Goldsmith's style is most wonderful, and never

deserts him. The most trite thoughts often acquire a new interest from the magical beauty in which he can dress them, and even the most utterly worthless cannot render us insensible to the music and the rhythm of the language in which they are expressed. This alone is a most conclusive proof of the wondrous command of style he possessed, since, in general, nothing but some vitality about the thought can render composition even tolerable; so inferior, considered in themselves, are the graces of *manner* to the value of the *matter*. For the sake of seeing how far the grace and beauty of language, considered alone, will go, and what the merits of Goldsmith's style merely *as such* are, we cannot have a better test than some of his hasty essays. Take, for example, the following little piece, on an approaching coronation,—that of George III. It was evidently thrown off in extreme haste; there is hardly a single thought in it worth any thing; they are all familiar and threadbare; yet we cannot read it without interest—an interest inspired solely by the elegance and beauty, the perfect enchantment of the style. The language is music itself. It is one of those for which we are indebted to Mr. Prior's research, and which is now inserted in Goldsmith's *Miscellaneous Works* for the first time.

‘That a time of war is a time of parsimony, is a maxim which patriots and senators have had often in their mouths, and which I do not remember ever to have been denied. I know not whether by the acute enquiries of the present age, this opinion has been discovered to be groundless, and is therefore thrown aside among obsolete follies; or whether it happened on this, as on other occasions, that conviction is on one side, and practice on the other; but so it is, that the war, whatever it has taken from our wealth, has added nothing to our frugality. Every place of splendid pleasure, is filled with assemblies—every sale of expensive superfluities is crowded with buyers; and war has no other effect, than that of enabling us to show that we can be at once military and luxurious, and pay soldiers and fiddlers at the same time.

‘Among other changes which time has effected, a new species of profusion has been produced. We are now, with an emulation never known before, out-bidding one another for a sight of the Coronation; the annual rent of palaces is offered for a single room for a single day.

‘I am far from desiring to repress curiosity, to which we owe so great a part of our intellectual pleasures; nor am I hardy enough to oppose the general practice of mankind, so much as to think all pomp or magnificence useless or ridiculous. But all passions have their limits, which they cannot exceed without putting our happiness in danger; and although a fine show be a fine thing, yet, like other fine things, it may be purchased too dear. All pleasures are valuable in proportion to their greatness and duration; that the pleasure of a show is not of any long continuance, all know, who are now striving for places; for if a show was long, it would not be rare. This is not the

worst, the pleasure while it lasts will be less than is expected. No human performance can rise up to human ideas. Grandeur is less grand, and finery less fine than it is painted by the fancy; and such is the difference between hope and possession, that, to a great part of the spectators, the show will cease as soon as it appears.

‘Let me yet not deceive my readers to their disadvantage, or represent the little pleasures of life as less than they are. Those who come to see come likewise to be seen, and will for many hours before the procession, enjoy the eyes of innumerable gazers. Nor will this be the last or the longest gratification; those who have seen the coronation, will have whole years of triumph over those who saw it not. They will have an opportunity of amusing their humble friends and rustic acquaintances with narratives, often heard with envy, and often with wonder; and when they hear the youth of the next generation boasting the splendour of any future procession, they will talk with contemptuous superiority of the Coronation of George III.’

—pp. 239—241.

The exquisite beauties of Goldsmith's style are probably to be attributed in no small measure to those hireling labours for the periodical press, which, as we have already intimated, were in many other respects calculated to exercise such a prejudicial influence upon his mind. If the necessity for ceaseless and promiscuous drudgery of this kind is too apt to unfit a man for calm and thorough investigation of any one topic—if it leads him to regard the *quantity* of what he can produce rather than its *quality*—if it tempts him to content himself with a superficial study of his subject, because he knows that to pursue it beyond a certain point would not enhance the value of his article by a single guinea, and that the sooner it was dismissed, the sooner he might take up another; *—if such a mode of pursuing literature is attended with

* It is perhaps impossible for great genius to work *expressedly* and *avowedly* for hire without being haunted or injured by that unhappy consciousness. Of this we have many examples in the history of literature; and if the bargain is, strictly, that so much shall be paid for so much done; if the work is to be paid by the piece, and measured by the yard, it is impossible it should be otherwise. It becomes unpleasant to *erase*; for, alas! each erasure may be the loss of a sixpence; it is true, this or that redundancy, this or that superfluous epithet might be spared with advantage; but then it serves to swell the bulk, and bulk is every thing! Though they would never be missed by the reader, they might be a guinea out of the pocket of the writer!

We remember being much entertained some time ago by an anecdote related of Robert Hall. It will serve to illustrate this subject, and to show his views and feelings with regard to this sort of *contract-writing*. A certain gentleman went to Leicester, or Bristol, (we forget which) on purpose to treat with Mr. Hall for a volume of sermons. He offered him a thousand guineas for ten sermons; no bad pay! Robert Hall, with his characteristic simplicity, told his visitor, that if he were to pay any such sum for such a quantity of matter, he would find that he had egregiously defrauded himself. His visitor reminded him that he had generally

these and many other pernicious consequences, it is at least attended with this good one;—that it must necessarily impart facility, ease, grace, and an intimate knowledge of the mechanism of composition. It is pleasing when lamenting how much time and talent destitute genius has often expended in meeting the wants of the passing hour, to reflect that, in a vast number of cases that brilliancy and ease, that nameless grace of language which enchants us so much, could not have been attained without this long practice and wearisome discipline. It was thus that Johnson, Burke, Goldsmith, and very many authors more, tried their young strength, and attained, by incessant practice, the accuracy, facility, and readiness, by which they were afterwards distinguished. It is true we hear of Goldsmith's beautiful prose flowing from him without a single correction; but this ease, we may rely on it, could not have been attained without immense practice at some time or other. Indeed, we know, independently of his early and frequent contributions to periodical literature, that his 'Deserted Village' and his 'Traveller,' were revised with the most scrupulous care; that they were touched and retouched, till there was scarcely a single line in the manuscript left in the state in which it originally stood. Goldsmith indeed, like every other highly imaginative mind, received the elements of a fine taste from nature, and, as in every such case, these elements were far more quickly developed than in ordinary men; still, we may rest assured that, no matter what the original genius may be, such rare felicities of style as his, are not attained without great care and labour.

It is now high time that we should give some account of those pieces of our author which Mr. Prior has recovered from the waste of years. It will be recollected by our readers that, when reviewing the 'Life,' we expressed our apprehensions lest Mr. Prior's indiscriminate enthusiasm, and the singular want of judg-

been considered a tolerably shrewd man of business, and that he might be safely trusted to look after his own interests. He again, therefore, pressed his offer; upon which Mr. Hall said, that if there were no other obstacle in the way of his accepting the proposal, the mere *business-like character of the transaction*, the bare naked form in which pecuniary remuneration was mixed up with it, would form an objection quite insuperable; that it would render the composition insupportable, and transform an occupation which ought to be spontaneous, and therefore delightful, into intolerable drudgery. 'A thousand guineas, Sir!' said Robert Hall, 'I should soon begin to calculate how much it was for each sermon; then I should get down to a page; and from pages to paragraphs and sentences, and at last to words and syllables; should think every word clear gain, and become impatient of erasure and correction. Sir, it is impossible that I could do it.' This is, probably, a more minute calculation than is often entered into, except amongst those who are technically called *penny-a-liners*; some of whom, we verily believe, could almost tell what fraction of a farthing each stroke of their pen brings them in!

ment which he too often displayed, should lead him to insert papers utterly unworthy of Goldsmith's genius, merely because they were his. It may be replied, that such papers may be interesting as serving to show the gradual development of the author's genius. If this be the specific object, nothing more can be said; but, to print worthless papers merely for the purpose of enabling us to watch the progress of an author's genius, is hardly judicious, as far as his *reputation* goes—since an author's genius always looks to most advantage when we think least of the long and painful discipline which has been necessary to mature it.

We acknowledge, however, with pleasure, that the preceding observations apply only very partially to the new matter which has been inserted in this edition of Goldsmith's works. By far the greater part is stamped with much of the impress of Goldsmith's genius. There are some few things, however, which might well have been spared. The fragment from the unfinished farce of the 'Grumbler,' for example, is a poor stupid thing, totally unworthy of the author of 'She Stoops to Conquer.' We heartily wish it had been omitted; we may say the same of two or three of the articles from the 'Monthly and Critical Reviews,' and of some of the prefaces.

The new matter which Mr. Prior has introduced is very considerable, forming something more than a fourth of the whole works. It is thus distributed: the first volume [contains fifteen Essays, recovered from different publications; some passages of the 'Inquiry into the State of Polite Learning,' inserted in the first edition of that work, but omitted in the second; and five prefaces: the second volume contains the 'Introduction to the Study of Natural History,' in five parts: the third volume contains the Memoirs of Voltaire, of Beau Nash, and eleven articles from the Monthly and Critical Reviews: the fourth volume contains the Oratorio of the 'Captivity;' one or two short miscellaneous poetical pieces; a scene from a farce called the 'Grumbler;' and twenty-three articles relating to poetry and the Belles Lettres, from the Monthly and Critical Reviews.

In presenting our readers with a few amusing extracts from these *disintombed*, rather than *posthumous* productions, we must beg them to remember that excellent as they are, their merit is not to be judged by the standard of Goldsmith's principal works; his fame must still rest on his 'Traveller,' and his 'Deserted Village,' his two comedies, his 'Citizen of the World,' and his inimitable novel, the 'Vicar of Wakefield.' And though, in the pieces now first collected, we may discern undeniable traces of his genius; though in most of them we see his exquisite style, and in many, fine specimens of his peculiar humour, it is not to be forgotten that some were composed at a very early period of his literary career; that others were hastily *thrown off* to meet the demands of the pre-

sent moment; and that not a few were written with the intention of never being reclaimed and acknowledged; that they were deserted in the very hour of their birth; left at the doors of those foundling hospitals of wit and genius,—the Magazines and Reviews,—and never enquired for afterwards; nay, not a few were virtually disowned by himself, when some years after he collected many of his anonymous and occasional papers, and gave them the benefit of their illustrious parentage. We need not say then, that we might give much more splendid specimens of Goldsmith's genius, from the 'Citizen of the World,' or the 'Vicar of Wakefield,' but this would be perfectly ridiculous; since these productions are in every body's hands.

Having made these preliminary remarks, we proceed to lay before our readers two or three extracts. The first shall be from one of the recovered Essays; it is entitled, 'On Abuse of our Enemies.'

'As one of Alexander's soldiers was railing against the Persians, condemning the whole nation as a pack of cowardly, effeminate, and perfidious scoundrels, 'My friend,' cries the hero, overhearing him, 'I have employed you to fight the Persians, not to scold them.' The English have learned to fight like Alexander; they have done more; they have relieved those enemies in distress which their valour subdued; they have surpassed the old Macedonians in bravery and generosity; could they learn to scold their enemies less, all the world must own their superiority in politeness, as well as in arms and humanity.

'I must own, nothing gives me more uneasiness in conversation, than to hear men talk of the French with detestation; to hear them condemned as guilty of every vice, and scarcely allowed any national virtue. I am the more displeas'd at such ignorant assertions because they are false, and because I don't much care to contradict them. To speak well of France in some companies, is almost as bad as if one acknowledged himself to be a spy; I am oblig'd, therefore, to sit silent, while I hear unlettered men talk of a people they do not know, and condemn them in the gross they know not why.

'The French have been long acknowledged to have much bravery; a great part of Europe has owned their superiority in this respect; and I know scarcely any country but that which has beaten them, that dares deny the contrary. In short, I consider them in the same light with the subordinate characters in an epic poem, who are generally described as very terrible, only to heighten our idea of the hero who conquers them.

'To beat the French, and to scold them too, is out-heroding Herod; if we were not able to knock them o' the head, I should not be displeas'd if we showed our resentment by addressing their ears with reproach; but as it is, we only resemble a country-justice, who, not content with putting a culprit in the stocks, stands by to reproach him for getting there.

'Jack Reptile is a professed Antigallican; he gets drunk with

French wine three times a-week. To convince the world of his detestation of Monsieur Soup-maigre, he assures the company he has once, when he was young, boxed three Frenchmen, '*one down t'other come on,*' and beat them all; he wonders how French scoundrels can live who eat nothing but salad and frogs the whole year round. Jack hates every thing that is French, except their wine, and has been known to quarrel with some of his countrymen for wearing a bag-wig. His virulence against the enemy has even soured his disposition to his friends, and he seems never happy except when indulging invective.

'If the present war or its causes happen to be the subject of conversation, he lays all the blame upon them alone, and can see neither avarice nor injustice in the planters of our side. If peace be the topic, 'his counsel is for open war;' nor can he think any terms honourable or advantageous that do not put us in possession, not only of all we have conquered, but almost all the enemy have to lose. Thus, while our soldiers earn victory abroad, Jack enjoys the price of it at home, and, unacquainted with the perils they endure, seems unmindful how long they undergo them. War gives him no uneasiness; he sits and soaks in profound security; the distresses, the calamities of mankind, neither interrupt his tranquillity, nor lessen his draught; the miseries of his fellow-creatures, like the pictures of a battle, serve rather to excite pleasure than pain. Ten thousand fallen on one field make a curious article in the Gazette. Hundreds sunk to the bottom by one broadside, furnish out the topic of the day, and zest his coffee; the very tempest guides him to his harbour. In short, he fancies he shows his loyalty by reproaches, and his courage by continuing the war.

'What I would intend by all this, is to persuade my countrymen by the fire-side to behave with the same degree of merit with those in the field; while they cover us with glory abroad, let us not tarnish it by invectives at home.

'I scarce read a periodical paper that is not filled with indecencies of this kind; and, as many of those papers pass into other countries, what idea will they form, not only of our good sense, but humanity, when they see us thus depreciating the enemies we have subdued? This, in fact, is lessening ourselves. An easy conquest is no very honourable one. I remember to have heard M. Voltaire observe, in a large company at his house at Mourion, that at the battle of Dettingen, the English exhibited prodigies of valour; but they soon lessened their well-bought conquest, by lessening the merit of those they had conquered. Their despising the French then, he continued to observe, was probably the cause of their defeat at Fontenoy: one army fought with all the security of presumption; the other with all the fury of men willing to rescue their character from undeserved contempt.'

Vol. I., pp. 325—328.

The following passages, from '*An Account of the Illumination on the Conquest of Quebec,*' are quite in Goldsmith's vein of humour. The first paragraph will remind the reader of a very celebrated passage in the '*Citizen of the World.*' We may remark, that scarcely any writer is so fond of repeating himself as Goldsmith.

‘ Upon leaving this place my attention was next attracted by a poor tradesman and his wife, who were at variance in the streets. The woman whose patriotism was by no means so strong as that of her husband, was assuring the mob, who had officiously gathered round, not to prevent but to promote a quarrel, that he had sent his waistcoat to the pawnbroker’s, in order to buy candles for the illumination. The husband, who was, it seems, a journeyman shoe-maker, told her she was a Jacobite in her heart; that she had not a spice of loyalty in her whole body; that she was as fond of getting drunk on one day as another. ‘ If the French had got the better,’ continued he, ‘ what would have become of our property? If Mounseers in wooden shoes come among us, what would become of the gentle craft, what would become of the nation, when perhaps Madame Pompadour herself might have shoes scooped out of an old pear-tree; and (raising his voice) you ungrateful slut, tell me, if the French papishes had come over, what would have become of our religion?’

‘ Going up Fleet Street I could not avoid admiring the artificial day that was formed by lights placed in every window; every face dressed in smiles, the mob shouting, rockets flying, women persecuted by squibs and crackers, and yet seeming pleased with their distress, served to enliven the scene, and might have relaxed the brow even of rigid philosophy.

‘ In all this confusion, I could not avoid that pleasing serenity, which, from the appearance of such pageants as these, often steals upon the mind, and insensibly operates upon the spirits of the wise as well as the vulgar. How blest am I, said I to myself, to make one in this glorious political society, which thus preserves liberty to mankind and to itself; who rejoice only in their conquest over slavery, and bring mankind from bondage into freedom. . . .

‘ In the midst of these pleasing reflections, as I was proceeding, with a stately pace, and with all the solemnity of a newly acquired and conscious dignity, I heard a hissing noise in one of the tails of my wig, and looking about, soon perceived a stream of fire dashing from my right ear. I fled, it followed; I shook my head; it was pinned too close to be shook off, and just as I arrived at George’s, it went off with a bounce.’—Vol. I., pp. 169—170.

Our next extract shall be from one of the Prefaces. We shall take that prefixed to the ‘General History of the World,’ in 12 vols. 8vo. The whole of this Preface is beautifully written, and is full of good sense and sound discrimination. Goldsmith was certainly the prince of compilers. The latter part of the citation exhibits much of his humour.

‘ Having mentioned the danger of affectation, it may be proper to observe, that as this, of all defects, is most apt to insinuate itself into such a work, we have therefore been upon our guard against it. From the natural bias which every historian has to some favorite profession or science, he is apt to introduce phrases or topics drawn from thence upon every occasion, and thus not unfrequently tinctures a work

otherwise valuable with absurdity. *Ménage* tells us of a chemist, who, writing a history, used upon every occasion the language of an adept, and brought all his allusions from the laboratory. Polybius, who was a soldier, has been reprehended for taking up too much time in the history of a siege, or the description of a battle. Guicciardini, on the other hand, who was a secretary, has been tedious in disserting upon trifling treaties and dull negotiations. In like manner, we have known writers, who, being somewhat acquainted with oriental languages, have filled a long history with long Arabic names and uncouth spellings.

‘Were we disposed to the same affectations, it would have been easy enough, through the course of our work, to have written Mohammed for Mahomet, Tatar for Tartar, Wazer for Visier, or Timour for Tamerlane; we might even have out-gone our predecessors, and have written Stamboul for Constantinople, or Ganga for Ganges, with true exotic propriety. But, though we have the proper reverence for Arabic and Malayan also, of which we profess our ignorance, we have thought it expedient to reject such peculiarities. For which reason, when we meet the name of an Arabian general at full length, we make no scruple of abridging his titles, or turning them into English. Thus, for instance, when an Arabian historian and his faithful copyists, in a late *Universal History*, assure us that Hâreth Ebn Talâtula led an army into the field, which, by the temerity of Al Howaireth Ebn Wahab Ebn Abd Ebn Kosa, was utterly defeated; we thought less ceremony might be used with such an indifferent general, and simply mention Howaireth’s folly and his defeat. To be serious; innovation, in a work of this nature, should by no means be attempted; those names and spellings which have been used in our language from time immemorial, ought to continue unaltered; for like states, they acquire a sort of *jus diuturnæ possessionis*, as the civilians express it, however unjust their original claims might have been. Yet, how far we have reformed these defects of style, without substituting errors of our own, we leave the public to determine—for few writers are judges of themselves in these particulars.’—Vol. I., pp. 538—540.

The Reviews are of course of very unequal merit; some of them lie sadly open to that charge of superficiality on which we have already dwelt. In almost all, however, we see the same exquisite ease and grace of style, and in not a few all his characteristic smartness, wit, and vivacity. A few of these gems we shall cull out and present to the reader. The following is from the review of the *Memoirs of Madame de Maintenon*:

‘Unaccountable is the fondness of some French historians, for connecting the revolutions of an age with the memoirs of persons who neither possessed sufficient power, nor were so deeply engaged in intrigue, as to influence any of its important events. We are at a loss in what class to place such amphibious productions; as they are generally an assemblage of truth and falsehood, in which history wears the face of romance, and romance assumes the appearance of history; where the writer’s endeavours are equally exerted in rendering trifles important,

and subjects of importance trifling. Who but must smile at accounts wherein some little personage, indebted to the historian, perhaps, for notice, takes the lead in a history of Europe, and connects its incidents! It brings to memory the courts of ancient kings, where a dwarf was generally employed as master of the ceremonies.'

Vol. III., pp. 465, 466.

The following too, from an article on a vile translation of For-mey's *Philosophical Miscellanies*, is quite in Goldsmith's manner :

'Whenever an English word does not come to his hand, he, [the translator] without further ceremony, makes one of his own, such as somnolence, humectating, acuity, acidity, inflammative, machinal, and so forth; all which are delivered with great ease, and much appearance of learning. In short, our German frequently is made to talk unintelligibly, and is thus robbed of one half his reputation; and at best, heaven knows, he has not much to spare! It reminds us of a man, who selling his horse, assured the buyer that he had but two faults; one was, that he was very hard to be caught, and the other was—aye, what was that?—he was good for nothing when he had caught him.'

Vol. III., p. 469.

Yet this very article contains some almost incredible instances of ignorance, on the part of the reviewer.

The following sentences introduce the review of Massey's *Translation of Ovid's Fasti*.

'It was no bad remark of a celebrated French lady, that a bad translator was like an ignorant footman, whose blundering messages disgraced his master by the awkwardness of the delivery, and frequently turned compliment into abuse, and politeness into rusticity. We cannot indeed see an ancient elegant writer mangled and misrepresented by the *doers into English*, without some degree of indignation; and are heartily sorry that our poor friend Ovid should send his sacred calendar to us by the hands of Mr. William Massey, who, like the valet, seems to have entirely forgot his master's message, and substituted another in its room very unlike it.'—Vol. IV., pp. 418, 419.

The next is the conclusion of the same article :

'Our readers will easily perceive by this short specimen, how very unequal Mr. Massey is to a translation of Ovid. In many places he has deviated entirely from the sense, and in every part fallen infinitely below the strength, elegance, and spirit of the original. We must beg leave, therefore, to remind him of the old Italian proverb, '*Il traduttore tratatore*,' and hope he will never for the future traduce and injure any of those poor ancients who never injured him, by thus pestering the world with such translations as even his own school-boys ought to be whipped for.'—p. 425.

Of a piece by Marriott he says : 'To draw a comparison between Ovid and our bard, we may observe, that as one performance of the former was styled *Tristia* from the subject, so this production may derive the same title from the execution, and be justly denominated *Marriott's Tristia*.'

We can find room for only one more extract, and that must be a short one. It is from a lively review of a certain schoolmaster's translation of Ovid's Epistles.

'Dryden, ever poor, and ever willing to be obliged, solicited the assistance of his friends for a translation of these Epistles. It was not the first time his miseries obliged him to call in happier bards to his aid ; and to permit such to quarter their fleeting performances on the lasting merits of his name. This eleemosynary translation, as might well be expected, was extremely unequal, frequently unjust to the poet's meaning, almost always so to his fame. It was published without notes ; for it was not customary at that time to swell every performance of this nature with comment and scholia. The reader did not then choose to have the current of his passions interrupted, his attention every moment called off from pleasure, only to be informed why he was so pleased. It was not then thought necessary to lessen surprise by anticipation, and like some spectators we have met at the play-house, to take off our attention from the performance, by telling, in our ear, what will follow next.

'Since this united effort, Ovid, as if born to misfortune, has undergone successive metamorphoses, being sometimes transposed by schoolmasters unacquainted with English, and sometimes transversed by ladies who knew no Latin : thus he has alternately worn the dress of a pedant or a rake ; either crawling in humble prose, or having his hints explained into unbashful meaning. Schoolmasters who knew all that was in him, except his graces, give the names of places and towus at full length ; and he moves along stiffly in their literal versions, as the man who, as we are told in the *Philosophical Transactions*, was afflicted with a universal anchylosis.' Vol. IV., pp. 430—431.

At the fragment from the 'Grumbler,' we have already *grumbled*. The oratorio of the 'Captivity' contains about as much good poetry as such productions generally do. Among some very indifferent lines, however, we have noticed a few which are not unworthy of the author of the 'Traveller.' They are as follows :

' RECITATIVE.

'That strain once more : it bids remembrance rise,
And brings my long-lost country to mine eyes.
Ye fields of Sharon, dress'd in flowery pride ;
Ye plains, where Jordan rolls its glassy tide ;
Ye hills of Lebanon, with cedars crown'd ;
Ye Gilead groves, that fling perfumes around :
These hills, how sweet ! those plains, how wond'rous fair !
But sweeter still, when Heaven was with us there.'

Again:

‘CHORUS OF ISRAELITES.

‘O peace of mind, angelic guest!
Thou soft companion of the breast!
Dispense thy balmy store.
Wing all our thoughts to reach the skies,
Till earth, receding from our eyes,
Shall vanish as we soar.’—p. 86.

There can be no doubt that this will be the standard edition of Goldsmith's Works, and it well *deserves* to be so.

Art. III. *Lectures on Divine Sovereignty, Election, the Atonement, Justification, and Regeneration.* By GEORGE PAYNE, LL.D.
8vo. London: Hamilton, 1836.

BY all who sustain the ministerial character, this volume cannot fail to be read with interest; and to young theological students, present and future, it will be very valuable. In no other volume can be found so much clear statement, sifting investigation, and sound reasoning, on subjects which form the burden of Divine Revelation, and have become some of the most important and perplexing objects of human thought. The views it presents are, of course, for the most part, not new. They are substantially the same as have been exhibited and established by successive writers of the modern Calvinistic school. But we have them here, not only in a condensed form, but well defined and delineated, and what is of great importance, impregnated with new life. Dr. Payne's mind has communicated to them a portion of its own vitality. It is impossible to read a page of the book without feeling oneself in contact with a mind vigorously working its own way to truth, and inviting us to accompany it. Now we deem this an unspeakable excellence in a book. It is not the amount of information which a book communicates, especially a book on controversial theology, which chiefly renders it valuable, but the manner in which this information is imparted—the fairness with which it states the opinions it opposes—the force with which it brings out its arguments—and above all, the power it possesses of stimulating its readers to think, reflect, and reason for themselves. These properties distinguish Dr. Payne's book in a high degree. It does not evade difficulties, but states and sets about solving them. With very few exceptions its polemical style is courteous and dignified. So that, whether our opinions coincide or not, with those of Dr. Payne, we have almost equal pleasure

in reading his work. If we fight by his side he is a powerful ally, and when we break a lance with him, he is a worthy and honourable foe.

Such of our readers as have not seen the volume may be pleased with a slight analysis of it. This we shall attempt to give, with an extract here and there, and a few remarks as we proceed; premising only, that from no class of works is it so difficult, and almost impossible, to make satisfactory extracts, as that to which the present volume belongs.

Divine Sovereignty is the subject of the first Lecture. It is defined in its most general and comprehensive sense as, *the right which God possesses to do whatever seems good in his sight*. That a Being of infinite holiness, wisdom, and benevolence, such as God is, possesses this right will not be doubted. Nothing can ever seem good in his sight, which is not in perfect accordance with the eternal principles of rectitude. In more fully illustrating, however, the nature of Sovereignty, Dr. Payne states that even a malevolent Creator would have the right of doing whatever he pleased with his creatures. Should he, therefore, be pleased to torment them for no other end but the gratification of his own malevolence, we presume, according to this statement, he would have a right to do so. Now, we have great doubts whether a statement, involving such a consequence, can be correct. It is certainly a needless one. What would be our views, had we been the offspring of a malevolent Creator we know not; but, constituted as we are, we are unable to conceive of the Creator having a right, or (what is the same thing) of its being right for the Creator to make his creature miserable, for the gratification of his own malevolence. Surely the relation of the Creator to his sentient creature, considered only as a creature, imposes on the former an obligation to protect the latter so long as it is preserved in existence, and not to inflict pain except important ends are to be secured by its infliction. Correct or not, it is certainly, as we have said, a needless statement; and the supposition of a malevolent Creator throws such a horrible darkness over the soul, and produces such a chaotic confusion in our notions of right and wrong, that it is not wonderful we wish to avoid it.

The right, which God possesses, to do as seems good in his sight, becomes, when rational and accountable creatures, who have been placed under moral government, are dealt with, a right to dispense as he pleases such favours only as equity neither requires nor forbids. The respective provinces of equity and sovereignty are thus distinguished by Dr. Payne :

‘It is conceived to be a point of great importance to form correct conceptions on this subject, and to keep steadily in view the respective provinces of equity and sovereignty, in the conduct of God towards

rational and accountable agents. The former gives to all the measure, both of good and of evil, that is due to them. This is its appropriate and exclusive province. It cannot move in the slightest degree beyond it; sovereignty has nothing whatever to do with it. The latter, on the other hand, bestows good—good exclusively—and good beyond the desert of its recipient. In a case in which evil is suffered by a subject of moral government, the Divine proceedings may develop both equity and sovereignty. Should the full amount of the suffering due to him not be inflicted, there is a manifest display of both. Yet, even in this case, the respective province of each may be perceived with great distinctness. The measure of evil endured is to be traced to the exercise of justice; the portion short of the desert of the transgressor, which he is not required to suffer, is held back by the hand of sovereignty. Equity punishes, as far as the punishment goes; sovereignty spares the full infliction.—p. 24.

These views are, it will be seen, the same with those of Dr. Williams; and the whole lecture will either form an admirable introduction to the more extended, but not more satisfactory, discussion of the subject by that eminent writer, or enable those who have already mastered Dr. Williams' work, to recall in a short time, the course and the results of his argument. As manifestations of Divine Sovereignty Dr. Payne specifies the various measures and modes in which intellectual powers—providential blessings—religious privileges—and the influences of the Holy Spirit are conferred on men. The influences of the Spirit are bestowed on some, and not on others, in accordance with a Divine purpose. We are thus introduced to the doctrine of Election.

The discussion of this doctrine occupies six lectures, in which we have: 1. A Statement of the Doctrine; 2. The Proof of it; 3. Replies to Objections urged against it. In these lectures Dr. Payne frequently refers to the Theological Institutes of the late Richard Watson, one of the most able defenders of Arminianism in this country; and sometimes, although less frequently, to the work of Bishop Tomline, whom he regards as the representative of Semi-pelagianism. The misrepresentations of both these writers on the subject of Election are corrected, and their arguments refuted. On one occasion we think that our author is unjustifiably severe on the Bishop. We refer to his remarks on a quotation from the 'Elements of Theology.'

'God is represented,' says Tomline, 'in Scripture, as having predestinated the redemption of mankind, through Christ, before the foundation of the world; and, when the fulness of the time was come, he sent forth his Son to execute his gracious purpose. But it has pleased our Almighty Father, in the inscrutable councils of his wisdom, to confine the knowledge of this merciful dispensation,' [how has *God* confined it? Did he not command the church to convey it to the whole world? Ought it not then to be said, that the church has con-

fined it?'] 'even to this day, to a portion of the human race, and by his prescience he foresaw' [though a learned prelate expresses himself thus, is it not something like saying, that by his foreknowledge he foreknew?] 'to whom these glad tidings should be communicated.'—
p. 58.

Now we do not think that the Bishop means more by the word 'confined' here, than Dr. Payne himself has stated at page 32, where he asks these questions :

'And to what ultimate cause is it to be ascribed that some nations in the present day enjoy the revelation of Divine mercy, while others remain in the darkness of heathenism? Is it possible to assign any reason for this fact except that God, who may dispense his gifts as it pleases him, has so operated upon the hearts of his people, and so arranged the proceedings of his Providence, as to make way for its introduction into one quarter, while he has permitted the barriers against its progress in another to remain?'—p. 32.

The objection to the expression 'by his prescience he foresaw,' is surely hypercritical. The terms omniscience, omnipresence, &c., &c., are frequently employed to denote the powers of the Divine nature, considered as distinct from their operations. Why may not prescience be employed in the same way? The expression then only assigns a Divine operation to its appropriate attribute or power of the Divine nature, and indeed involves an argument for a specific fact from a general and admitted principle.

We mention these two instances of what appears to us needless censure, not because they are important, but because a disposition to find fault with opponents, in theological controversy, cannot be too carefully subdued. Wherever it exists, it does injury; when displayed, the injury is doubled; it then produces unhappy effects on the reader as well as on the writer; and should he be of a different opinion from the writer, renders him little disposed to change it. The following statement of the doctrine of Election is clear and judicious :

'It is important to observe that the decrees of God are exactly co-extensive with the actions of God. They reach as far as the latter, but they do not go beyond them. 'God does what he decrees, and decrees what he does.' Now God does not repent, and believe, and love, and obey; he does not accordingly decree that repentance, and faith, and love should exist. It is man that gives credit to the Divine record—that perseveres unto the end. That which God does, in the whole of this business, is the exertion of that special grace which leads men so to act as to secure their salvation. And this it is that God decrees to do. Election is, then, God's purpose to exert upon the minds of certain members of the human family that special and holy influence which will secure their ultimate salvation. Yet,

as he knows perfectly what will be the result of that influence, and as he employs it to secure this result, it is in harmony with scriptural phraseology to say, that the result is both decreed and effected by Him.—p. 36—37.

The author subsequently states, that the electing decree does not involve the existence either of a decree of reprobation, or even of a determination not to save—that it presupposes the fallen state of the human race—that its cause is not to be found in the objects of its choice—but that sufficient reasons exist for it in the bosom and counsels of the eternal God. This last point, a very important one, is well brought out. We wish it were more constantly borne in mind both by the advocates and opponents of unconditional election. To suppose that God, who is pure and perfect reason, ever acts without reason, would be as absurd as to suppose that light itself could become darkness. It is blasphemy to suppose he acts thus, when his actions involve the eternal happiness or misery of his intelligent creatures. The God of love, we may be sure, would not withhold from any the gracious influences necessary to their salvation, without reasons for doing so, sufficient and irresistible. A firm conviction that such reasons exist in the Eternal mind, although unseen by us, like the stars by day through the brilliance of the sun, will impart a solemn tranquillity to the soul in the midst of all that is painful and perplexing in the dispensations of grace.

Proof of the doctrine thus stated is adduced from reason and Scripture. The proof from reason is of the simplest kind. God is the cause of the salvation of all who are saved—therefore, he has *purposed* to save them—for what God does, he has before decreed. Dr. Payne will allow us, however, to suggest, that he must not *assume* God to be the cause of man's salvation, or regard it as admitted by his opponents. For in the sense in which Dr. Payne uses the expression, and the sense in which it must be used to sustain his argument, it is *not* admitted by Arminians, that God is the cause of salvation. They do not admit that belief is produced by a special Divine influence. Elsewhere Dr. Payne has proved that belief is thus produced, and so it should have been stated here. The proof from Scripture establishes, first, that election secures to its subjects the enjoyment of spiritual and eternal blessings, and not merely according to the Pelagian view, the enjoyment of external privileges; and secondly, that election of individuals to spiritual and eternal blessings is unconditional, and not founded, as Arminians assert, on foreseen faith and obedience. The passages of Scripture adduced, and the reasonings grounded on them are all excellent. So are also the remarks on Common Grace, or that measure of Divine influence which, according to both the Pelagian and Arminian schools, is bestowed on all men to enable them to believe the

Gospel. Indeed, we think these some of the best in the whole volume. The following passage may serve as a specimen :

‘Or the argument may be stated in a somewhat different manner. Since some men believe the gospel, and others reject it, the faith of the former must be ascribed to themselves or to God. If Pelagians ascribe it to the former, they rescue themselves, indeed, from any difficulty which may be supposed to be involved in the opinion, that faith is the gift of God ; but they leave an occasion of boasting to the believer. If, on the contrary, they ascribe it to God, then it must be the result of an influence common to all, or special to some. The latter supposition draws after it the doctrine of eternal and personal election. They seem, therefore, driven to the necessity of resorting to the former supposition. But, if a common and equal operation, or gift of the Spirit, leads to the existence of faith in the case of some, and not in the case of others, it must surely be because the former are less averse to believe, or more disposed to improve the means of grace than the latter ; i. e., they are less depraved, and so require less assistance from the Spirit of God to work out their own salvation. And yet, by supposition, they receive as much assistance as those who are more depraved ; i. e., those who stand in the greatest need of moral help receive no more than those who have the least need of it ; in opposition to the axiom of Bishop Tomline, that ‘God has equally enabled every man to work out his own salvation.’ There is an ambiguity in this assertion which, it is probable, never struck the mind of his Lordship. An equal measure of aid in working out our salvation (which we are assured all men possess) may mean a measure equal in itself ; i. e., equal in all cases, in degree ;—or a measure equally proportioned to the need of those who receive it. His Lordship appears to me, therefore, to be involved in the following inextricable dilemma : Either that the gift of the Spirit which—to preserve even the appearance of ascribing the praise of man’s salvation to God—he is constrained to acknowledge is vouchsafed to all men, is bestowed in the first sense of the term equal, i. e., in an equal degree upon all men :—in which case those who, being more obdurate, reject the gospel, are less favourably dealt with than others, inasmuch as the aid they receive is not equally adapted to meet their moral wants, (a supposition which would cause all the arrows shot by the Arminian to recoil upon himself.)—Or the supposed gift is bestowed in a degree which renders it equally proportioned to the moral need of those who receive it ;—in which case it must effect the salvation of all, or the salvation of none. It is impossible to conceive that a measure of influence, equally adapted to subdue the depravity of two human beings, should succeed in the case of one, and fail in the case of the other. A power equal to a hundred would as certainly remove an obstruction amounting only to eighty, as a power of fifty would remove an obstruction of forty. That both should succeed is perfectly possible, and, indeed, absolutely certain ; but that the hundred should fail while the fifty succeeds, or *vice versa*, is utterly incredible and inconceivable.’—pp. 67, 68.

The objections, to which Dr. Payne replies with great dex-

terity and force, are, that election is incompatible with Divine goodness—with Divine justice—with human accountability and free agency—and with the exhortations to perseverance contained in the Scriptures.

The doctrine of the Atonement is discussed at great length and with considerable ability. Six lectures are devoted to it. The Atonement is represented as 'a satisfaction for sin rendered to God, as the moral Governor of the world, by the perfect obedience unto death of our Lord Jesus Christ; a satisfaction which has removed every obstacle resulting from the Divine perfections and government, to the bestowment of mercy upon the guilty in any method which Divine wisdom may see fit to adopt.'

Upon this point it is of great importance that the conceptions of Christians should be well formed and vigorous; and we should be glad, did our space permit, to quote our author's lucid and admirable statement of the doctrine. But we must abstain. It is not enough to believe that *some how or other* the pardon of sin is connected with the death of Christ. Enough for salvation it may be; but certainly not enough, to give intelligent and reflecting minds, satisfactory and animating views of the Divine government. Such views can only be attained in proportion as we see that the sufferings of Christ exactly meet the necessity of the case, and that the scheme of salvation through Him is in harmony with all the principles of enlightened jurisprudence. Texts which prove the *fact* of atonement are very important, and we have abundance of them. They are like the strong points of a military position—impregnable forts. But in our struggle with Unitarianism we must not confine ourselves to these, nor give to those who differ from us, the impression that the glorious doctrine of the Atonement is, (to use Dr. Channing's expression,) shut up to a few isolated passages of Scripture. We must feel ourselves, and make others feel, that reason calls aloud for such a plan as revelation unfolds, and that every thing around us, and every thing within us, is in harmony with it. Far, therefore, from disapproving of enquiries into the theory or rationale of Atonement, we wish that more attention was devoted to the subject, and we hail Dr. Payne's work as likely to turn the thoughts of his readers into this channel.

On the much agitated question of the extent of the Atonement, our author maintains that it is universal; but that redemption is particular—or in other words, that God *designed* the Atonement should be *sufficient* for all, but *efficient* only to some. We are surprised, however, that no direct Scriptural evidence is advanced for the universal sufficiency of the Atonement. Excellent as are the arguments adduced, they will not supply the lack of Scriptural testimony. We are still more surprised that our author

should deprive himself of all direct support from Scripture by asserting, 1. That it is not necessary to give a general meaning to the general expressions, 'all,' 'every one,' 'world,' &c., in the passages usually quoted to prove the universality of the Atonement; and, 2. That it is not even *probable* such is their meaning. How, moreover, can he say 'many' cannot be understood to mean 'all,' without doing violence to language, with the fifth of Romans before him. Our own view is, that in most passages, the general expressions referred to demand an unlimited interpretation, and that they refer to the sufficiency of the Atonement, and not to its efficiency. Nothing is clearer to us than that such is the case in 1 John ii. 2. The world there, is not the Gentile world in distinction from the Jewish nation; but all ungodly men, in opposition to believers in Christ. When the apostle says he is the propitiation for *our* sins, he is speaking of himself and fellow-christians, of all who were walking in the light; and in order to encourage himself and fellow-believers to confide in the efficiency of the Atonement for their justification, he represents it as sufficient for all men—even for the world of the ungodly, who were walking in darkness.

Justification follows the Atonement. It is discussed at somewhat greater length, and with equal ability. After being distinguished from sanctification, with which the Romish church and some quaker writings confound it, its nature is explained in the following passage :

'To justify an individual, when God is the Justifier, is not, then, to pronounce him innocent, or righteous, since no men are really so; nor by any conceivable process whatever can they be made actually so: but it is either to count him righteous, i. e., to treat him (as we shall afterwards see) as if he were righteous,—or to declare that the Divine government will so treat him, for a reason, or on a ground, which will be afterwards noticed. I do not mention it now, simply because it might tend to embarrassment, by diverting, in some measure at least, the thoughts of the reader from the one single point on which I would fix his attention. And, if such be the meaning of the phrase, 'to justify,' it follows that to be in a justified state, is not either to be pronounced just, or to be made actually just,—for both are impossible in the case of a sinner: but it is to be treated as if we were just; or rather, perhaps, to be in the state of those whom God declares that he will treat as if they were just; i. e., it is to be in the faith of Christ; for the Divine declaration is, that believers are the persons who shall be treated as if they were just. And this declaration is to be sought for, not in that volume to which no creature has access, recording the secret purposes of God, but in that other volume which he has graciously laid open to the inspection of all,—even that blessed word which says, 'He that believeth shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be damned.' 'Justification,' says Mr. Fuller, 'is our standing acquitted by the revealed will of God declared in the gospel. As the

wrath of God is revealed from heaven, in the curses of his law; so the righteousness of God is revealed,'—'in the declarations of the gospel. It is in this revelation of the mind of God in his word, I conceive, that the sentence both of condemnation and justification consists. He whom the Scriptures bless, is blessed; and he whom they curse, is cursed.' *—p. 233.

In reasoning out the views embodied in this passage, Dr. Payne disproves eternal justification, and justification by a private assurance of acceptance. He shows that 'neither condemnation nor justification consists in the secret purpose of God, but in his will as revealed, *as if by a sentence*, in his word'—that the ground of justification is the all-sufficient and perfect righteousness of Jesus Christ, including his obedience unto death. And that the manner in which this is made available, by imputation, is not by transferring or even counting it to believers, but by *treating them as righteous* on its account.

Faith is regarded as *the belief of the Gospel*, understanding the term belief in its ordinary sense, but understanding at the same time, by the Gospel, the Gospel in its spiritual meaning and power. The errors of those who make *too little* or *too much* of faith are exposed. 'Faith justifies by bringing an individual into that body, to every individual of which the blessing of justification is secured by the promise, and covenant, and oath of God.' Dr. Payne reconciles the statements of St. Paul and St. James by supposing that the term justification is used by them in different senses. In this supposition he agrees with Fuller, M'Lean, and Wardlaw. We must confess ourselves unsatisfied with this solution of the difficulty. Nor do we acquiesce in all the other sentiments of the Lectures on Justification; but we have read them with profit and high gratification.

The Lectures on Regeneration are to us the least satisfactory part of the volume. They are very good, and embody more experimental religion than any of their predecessors. But they are far less elaborate, and take little or no notice of many interesting points connected with the subject. We could have wished, for instance, that the connexion of regeneration with baptism, and the origin and progress of erroneous opinions on that topic, had been explained, and that the various notions of regeneration held at the present day by Christians, had been carefully delineated and distinguished. By one class of Christians in the Church of England regeneration is regarded merely as an outward introduction by baptism into the outward church—by another class, in the same community, as a spiritual change always accompanying

* Works, vol. vii. p. 410.

baptism, when rightly administered, and imparting spiritual power. Calvinists, in general, look on it as a change of nature which may or may not accompany baptism, but which is always anterior to faith, and secures the final salvation of all on whom it passes. The Wesleyans, on the contrary, suppose faith to be introductory to regeneration, and, along with other Arminians, that regenerated men may perish. Now, these are distinctions which in such a work as Dr. Payne's we are surprised to find scarcely noticed; and very sorry too, for no one is more able to dispose of them efficiently. The general principles, indeed, which the Lectures on Regeneration unfold, are capable of application to these and other points. But this does not satisfy us. We think they ought to have been *applied*, and that truth should have been shown in these lectures as well as in the former, in juxtaposition, and so in stronger contrast with error.

Dr. Payne regards regeneration as a change exclusively of a moral nature. It presupposes a divine influence on the mind of its subject, but is produced by the truth. 'It comprehends the 'spiritual illumination of the understanding, the sanctification of 'the affections, the renovation of the will, and the purification of 'the conduct.'

We have no further room for extract or remarks. The observations already made will show that we do not look on the work as perfect, although we esteem it of great excellence. Some of its positions we do not agree with. Here and there we have noticed an ambiguous and obscure sentence, although generally the style is eminently clear. What is the meaning of this sentence:

'It is wrong in disregarding those previous engagements of the Father and the Son, and that gracious design on the part of the Son, arising out of them, to lead certain individuals, by special grace, to implore that mercy which is offered freely to all,—without which no man can obtain it, which renders the salvation of some men certain.'

—p. 226.

Bonus dormitat Homerus. But what if he does occasionally slumber, the Iliad for all that lives and will live.

Art. IV. 1. *The Americans, in their Moral, Social, and Political Relations.* By FRANCIS J. GRUND. In 2 vols. 8vo. London: Longman. 1837.

2. *Society in America.* By HARRIET MARTINEAU, Author of "Illustrations of Political Economy." In 3 vols. 12mo. London: Saunders & Otley. 1837.

THE peopling of New England, by the 'pilgrim fathers,' laid the foundation of all the future greatness of the United States. The memorable struggle for religious freedom which expatriated these men of stern mould and lofty principle, was the precursor and the remote cause of those determined efforts that achieved all the liberty which America now enjoys. The fathers asserted the rights of conscience; their descendants carried out the principle, and determined to be politically free. The same indomitable love of liberty which induced their puritan ancestors to brave the terrors of exile, inspired a succeeding generation to resist the encroachments of the mother country, and dictated, in 1776, that 'declaration of independence,' which committed them to a perilous contest with all the might of England. The result of the contest was unexpected and astonishing. A new power arose; the monarchical principle was rejected, the proud distinction of noble birth was treated as a bauble, and *the people* legislated and governed for their own benefit.

But this was only an experiment; the conservative politicians of the day predicted its certain and speedy failure. They saw in it every thing that was disastrous to social order and good government. Divisions were to arise, anarchy was to ensue, civilization was to retrograde, and religion to become extinct. The progress and the triumph of trans-atlantic freedom had, in the eyes of these sages, but a meteoric brilliancy; its aspect was portentous, and its evanescent glories were to expire in darkness. Half a century has now elapsed, and the great American confederacy still exists; its power has advanced with a giant's strides, its commerce spreads over the globe, and its resources have multiplied beyond a parallel. There is not a nation which would not be proud of its alliance, not an empire to which the future gives such promise of prosperity and grandeur.

America is now the great and central laboratory, where experiments are conducted on a large scale, in the results of which the human race is interested; it is a school where many of the most important problems in politics and morals are in a course of solution. And whatever indifference may be affected, or contempt expressed, by those who charitably denominate America 'a nation without a king, and without a God,' the eagerness with which

every fact is seized that has a bearing on any of the great questions now agitated amongst us; the breathless attention which is given to any tourist, or resident for — years in America, who can give confirmation to the opinions of one party, or furnish matter of doubt or ridicule to the other, show that neither friend nor foe, neither the admirers of aristocratic assumption nor the advocates of popular freedom, are indifferent spectators.

The benefits which Britain and America may confer on each other are immense; while the injury which both must sustain by irritation, or open rupture, is incalculable. Efforts have not been wanting on both sides of the Atlantic to promote misunderstandings and enmity. But the good sense of our countrymen has imposed a check to the recklessness and malevolence of party scribes. Disastrous would it be for the world's welfare should the unrivalled capabilities of good possessed by the two nations be by any means impeded or destroyed. Each is entitled to a candid construction of its laws, institutions, and habits, and both may probably become wiser if they would but lay aside their prejudices, and attentively examine the facts which they present to each other. There is scarcely any complaint more frequently urged by English travellers against the Americans than their national pride. We are perpetually hearing of its absurd and offensive exhibitions, and are called upon to resent the insult which it offers to our dignity. We have little sympathy with such complainers. America has much of which she may be justly proud, and our own countrymen are deeply steeped in the crime (if crime it may be called) with which the citizens of the New World are charged. Mr. Grund's apology is sufficiently flattering to our own vanity, and we cannot, therefore, be expected to doubt its validity.

‘All the causes of British pride,’ he says, ‘are equally operating on the Americans. They are of the same origin; all the glory attached to the British name is that of their ancestors; and they have themselves had an honourable share in its acquisition. Their fathers were the bold settlers who first transplanted British views and British genius to a new world, to perpetuate them to the end of time. But they have improved upon them. They have opened God's temples to all his worshippers; and, perhaps, for the first time on earth, raised the standard of equal liberty and justice. They have rallied round the standard to wage war against the most powerful nation in Europe—and they were not conquered. A second time they were arrayed in battle against England, and a second time they proved themselves not inferior to their proud progenitors. Are these no causes for national vanity? And is this vanity not the highest encomium which they can possibly bestow on the English? Do not the English furnish the standard of American pride?—the character to which they will not acknowledge themselves inferior? When did any one hear the Americans draw envious com-

parisons between themselves and other nations, save the English?'—Vol. I., p. 8.

The desirableness of obtaining correct information on a subject which interests all parties is universally admitted, and we therefore avail ourselves of the opportunity of introducing to our readers the works which stand at the head of this article.

The Americans, in their Moral, Social, and Political Relations, is the work of an author—German by birth, but American by adoption—well acquainted both with the United States, and with Britain, and honestly concerned to remove mutual misunderstandings, and to give to each a more correct and honourable view of the other. He conceives that 'the Americans have been grossly misrepresented; and this not so much by ascribing to them spurious qualities as by omitting all mention of those which entitle them to honour and respect; and by representing the foibles of certain classes as weaknesses belonging to the nation. The object,' he continues, 'of this publication will be attained, if it serve to inspire the English with more just conceptions of American worth, and increase the respect and friendship of America for England.' In pursuing this object, our author does not employ himself in geographical description, nor in details of natural history or geological phenomena; but he presents us with a portraiture of 'the Americans' in their character, mental and moral, in the working of their political system in general, and of their various institutions in particular. He also endeavours to mark the causes of their present greatness, and to show, from their rapid advances to power and grandeur, how highly deserving they are of the attention and respect of this nation.

The first volume relates principally to American manners, their social habits, their partialities and prejudices with reference to the various foreigners who amalgamate with them, their literature, education, morality, and religion. The second volume is occupied chiefly with a view of the multiplied forms in which their extraordinary energies and internal resources are developed, the relation of the several states to each other, and of the great confederacy to the world at large, and especially to Britain.

Mr. Grund's work is certainly not to be classed with the ephemeral productions of book-making travellers and tourists; it bears the impress of a vigorous and well-informed mind, possessing no mean qualifications for the work proposed. To a long residence in the United States he adds great power of observation, and general soundness of judgment. And, with some exceptions, which we shall presently name, we tender to him our cordial thanks for the able manner in which he has written on a subject so deeply interesting, and yet, concerning which, so many misrepresentations have prevailed.

Miss Martineau is well known to the British public by her *Illustrations of Political Economy*. We are glad to meet her on the present occasion, and, although we shall be compelled to express our dissent from some of her positions, and to controvert her views on points of the deepest and most permanent interest, we cheerfully record our admiration of the talent and, with a few exceptions, most of which we shall name, of the general sentiments of her work. She landed at New York, Sept. 19, 1834, and sailed thence for England, August 1, 1836, having diligently employed the interval in an extensive tour, which furnished her with ample opportunities of forming an enlightened estimate of the institutions, condition, and prospects of the country.

‘In the course of this tour,’ she says, ‘I visited almost every kind of institution. The prisons of Auburn, Philadelphia, and Nashville; the insane and other hospitals of almost every considerable place; the literary and scientific institutions; the factories of the north; the plantations of the south; the farms of the west. I lived in houses which might be called palaces, in log-houses, and in a farm-house. I travelled much in wagons, as well as stages; also on horseback, and in some of the best and worst of steam-boats. I saw weddings, and christenings; the gatherings of the richer at watering-places, and of the humbler at country festivals. I was present at orations, at land sales, and in the slave market. I was in frequent attendance on the supreme court and the senate, and witnessed some of the proceedings of state legislatures. Above all, I was received into the bosom of many families, not as a stranger, but as a daughter or a sister. It would be nearly impossible to relate whom I knew during my travels. Nearly every eminent man in politics, science, and literature, and almost every distinguished woman would grace my list. I have respected and beloved friends of each political party; and of nearly every religious denomination; among slaveholders, colonizationists, and abolitionists; among farmers, lawyers, merchants, professors, and clergy. I travelled among several tribes of Indians; and spent months in the southern states, with negroes ever at my heels.’ Introduction, p. xv.

As her means for observation were thus ample, so the temper of mind with which the tour was undertaken was eminently favourable to the Americans. Miss Martineau avows, what is well known to all the readers of her former publications, ‘a strong disposition to admire democratic institutions,’ yet professes to have entered on her inquiry with ‘an entire ignorance how far the people of the United States lived up to, or fell below, their own theory.’ We were somewhat incredulous at first respecting the latter of these affirmations, but are now fully satisfied of its truth. Her volumes bespeak an impartial and inquiring mind, free, for the most part, from prejudice on the one hand, and from indiscriminate admiration on the other. The theory of the American

constitution commands her unqualified approbation, while she animadvert with becoming severity on the false morals and debased temper of its society. Her work constitutes 'a compound of philosophy and fact,' and will do much to dissipate the false lights in which the United States have been viewed.

It would be vain to attempt to travel through the whole of the disclosures which she makes. Such an effort would defeat itself; and we shall therefore restrict our remarks to two or three of the most prominent and important topics which are noticed. No intelligent traveller, who has taken part in the political discussions of the mother country, can set foot on American soil without being alive to the fact, that he is about to witness the solution of problems which have long agitated the master-spirits of his own land. Entering into a new state of society, where the institutions of the old world are discarded; where monarchy is rejected, and a peerage unknown; where the will of the majority is worshipped as the supreme law, and opinions, elsewhere regarded as little better than matters of speculation or the elements of an abstract theory, are solemnly avowed to be self-evident truths, it is but natural that a feeling of deep interest should be experienced. The speculations of philosophers and the struggles of party are thus subjected to a practical test, and no enlightened Englishman will look upon the result without solicitude. Few reflecting men possess such faith in their own principles as to be unmoved by the consciousness that their theories will be tested, and their predictions confirmed or falsified by the facts about to be witnessed. The mere tools of party may be capable of such indifference. But all honest, thoughtful, and sagacious men will be overwhelmed by the conviction that now at last an opportunity is obtained of determining by the evidence of fact—the most conclusive which can address itself to the human mind—how far their speculations have been sound, and their views of political science adapted to the nature of man, and the obvious purposes of human society.

With such feelings Miss Martineau appears to have landed in the United States, and the result of her observations is fearlessly and frankly given in the volumes before us. Many admirers of American institutions and society will be surprised at her statements, and some of them will probably think that she ought to have refrained from saying so much. We are of a different opinion. Let us know our transatlantic brethren as they are, in their weakness as well as in their power, in the waywardness of their temper, and the inconsistencies of their conduct, as well as in the liberality and high-toned character of their political institutions. True philosophy is the growth of extensive knowledge, and must ever be injured by concealment, however partial or well meant.

The obvious and fearful evils which have arisen in this country from the domination of a selfish and low-minded aristocracy, have led many sober men to miscalculate the practical fruits of republican institutions. Seeing that the interests of the many have been recklessly sacrificed in the old world to the privileges of the few; and that all the mischief of an irrational and sordid monopoly has in consequence afflicted society, it has been thoughtlessly concluded that a change of institutions would not only effect an extinction of existing evils, but would also effectually guard against the occurrence of others. Hence it has been inferred that official corruption, and any thing like pandering to the bad passions of the community, must be unknown in a land like America, where the suffrage is all but universal, the vote secret, and the patronage of the government extremely limited. It is obvious, however, to remark, that the most material feature of the case is overlooked in such a calculation. The condition of human nature is disregarded, and, as a necessary consequence, our expectations are found delusive, and our theories are proved to be untenable.

We are far from underrating the importance of a sound political constitution. On the contrary, we are persuaded that it cannot be too dearly purchased, even by the sufferings and the blood of the choicest spirits of our race. But it is nevertheless absurd and visionary to expect from any form of government, however simple and well based, a rooting-out of those evils which have their origin in human nature, and will force themselves into existence in every set of circumstances that can be conceived. The moral of our nature must be rectified, before society can become what philosophers anticipate. Man's reason must be enlightened, his social affections must be purified, the pervading influences of religion must reform and elevate his character, before he will cease to be a selfish and corrupting being.

These remarks derive a painful confirmation, and one for which in its lamentable extent we were not prepared, from the disclosures of the work before us. Miss Martineau will not be suspected of a disposition to darken the picture, yet we confess that her delineation does more to lower our estimate of the political condition of America than all the tirades which have issued from the Tory press of this country. We are sometimes ready to suspect that, in her solicitude to avoid the charge of partiality, she has gone to the opposite extreme. However this may be, she makes out a strong case, and brings some heavy charges, which we should be glad to see disproved.

We are anxious that our remarks on this part of her work may not be misunderstood, and it is therefore desirable that our readers should bear distinctly in mind the point of view from which they are offered. We are not dealing with republicanism simply,

but with republicanism as contrasted with a limited monarchy; and our object is to show from the statements of our authoress, that the practical working of the former is far from producing the public virtue and happiness which its advocates anticipate. We are fully conscious of the evils which have grown out of our own system, and will not yield to any of our countrymen in zeal for a searching and thorough reform. Every department of our government needs it, and woe will be to our aristocracy if they continue doggedly to resist the public will. But it is one thing to acknowledge defects in the working of our institutions, and another thing to reject those institutions as essentially vicious. The former may consist with an honest determination to correct what is wrong, the latter can only be justified where the case precludes doubt, and the substitute is at hand. We admire the simple theory of a republic; but, human nature being what it is, we prefer a limited monarchy, with all its attendant evils. But let us notice the political condition of America as related by Miss Martineau.

Speaking of the extent and disposal of the patronage of the United States government, she remarks,

‘There is every reason to fear that official corruption is abundant under all governments; and, for some reasons which will be easily apprehended, remarkably so under the government of the United States.’ Vol. I., p. 73.

Now this is the reverse of what our countrymen have been accustomed to believe; and, had it been uttered by a scion of nobility, or a writer of the Tory school, it would undoubtedly have been attributed to the prejudices of his class. Yet we fear it is too true, as the charge is well supported by numerous appalling facts. The chapter on *Office* is one of the most painful in her book. It lays bare, without reserve, the mean and contemptible arts by which popular favour is sought by the candidates for public office, and the dangers which encompass them from the moment of their object being attained.

‘I was told,’ says Miss Martineau, ‘two things separately, last year, which, if put together, seem to yield an alarming result. I was told that almost every man holds office, some time during his life; and that holding office is the ruin of moral independence. The case is not, however, nearly so bad as this. There is a kind of public life which does seem to injure the morals of all who enter it; but very few are affected by it. Office in a man’s own neighbourhood, where his character and opinions are known, and where the honour and emolument are small, is not very seductive; and these are the offices filled by the greater number of citizens who serve society. The temptation to propitiate opinion becomes powerful when a citizen desires to enter the legislature, or to be the chief magistrate of the State. The peril increases when he becomes a candidate for Congress; and there seems to

be no expectation whatever that a candidate for the presidency, or his partizans, should retain any simplicity of speech, or regard to equity in the distribution of places and promises. All this is dreadfully wrong.' . . . 'It has become the established method of seeking office, not only to declare a coincidence of opinion with the supposed majority, on the great topics on which the candidate will have to speak and act while in office, but to deny, or conceal, or assert any thing else which it is supposed will please the same majority. The consequence is, that the best men are not in office. The morally inferior who succeed, use their power for selfish purposes, to a sufficient extent to corrupt their constituents, in their turn. I scarcely knew, at first, how to understand the political conversations which I heard in travelling. If a citizen told another that A. had voted in a particular manner, the other invariably began to account for the vote. A. had voted thus to please B., because B.'s influence was wanted for the benefit of C., who had promised so and so to A.'s brother, or son, or nephew, or leading section of constituents. A reason for a vote, or other public proceeding, must always be found; and any reason seemed to be taken up rather than the obvious one, that a man votes according to the decision of his reason and conscience. I often mentioned this to men in office, or seeking to be so; and they received it with a smile or a laugh which wrung my heart. Of all heart-withering things, political scepticism in a republic is one of the most painful. I told Mr. Clay my observations in both kinds. 'Let them laugh!' cried he, with an honourable warmth: 'and do you go on requiring honesty; and you will find it.' He is right: but those who would find the highest integrity had better not begin their observations on office-holders, much less on office-seekers, as a class. The office-holder finds, too often, that it may be easier to get into office than to have power to discharge its duties when there: and then the temptation to subservience, to dishonest silence, is well nigh too strong for mortal man. The office-keeper stands committed as desiring something for which he is ready to sacrifice his business or profession, his ease, his leisure, and the quietness of his reputation. He stands forth as either an adventurer, a man of ambition, or of self-sacrificing patriotism. Being once thus committed, failure is mortifying, and the allurements to compromise, in order to success, is powerful. Once in public life, the politician is committed for ever, whether he immediately perceives this, or not. Almost every public man of my acquaintance owned to me the difficulty of retiring,—in mind, if not in presence,—after the possession of a public trust. This painful hankering is part of the price to be paid for the honours of public service; and I am disposed to think that it is almost universal; that scarcely any man knows quiet and content, from the moment of the success of his first election. The most modest men shrink from thus committing themselves. The most learned men, generally speaking, devote themselves, in preference, to professions. The most conscientious men, generally speaking, shun the snares which fatally beset public life, at present, in the United States.

'A gentleman of the latter class, whose talents and character would procure him extensive and hearty support, if he desired it, told me,

that he would never serve in office, because he believes it to be the destruction of moral independence: he pointed out to me three friends of his, men of remarkable talent, all in public life. 'Look at them,' said he, 'and see what they might have been! Yet A. is a slave, B. is a slave, and C. is a worm in the dust.' Too true.' Vol. I., pp. 113—116.

Amongst a large portion of the office-seekers and office-holders of America, a disgraceful distinction appears to be drawn between the sentiments avowed in public and those which are held in private. The people are flattered in the one case, and despised in the other. In the former instance their very vices are lauded, while, in the latter, their virtues are frequently contemned as the offspring of superstition and weakness. Miss Martineau naturally enough protests against this state of things, gravely asserting what no sane mind will deny, 'that there must be some mistake; for it can never be an arrangement of Providence that men cannot serve each other in their political relations, without being corrupted.' p. 114. We are sometimes half disposed to smile at the facility with which she calculates on a better state of things arising. She acknowledges the evil in all its magnitude and baseness, but then it is only for such, or such, a change to be effected, and the flowers of paradise will flourish where the poisonous productions of earth are now rankly luxuriant. 'Let the governed,' she says, 'once require honesty as a condition of their consent; let them once choose the best men, according to their most conscientious conviction, and there will be an end of this insulting and disgusting political scepticism.' p. 117. All this we admit, but—would that we could dispense with this term—is it likely they will do so? What are the indications of moral change which encourage the hope that within our time, or the time of our children, the citizens of America, or of any other state, will become so enlightened and right-minded as to despise the man who flatters them, and to take to their bosom the faithful reprovcr of their faults? Something more than education, or mere forms of government, is necessary for this, and here, we apprehend, is the grand secret of the delusive hopes and false reasoning of such writers as Miss Martineau.

Another feature of American society, which both astonishes and alarms the sober people of Britain, is the utter disregard of the supremacy of law frequently evinced even by the most respectable classes. We have had mobs in our own country, but they have invariably been composed of the dregs of the community. In the United States, however, the case is different. So slightly is the public mind impregnated with that reverence for legal forms which characterizes the English people, that the better-informed and more respectable portions of society do not hesitate, on occasions of excitement, to take the law into their own hands, and

murderously to inflict its severest penalties. Magistrates and lawyers, nay, even elders and deacons, are sometimes found acting a prominent part on these occasions. And all this is done in the light of open day, by men who have characters to sustain. Instead of being deterred by the fear of public censure, they are urged on by its approval, and calculate on the attainment of office as the reward of their crimes. Most of our readers have heard of the ferocious and dastardly assault made by a mob of this kind in Boston, on a few defenceless, but high-principled women, on the 21st of October, 1835. Two months prior to this the pro-slavery meeting of Faneuil Hall had taken place; 'the deepest of all the disgraces of Boston,' as Miss Martineau justly designates it. The natural consequence followed. The character and motives of the abolitionists were vilely aspersed, and their persons were threatened in no dubious terms. Happily, however, for America, there were persons found in Boston—and, to the honour of the sex be it told, those persons were women—who nobly determined to discharge their duty at every peril. The Annual Meeting of the Boston Female Auxiliary was appointed to be held on the 14th of October, but, from the difficulty of obtaining a place in which to assemble, it was deferred to the 21st. On that day they met, and Miss Martineau shall relate what occurred.

'Twenty-five reached their room, by going three-quarters of an hour before the appointed time. Five more made their way up with difficulty through the crowd. A hundred more were turned back by the mob.

'They knew that a hand-bill had been circulated on the Exchange, and posted on the City Hall, and throughout the city, the day before, which declared that Thompson, the abolitionist, was to address them; and invited the citizens, under promise of pecuniary reward, to 'snake Thompson out, and bring him to the tar-kettle before dark.' The ladies had been warned that they would be killed, 'as sure as fate,' if they showed themselves on their own premises that day. They therefore informed the mayor that they expected to be attacked. The reply of the city marshal was, 'You give us a great deal of trouble.'

'The committee-room was surrounded, and gazed into by a howling, shrieking mob of gentlemen, while the twenty-five ladies sat perfectly still, awaiting the striking of the clock. When it struck, they opened their meeting. They were questioned as to whether Thompson was there in disguise; to which they made no reply.

'They began, as usual, with prayer; the mob shouting, 'Hurra! here comes Judge Lynch!' Before they had done, the partition gave way, and the gentlemen hurled missiles at the lady who was presiding. The secretary having risen, and begun to read her report, rendered inaudible by the uproar, the mayor entered, and insisted upon their going home, to save their lives. The purpose of their meeting was answered: they had asserted their principle; and they now passed out, two and two, amidst the execration of some thousands of gentle-

men;—persons who had silver shrines to protect. The ladies, to the number of fifty, walked to the house of one of their members, and were presently struck to the heart by the news that Garrison was in the hands of the mob. Garrison is the chief apostle of abolition in the United States. He had escorted his wife to the meeting; and, after offering to address the ladies, and being refused, out of regard to his safety, had left the room, and, as they supposed, the premises. He was, however, in the house when the ladies left it. He was hunted for by the mob; dragged from behind some planks where he had taken refuge, and conveyed into the street. Here his hat was trampled under-foot, and brick-bats were aimed at his bare head; a rope was tied round him, and thus he was dragged through the streets. His young wife saw all this. Her exclamation was, ‘I think my husband will be true to his principles! I am sure my husband will not deny his principles.’ Her confidence was just. Garrison never denies his principles.

‘He was saved by a stout truckman, who, with his bludgeon, made his way into the crowd, as if to attack the victim. He protected the bare head, and pushed on towards a station-house, whence the mayor’s officers issued, and pulled in Garrison, who was afterwards put into a coach. The mob tried to upset the coach, and throw down the horses; but the driver laid about him with his whip, and the constables with their staves, and Garrison was safely lodged in jail for protection; for he had committed no offence.*

‘Before the mayor ascended the stairs to dismiss the ladies, he had done a very remarkable deed;—he had given permission to two gentlemen to pull down and destroy the anti-slavery sign, bearing the inscription, ‘Anti-Slavery Office,’—which had hung for two years, as signs do hang before public offices in Boston. The plea of the mayor is, that he hoped the rage of the mob would thus be appeased; that is, he gave them leave to break the laws in one way, lest they should in another. The citizens followed up this deed of the mayor with one

* We are tempted to give an anecdote of Mr. Garrison, mentioned by Miss Martineau in her third volume, as illustrative of the urbanity and gentleness of his deportment. ‘A southern gentleman was on board a steamboat, proceeding from New York to Philadelphia. He engaged in conversation with two unknown gentlemen; and soon plunged into the subject of slavery. He was a slave-holder, and they were abolitionists. With one of them he was peculiarly pleased; and they discussed their subject for a great length of time. He at last addressed the other abolitionist thus: ‘How easy and pleasant it is to argue this matter with such a man as your friend! If all you abolitionists were like him, how soon we and you might come to an understanding! But you are generally so coarse and violent! You are all so like Garrison! Pray give me your friend’s name.’

‘‘You have just spoken it. It is Mr. Garrison.’

‘‘Impossible! This gentleman is so mild, so gentlemanly.’

‘‘Ask the captain if it be not Mr. Garrison.’

‘It was an important point. The captain was asked. This mild, courteous, simple, sprightly, gentlemanly person was Garrison.’

no less remarkable. They elected these two rioters members of the State legislature, by a large majority, within ten days.' Vol. I., pp. 169—172.

Such proceedings require no comment, but what shall be said of a community, by which they were sanctioned? 'There was no mob,' said an eminent lawyer to Miss Martineau, 'I was there myself, and saw they were all gentlemen. They were all in fine broad cloth.'

Miss Martineau furnishes another instance of the open and avowed violation of law, the brevity and deep significance of which induce us to quote it.

'After the gentlemen of Charleston had disgraced their city and country, by breaking into the post-office, and burning the contents of the mail-bags, in the dread of their abolition papers, a post-master wrote to a member of the cabinet, desiring his approbation for having examined and refused to forward certain papers mailed at his office. The member of the cabinet, Kendall, gave the desired sanction to this audacious stoppage of the post-office function, declaring that the good of the community (as judged of by the individual) is a consideration above the law. The strangers in the land knew not what to make of the fool-hardiness of hazarding such a declaration, in a man of Kendall's wit. It was known that he desired the office of postmaster-general; that the president wished him to have it, and that the doubt was whether the Senate would confirm the appointment. Soon after this apparently fatal declaration, he was nominated, and the Senate confirmed his appointment. The declaration, no doubt, seated him in office. The southern members were won by it. Kendall calculated rightly for his immediate object.' Vol. I., p. 60.

But we must pass on to other portions of the work. Under an arbitrary government it would be unjust to infer the character of a people from that of their newspapers. The latter do not constitute, in such cases, an accurate portraiture of the national mind. They are subjected to the will of a despot, and must be regarded as the ministers of his pleasure and the expounders of his policy, rather than as the representatives of the people. But the reverse of this holds true of America, where the newspaper press is sustained by the popular will. There is no distinguishing between the character of the newspapers and that of the people of such a country. The one is the reflection of the other—the 'outward and visible sign' of the qualities which constitute the national character. What then, it is natural to ask, is the condition of the political press of the United States? To this our authoress replies as frankly as in the former case, and her answer is equally unfavourable. 'Side by side,' she remarks, 'with the sinners of the rostrum, stand the sinners of the newspaper press. The case is clear, and needs little remark or illustration.

‘ The profligacy of newspapers, wherever they exist, is a universal complaint ; and, of all newspaper presses, I never heard any one deny that the American is the worst. Of course this depravity being so general throughout the country, it must be occasioned by some overpowering force of circumstances. The causes are various ; and it is a testimony to the strength and purity of the democratic sentiment in the country, that the republic has not been overthrown by its newspapers.’ p. 147.

Of this monstrous evil several illustrations are given, of which the following, the brightest and most hopeful of the whole, may be taken as a specimen :

‘ Some months before I left the United States, a man of colour was burned alive, without trial, at St. Louis, in Missouri ; a large assemblage of the ‘ respectable’ inhabitants of the city being present. No one supposed that any body out of the state of Missouri was any further implicated with this deed, than as men have an interest in every outrage done to man. The interest which residents in other states had in this deed, was like that which an Englishman has in a man being racked in the Spanish inquisition ; or a Frenchman, in a Turk being bastinadoed at Constantinople. He is not answerable for it, or implicated in it, as a fellow-citizen ; and he speaks his humane reprobation as a fellow-man. Certain American citizens, out of Missouri, contrived, however, to implicate themselves in the responsibility for this awful outrage, which, one would have thought, any man would have been thankful to avoid. The majority of newspaper editors made themselves parties to the act, by refusing, from fear, to reprobate it. The state of the case was this, as described to me by some inhabitants of St. Louis. The gentlemen of the press in that city dared not reprobate the outrage, for fear of the consequences from the murderers. They merely announced the deed, as a thing to be regretted, and recommended that the veil of oblivion should be drawn over the affair. Their hope was widely different from their recommendation. They hoped that the newspapers throughout the Union would raise such a chorus of execration as would annihilate the power of the executioners. But the newspapers of the Union were afraid to comment upon the affair, because they saw that the St. Louis editors were afraid. The really respectable inhabitants of that disgraced city were thrown almost into despair by this dastardly silence, and believed all security of life and property in their state to be at an end. A few journals were honest enough to thunder the truth in the ears of the people ; and the people awoke to perceive how their editors had involved themselves in this crime, by a virtual acquiescence,—like the unfaithful mastiff, if such a creature there be, which slinks away from its master’s door to allow a passage to a menacing thief. The influence of the will of the awakening people is already seen in the improved vigour in the tone of the newspapers against outrage. On occasion of the more recent riots at Cincinnati, the editorial silence has been broken by many voices.’ Vol. I., pp. 150—152.

Here, however, as in the case of official corruption, Miss Martineau finds comfort in an anticipation of the future. 'Whenever,' she sagely remarks, 'the many demand truth and justice in their journals, and reject falsehood and calumny, they will be served according to their desire.' Very true, but when will the demand be made; and, in the meantime, what must be said by those who point to republican institutions as the sure pledge and earnest of public virtue? It is easy to imagine an Utopian state, but when will it be realized? and, in the interval, what form of government is best adapted to develop the capabilities of human nature in its enfeebled and vitiated state? This is the great question.

Passing over a variety of topics suggested both by Mr. Grund and Miss Martineau, we come to the worst and most degrading feature of the American constitution and people. All our readers will be aware that we refer to the personal bondage and untold misery of the Negro race. Upon the soil of America there are upwards of two millions and a half of human beings, men like ourselves, made in the image of God, and capable of the high exercises of intellect and the pure joys of devotion, who are held in cruel and degrading bondage. We confess that we know no terms sufficiently strong to express our loathing of the men who are the advocates at once of republicanism and slavery; the sturdy defenders of their own rights, and the reckless violaters of the rights of others. To hear the language of freedom and of tyranny issue from the same lips is sufficiently astounding, but when there is added to this the profession of a religion which is based on mercy, and whose whole spirit is love, our surprise is turned into indignation, and we want words to express our contempt and scorn.

We had hoped to find both the authors, whose works are before us, the sworn enemies of this diabolical system. In the case of Miss Martineau we have not been disappointed. She speaks out honestly and strongly, and her appeals will not fail of effect. But Mr. Grund has undertaken the defence of the American slave-holder, and has conducted his case with a hardihood and zeal which have never been surpassed. This is the great blemish of his work. Had he thought fit to present, in a condensed and lucid form, the arguments employed in the United States, to justify or extenuate this enormous evil, we should have had no controversy with him; justice to his subject would have rendered such a statement appropriate; but unhappily he has made the case his own, and duty obliges us to pronounce his defence not only a solecism in reasoning, but also an outrage on humanity. This, indeed, is the most elaborate part of his work; he has put forth his whole strength upon it, and devoted to it more than a fifth part of the second volume. We

have read this portion of the work with attention, and do not hesitate to say that it is an elaborate failure.

We regret to state that, while standing forward as the declared advocate of 'impartial justice,' he appears the determined partizan; eulogizing the planters, vilifying the negroes, and treating with contempt the efforts and designs of those who are seeking, by moral and constitutional means only, to abolish a system of complicated and tremendous evil. It is well known that among the abolitionists of America are ranked some of its most virtuous and enlightened citizens, its most devoted patriots, and its holiest ministers; and yet these people are, in Mr. G.'s view, 'fanatics,' 'zealots,' 'the publishers of incendiary pamphlets,' 'bigoted partizans,' employing, among other weapons, those of 'superstition and revenge,' eager to violate the fundamental laws of the union, reckless of anarchy and bloodshed, and willing to let loose the demon of mischief to destroy all that is orderly, and peaceful, and happy! Can Mr. Grund have read their own declarations, or has he read those only of their enemies? Can he have taken any pains to acquaint himself with their views and their conduct? Does he not know that they have uniformly been the subjects, not the abettors, of violence? But the slave-owners are all honourable men; and the miscreant mobs that, by 'Lynch law,' destroyed the property, and sought the lives of those who were for abolishing slavery, were only putting in practice 'a species of common law,' 'which has been productive of the happiest results;' and, as for these mild and gentle guardians of the public morals, Mr. G. takes upon himself to say he 'is quite certain' that they did it 'not with the intention of opposing the regular law.*' Has Mr. G. forgotten the recent and disgraceful outrage of a lawless mob at Cincinnati? Does he know that, in 1834, the city of New York was in the hands of the mob, and has he heard nothing of the property that was destroyed there; and of the violence that was about the same time committed at Philadelphia? How, then, can he attempt to explain away the barbarism of 'Lynch law,' and, by way of apology, denominate it 'a supplement' to 'the established laws of the country'? But *the sufferers were abolitionists*. Is this 'impartial justice to the Americans'? Are there no bigoted partisans 'but among the abolitionists'?

There must be something essentially wrong in a cause, the defence of which forces a man of Mr. Grund's good sense into inconsistencies so many and so glaring. He is the avowed champion of 'freedom;' he abhors 'trampling on the rights of others;' he brands 'despotism' with epithets of hatred and scorn; and yet he

* See the explanation given by our author of Lynch law, Vol. I., pp. 322, 323.

deprecates any interference with a system which is a violation of all right, the destruction of all justice, the sum of all earthly evils. 'No man,' says Mr. G. 'has a right to consider his fellow-being as his property;' yet he says, 'the slaves in the southern states are the property of the planters,' and he denounces, in the strongest terms, those who deny the 'right of holding such property.' 'The first introduction of slavery,' Mr. G. considers as 'an act of abomination;' still, as it does exist, its continuance must be defended, though 'no right,' our author declares, 'can grow from an absolute wrong.' Mr. G. will not be 'an advocate of the *principle* of slavery,' yet the whole chapter is an apology for its *practice*. The most sacred obligations 'are on the side of the planters;' the restoration of the negro to his rights is 'ideal justice;' and to be the property of another, liable to be whipped, and sold, and have every domestic tie of parent and child—husband and wife—severed at the pleasure of another, is 'a theoretical wrong.'!

Mr. G., however, seems to lay the greatest stress on the assumed inferiority of the negroes. 'Their physical and moral (!) conformation are different from that of the whites;' they 'are an inferior human race,' they 'have a different formation of the skull,' nor are they 'fit to live under the same laws, be governed 'by the same motives, elevated by the same hopes, and restrained 'by the same fears as the whites,' they are not '*capable of working out their own salvation.*' It is unnecessary to repeat the facts which have so often been adduced to prove that there is not a susceptibility of human nature of which they are destitute, not a motive the force of which they may not be taught to feel, not a duty incumbent on the citizen or the Christian which they are necessarily incapable of performing; that they can improve when the means and opportunities are fairly afforded them, and can rise when they are not crushed into the dust by the iron hand of oppression, or contemptuously thrust out of the pale of civilization by the cruel prejudice of white men. But, were we to concede their 'natural inferiority,' should they, on this account, be made and kept slaves? If they cannot 'rival the whites,' must they be depressed to the condition of brutes, or treated as chattels and marketable commodities? But it was necessary, it seems, to libel one part of the human family, in order to make out a case for the other. The negro *must* be degraded below the condition of a man, or he who claims him as his property may be found a tyrant.

But the climax is reserved for the close of this chapter, which, we must confess, after all the strange paradoxes announced before, somewhat startled us. 'Democracy is a child of the south; and 'its early defenders were Southerners. The principle of slavery 'operates upon them yet as it did during the revolutionary war.

‘ It instils into them even an additional love of liberty, and makes them cherish doubly those rights and privileges, without which they would sink to a level with their slaves.’ Is this, then, a fact to be published in England—to be blazoned through the civilized world, that democracy can only be kept alive and active by slavery? That American liberty cannot be kept up to the mark without some unfortunates to oppress? That republicanism cannot grow strong without devouring ‘ the rights and privileges’ of others? Can the worst enemy of freedom bring a more serious charge against popular liberty? Is there one of Mrs. Trollope’s sarcasms so bitter as this? Will not the planters of the south writhe under such an imputation, and suspect the sincerity of the advocate who could derive their love of liberty from such a source?

Miss Martineau gives a very different account of the matter, and we should gladly avail ourselves of many of her statements, did our space permit. But as we propose immediately on the receipt of the last Report of the American Abolition Society, to direct the attention of our readers at some length to the subject, we must, for the present, content ourselves with a very brief notice of this part of her work. She pronounces the Colonization Society a ‘ miserable abortion,’ and declares its much lauded object to be ‘ absolutely absurd; and pernicious.’ The following brief extract will sufficiently explain the temporary success of this nefarious scheme.

‘ It is proposed by the Colonization Society that free persons of colour shall be sent to establish and conduct a civilized community on the shores of Africa. The variety of prospects held out by this proposition to persons of different views is remarkable. To the imaginative, there is the picture of the restoration of the coloured race to their paternal soil; to the religious, the prospect of evangelising Africa. Those who would serve God and Mammon are delighted at being able to work their slaves during their own lives, and then leave them to the Colonization Society with a bequest of money, (when money must needs be left behind), to carry them over to Africa. Those who would be doing, in a small way, immediately, let certain of their slaves work for wages which are to carry them over to Africa. Those who have slaves too clever or discontented to be safe neighbours, can ship them off to Africa. Those who are afraid of the rising intelligence of their free-coloured neighbours, or suffer strongly under the prejudice of colour, can exercise such social tyranny as shall drive such troublesome persons to Africa. The clergy, public lecturers, members of legislatures, religious societies, and charitable individuals, both in the north and south, are believed to be, and believe themselves to be, labouring on behalf of slaves, when they preach, lecture, obtain appropriations, and subscribe, on behalf of the Colonization Society. Minds and hearts are laid to rest—opiated into a false sleep.

‘ Here are all manner of people associated for one object, which has

the primary advantage of being ostensibly benevolent. It has had Mr. Madison for its chief officer ; Mr. Clay for its second. It has had the aid, for twenty years, of almost all the presses and pulpits of the United States, and of most of their politicians, members of government, and leading professional men and merchants, almost all the planters of twelve states, and all the missionary interest. Besides the subscriptions arising from so many sources, there have been large appropriations made by various legislatures. What is the result?—Nothing. *Ex nihilo nihil fit.* Out of a chaos of elements no orderly creation can arise but by the operation of a sound principle : and sound principle here, there is none.

‘ In twenty years, the Colonization Society has removed to Africa between two and three thousand persons ;* while the annual increase of the slave population is, by the lowest computation, sixty thousand ; and the number of free blacks is upwards of three hundred and sixty-two thousand.

‘ The chief officers of the Colonization Society look forward to being able, in a few years, to carry off the present annual increase, and a few more ; by which time the annual increase will amount to many times more than the Society will have carried out from the beginning.

‘ The leading Colonization advocates in the south object to abolition, invariably on the ground that they should be left without labourers ; whereas it is the Colonization scheme which would carry away the labourers, and the abolition scheme which would leave them where they are. To say nothing of the wilfulness of this often-confuted objection, it proves that those who urge it are not in earnest in advocating Colonization as ultimate emancipation.

‘ As far as I could learn, no leading member of the Colonization Society has freed any of his slaves. Its president had sold twelve, the week before I first saw him. Its vice-president is *obsédé* by his slaves ; but retains them all. And so it is, through the whole hierarchy.’ Vol. II., pp. 109—111.

The chapter on the *Morals of Slavery* should be carefully studied by every friend of virtue. It traces the operation of the slave system on the principles and moral susceptibilities of the community, and discloses a measure of guilt which covers with indelible infamy every reverend defender or apologist of slavery. The following fact will speak for itself :

‘ A New Hampshire gentleman went down into Louisiana, many years ago, to take a plantation. He pursued the usual method ; borrowing money largely to begin with, paying high interest, and clearing off his debt, year by year, as his crops were sold. He followed another

* ‘ With the condition of the African colony, we have here nothing to do. We are now considering the Colonization Society in its professed relation to American slavery.’

custom there ; taking a Quadroon wife : a mistress, in the eye of the law, since there can be no legal marriage between whites and persons of any degree of colour : but, in nature and in reason, the woman he took home was his wife. She was a well-principled, amiable, well-educated woman ; and they lived happily together for twenty years. She had only the slightest possible tinge of colour. Knowing the law that the children of slaves are to follow the fortunes of the mother, she warned her husband that she was not free, an ancestress having been a slave, and the legal act of manumission having never been performed. The husband promised to look to it : but neglected it. At the end of twenty years, one died, and the other shortly followed, leaving daughters ; whether two or three, I have not been able to ascertain with positive certainty ; but I have reason to believe three, of the ages of fifteen, seventeen, and eighteen ; beautiful girls, with no perceptible mulatto tinge. The brother of their father came down from New Hampshire to settle the affairs ; and he supposed, as every one else did, that the deceased had been wealthy. He was pleased with his nieces, and promised to carry them back with him into New Hampshire, and (as they were to all appearance perfectly white) to introduce them into the society which by education they were fitted for. It appeared, however, that their father had died insolvent. The deficiency was very small ; but it was necessary to make an inventory of the effects, to deliver to the creditors. This was done by the brother—the executor. Some of the creditors called on him, and complained that he had not delivered in a faithful inventory. He declared he had. No ; the number of slaves was not accurately set down : he had omitted the daughters. The executor was overwhelmed with horror, and asked time for thought. He went round among the creditors, appealing to their mercy ; but they answered that these young ladies were ‘ a first-rate article,’ too valuable to be relinquished. He next offered, (though he had himself six children, and very little money), all he had for the redemption of his nieces ; alleging that it was more than they would bring in the market for house or field labour. This was refused with scorn. It was said that there were other purposes for which the girls would bring more than for field or house labour. The uncle was in despair, and felt strongly tempted to wish their death rather than their surrender to such a fate as was before them. He told them, abruptly, what was their prospect. He declares that he never before beheld human grief ; never before heard the voice of anguish. They never ate, nor slept, nor separated from each other, till the day when they were taken into the New Orleans slave-market. There they were sold, separately, at high prices, for the vilest of purposes : and where each is gone, no one knows. They are, for the present, lost. But they will arise to the light in the day of retribution.’ Vol. II., pp. 323—325.

After all that has been said and written in this country, the true character of the abolitionists of America is very partially known. We shall speedily have an opportunity of doing justice to these noble-hearted and right minded men ; and, in the mean-

time, must content ourselves with transferring to our pages the following well-earned and discriminating panegyric :

‘ I think the abolitionists of the United States the most reasonable set of people that I ever knew to be united together for one object. Among them may be enjoyed the high and rare luxury of having a reason rendered for every act performed, and every opinion maintained. The treatment they have met with compels them to be more thoroughly informed, and more completely assured on every point on which they commit themselves, than is commonly considered necessary on the right side of a question, where there is the strength of a mighty principle to repose upon. The commonest charge against them is that they are fanatical. I think them, generally speaking, the most clear-headed, right-minded class I ever had intercourse with. Their accuracy about dates, numbers, and all such matters of fact, is as remarkable as their clear perception of the principles on which they proceed. They are, however, remarkably deficient in policy—in party address. They are artless to a fault ; and probably, no party, religious, political, or benevolent, in their country, ever was formed and conducted with so little dexterity, shrewdness, and concert. Noble and imperishable as their object is, it would probably, from this cause, have slipped through their fingers for the present, if it had not been for some other qualities common among them. It is needless to say much of their heroism ; of the strength of soul with which they await and endure the inflictions with which they are visited, day by day. Their position indicates all this. Animating as it is to witness, it is less touching than the qualities to which they owe the success which would otherwise have been forfeited through their want of address and party organization. A spirit of meekness, of mutual forbearance, of mutual reverence, runs through the whole body ; and by this are selfish considerations put aside, differences composed, and distrusts obviated, to a degree which I never hoped to witness among a society as various as the sects, parties, and opinions which are the elements of the whole community. With the gaiety of heart belonging to those who have cast aside every weight ; with the strength of soul proper to those who walk by faith ; with the child-like unconsciousness of the innocent ; living from hour to hour in the light of that greatest of all purposes—to achieve a distant object by the fulfilment of the nearest duty—and therefore rooting out from among themselves all aristocratic tendencies and usages, rarely speaking of their own sufferings and sacrifices, but in honour preferring one another, how can they fail to win over the heart of society—that great heart, sympathising with all that is lofty and true ?’ Vol. II., pp. 164—166.

We have left ourselves but little space for the remarks we had intended to offer on the religious aspects of American society. Our two authors are here opposed to each other as decidedly as in the case already referred to, nor is it difficult to account for the fact.

Mr. G.’s statements are highly favourable ; and, in support of

them, he produces evidence which ought to shame those who are continually referring to America as an instance of the decay of religion through the want of state patronage. After a tabular view of the various denominations, he observes,

‘It appears then that out of the whole population, including slaves and children, there are five communicants to every thirty-nine persons, one minister to every eleven hundred, and a church to every eight hundred and forty nearly. When we reflect that no tax is imposed for the support of ministers, or the building of churches, and that, consequently, all these establishments are the result of voluntary contributions of the people; the conviction will certainly be forced on our minds that the Americans are deeply impressed with the importance of religious instruction, and that, together with their freedom, they prize nothing so high as the sacred truths of Christianity.’ ‘Not only have the Americans a greater number of clergymen than, in proportion to the population, can be found either on the Continent or in England, but they have not one idler amongst them, all of them being obliged to exert themselves for the spiritual welfare of their respective congregations.’ Vol. I., pp. 290, 291.

Mr. G. also gives tables, which furnish at a view the particulars respecting the various colleges, theological seminaries, missionary societies, &c., and he shows that ‘the receipts of the principal benevolent institutions in the United States, during the year 1835, amounted to 815,310 dollars 23 cents, or £163,000 sterling. All these societies,’ Mr. G. continues, ‘are formed for the promotion of morality, religion, and education; and impose a tax of 3s. *per annum* on every white inhabitant of the United States. When to this are added the ordinary taxes for the support of common schools, it will be found that the Americans pay more for the moral and religious improvement of society, than any other nation, England herself, in proportion to her population, not excepted.’ Vol. I., p. 364.

Miss Martineau, so far from controverting these statements, furnishes abundant evidence of their truth. The facts of the case are, for the most part, admitted by both witnesses; but the reasonings founded on them, and the results which are anticipated, differ *toto cælo*. Our authoress avows herself to be a disciple of the Unitarian school, which was scarcely necessary for the information of her readers. Her occasional allusions to Christianity, coupled with her ill-suppressed contempt at its practical manifestations, indicate with sufficient clearness her theological position. Her remarks on the whole subject of religion are as discreditable to her intellect as to her heart, and lead us to wish that she had abstained from pronouncing judgment on a topic which she is utterly disqualified for setting in an accurate light. Her statements abound with mawkish sentiment and false philosophy,

and indicate an inveterate hostility to every form of vital godliness. There is the parade and the affectation of religious sentiment, but an utter absence of that sympathy with its practical exhibitions, which characterize every well-regulated mind. This we regret the more, as it destroys any hope we might otherwise have entertained of the beneficial effect of her strictures. That there are evils in the religious tone of American society we do not doubt, but the pseudo Christianity of such a writer as Miss Martineau is not the instrument by which they will be remedied. It would be a poor exchange which the citizens of the States would make were they to substitute her vague abstractions and heartless philosophy, for the faith which now enkindles their devotion, and combines them in labours of charity and good will. That such a writer should sneer at members of her sex occupying much of their time 'in attending preachings, and other religious meetings,' is perfectly in character; but when she goes on to tell us that 'the morality and religion of the people of the United States have suffered much by their being, especially in New England, an ostensibly religious community,' she hazards an assertion, of which no proof is adduced, and respecting which we do not hesitate to say that it is refuted by a thousand facts. She declaims against cant with all the zeal and acrimony which the writers of her class have usually displayed against the more spiritual exercises of religion. We hate the *thing* as much as Miss Martineau, but we must take leave to remind her—however impolite she may deem the suggestion—that the *word*, as employed in her pages, is as applicable to many portions of the apostolical epistles, as to those manifestations of character which she designates by it.

The public meetings which are held throughout the States for the promotion of religious objects meet, of course, with her unqualified reprobation. She has no sympathy with the supporters of Bible, Missionary, and Tract Societies, and rejoices in any occurrence adapted to divert public attention from them. We have not often met, even in the writings of Voltaire and Paine, with a more censurable passage than the following, or one which displays a grosser ignorance of the philosophy of the case so dogmatically adjudged:

'Lectures abound in Boston; and I am glad of it; at least in the interval before the opening of the public amusements which will certainly be required, sooner or later. These lectures may not be of any great use in conveying science and literature: lectures can seldom do more than actuate to study at home. But in this case, they probably obviate meetings for religious excitement, which are more hurtful than lectures are beneficial. The spiritual dissipations indulged in by the religious world, wherever asceticism prevails, are more injurious to sound morals than any public amusements, as conducted in modern

times, has ever been proved to be. It is questionable whether even gross licentiousness is not at least equally encouraged by the excitement of passionate religious emotions, separate from action: and it is certain that rank spiritual vices, pride, selfishness, tyranny, and superstition, spring up luxuriantly in the hotbeds of religious meetings. The odiousness of spiritual vices is apt to be lost sight of in the horror of sensual transgressions.' Vol. III., pp. 265, 266.

But this state of things is not without hope. Better days may be expected, and that speedily, for our authoress tells us, 'Many indubitable Christians are denouncing cant as strongly as those whom cant has alienated from Christianity. The dislike of associations for religious objects is spreading fast; and the eyes of multitudes are being opened to the fact that there can be little faith at the bottom of that craving for sympathy which prevents men and women from cheerfully doing their duty to God and their neighbour, unless sanctioned by a crowd.' Indeed so rapidly is the revolution proceeding, that 'some of the clergy have done away with the forms of admission to their churches;' and 'there are even a few places to be found where Deists may come amongst Christians to worship their common Father, without fear of insult to their feelings, and mockery of their convictions.' Vol. III., pp. 256, 257. How the latter effect can take place, unless the truths of Christianity are suppressed, we are at a loss to divine. We have no doubt of the general truth of these statements, and what do they prove beyond this, that in America, as well as in England, Unitarianism is a downward system, the disciples of which are but slightly distinguished from the more consistent abettors of infidelity?

Before closing our remarks, we must make our readers acquainted with the remedy proposed by Miss Martineau for what she terms 'the prevalent superstition.' We could not refrain from a smile when we read the passage, and unconsciously asked ourselves, can this be the serious proposition of a writer who has undertaken to instruct her age in the science of politics, and the complicated interests of human life. If so, what confidence can be placed in her counsels? But Miss M. shall speak for herself.

'A most liberal-minded clergyman, a man as democratic in his religion, and as genial in his charity, as any layman in the land, remarked to me one day on the existence of this strong religious sensibility in the children of the Pilgrims, and asked me what I thought should be done to cherish and enlarge it, we having been alarming each other with the fear that it would be exasperated by the prevalent superstition, and become transmuted, in the next generation, to something very unlike religious sensibility. We proposed great changes in domestic and social habits: less formal religious observance in families,

and more genial interest in the intellectual provinces of religion ; more rational promotion of health, by living according to the laws of nature, which ordain bodily exercise and mental refreshment. We proposed that new temptations to walking, driving, boating, &c. should be prepared, and the delights of natural scenery laid open much more freely than they are ; that social amusements of every kind should be encouraged, and all religious restraints upon speech and action removed ; in short, that spontaneousness should be revered and approved above all things, whatever form it may take. Of course, this can only be done by those who do approve and reverence spontaneousness ; but I am confident that there are enough of them, in the very heart of the most ascetic society in America, to make it unreasonable that they should any longer succumb to the priests and devotees of the community.' Vol. III., pp. 266, 267.

Here we must close, without noticing the multifarious other topics discussed in the volumes before us. We regret that we cannot wholly commend either of these works. Having honestly pointed out their defects, justice requires us to say that their excellencies are many and great. They combine a vast range of information, and are characterized in many parts by sterling sense and much sound philosophy. No one who wishes to form a correct and enlarged view of the character, institutions, resources, and prospects of America should content himself without a perusal both of Mr. Grund's and of Miss Martineau's volumes.

ART. V. *The Philosophy of Living*. By HERBERT MAYO, F.R.S.
Senior Surgeon to the Middlesex Hospital. London: Parker. 8vo.

IF we were asked, Why has the ' *Philosophy of Living* ' not received a larger share both of private study and of public attention in England ? we could only reply by presuming that its practical workings and results are not fully and generally understood, or if understood, not justly appreciated. The Science of Dietetics has been much written upon, and we have been well-nigh nauseated by perusing books containing sanitary maxims as venerable as Cornaro, with hackneyed enquiries into the comparative merits of broiling, roasting, and frying ; the salubrity of various climates ; the principles and modes of bathing, &c. &c. ; but such works we regard as little more than imbecile in their results, in consequence of the absence of a sound generalization. The precepts which they contain for the maintenance or recovery of health can obviously be adopted but by a trivial number of the inhabitants of our empire, and if REALLY essential to its security would leave a fearful majority the helpless and unredeemable prey to the ills which ' human flesh is heir to.'

They respect the individual, but not the mass, and pander to

the personal comforts of the few, whilst the many, whose abodes are the secret harbours for disease, are under constantly renewed obligations to 'Dame Nature' for her struggles on their behalf, so long as her energies are availing. We again urge that the importance of a system which has a special reference to the maintenance of the national health has not been fully recognized in this country. It might be deemed extravagant to connect with such a system the grandeur or declension of Dynasties, but we unhesitatingly do so; and have only to peruse the records which remain of earth's mightiest empires to be convinced, that insubordination to the Governor of the universe, depravity and disease, have ever been the harbingers of national downfall and destruction. These records of the changes which have taken place in human society stand like friendly beacons amidst the waves of time, marking the reefs on which communities have foundered. And what are these reefs? The circumstances of the external world remain the same in every age and clime; the same spirit of nature has hitherto kindled in the dwarfish ferns of Iceland and the commanding palms of India; has breathed in the Zephyr, and blustered in the blast; has streamed the flag of prosperity over the battlements of one empire, and curled the smoke which has at the same moment aptly shrouded the ashes of another. The tendencies of man's nature, with the same elements of intellectual and physical endowment, have been perpetuated since the Fall, and yet Rome had to mourn over her enfeebled sons, whilst the uncivilized Goth rejoiced in the god-like fire of his 'conquering heroes.' It is obvious that to neither of these sources are the changes which have been effected in the disposition of nations to be attributed. 'The world's a stage,' and the mutability which characterizes its scenes can but be the results (if we limit ourselves to contemplate natural causes and effects) of the various modifications of energies which are contributed to make up the performance. The Sovereign Disposer of 'worlds unnumbered,' has so adapted the codes of moral and natural legislation, that the vigorous cultivation of true religion is most compatible with the advancement of a nation towards intellectual and physical perfection. In proportion to their combined development must be the sovereignty of its power, the rectitude of its internal administrations, the happiness of its citizens, the philanthropic and just character of its enterprises, and the perpetuity of its existence, forming together the best arguments of the favour of its God. On the urns of Dynasties we may still discover the epithets, 'injustice,' 'treachery,' 'infidelity,' and 'luxury,' with their fatal allies; and on the tablet of inspiration is eternally portrayed the sunken humanity of a Nebuchadnezzar. The more we penetrate into such histories, with their sad associations, the more

convinced shall we be that a sound Philosophy in Living (taking it in its most comprehensive significance, and diffused to the very outposts of society), is the only effective fortification of a community against such foes. Mr. Mayo's 'philosophy' includes 'the rules which should guide us in respect to diet, exercise, sleep, bathing, clothing, choice of residence,' as well as 'observations respecting health of mind;' and since these rules and observations must remain necessarily so restricted in their applicability, we should have sympathized with, and at the same time have admired our author's philanthropy, had he, with that talent which is so peculiarly his own, brought before the public the necessity of a national system, capable of supplying the defect to which we have alluded.

Amongst the ancients the health of the nation at large was blended with their religion, and amongst the first objects of regard with their rulers. In the celebrated Spartan code of Lycurgus, the first seven years of their youth were so disposed of as to allow the energies of nature to give full development to their physical powers, as the best means of preparing them for the educational duties of the next septenniad—and amongst the other Lacedemonians the exercises of the Gymnasium were more encouraged than the studies of the Portico. We cannot omit our author's remarks upon this system :

'They were the humble elements of national greatness. . . . A natural association, or the skill of the lawgiver, or the taste of the people, connected with the severity of physical training, the necessity of a blameless life and character. Sculpture, which had her studies in the gymnasium, gave deathless existence to the victor. Architecture raised her column and portico, which echoed to lofty philosophy, and from whence ascending, the music of the golden harp celebrating the triumphs of heroes, floated around Olympian Jove.'—p. 139.

With other nations at the present time, National Hygeine employs the attention of the mightiest intellects. Need we refer to the 'Conseil de Salubrite,' of Paris, which lately numbered the Barons Dupuytren and Dubois, and still holds the names of Deyeux, Petit, Pelletier, Marc Gerard, Esquinol, Parent Duchatelet, Orfila, Larry, and others. And we would inquire, Is England, renowned England, so far in advance of her contemporaries as to be capable of dispensing with such an institute? It is a strange display of constitutional regard, that the sword of justice should ever be prepared to avenge any act the tendency of which shall be to plunder the public or the private purse, whilst habits or systems which necessarily compromise the public health and national security have no restraint from her authorities. The argument has been urged, that the value of health must be so

keenly felt by each individual, that attention to its preservation may safely be left in his own hands—such a tenet requires no great degree of sagacity for its refutation. The floodgates through which pestilence enters a community have been shown by scientific research, and the labours of an occasionally formed Board of Health, to be the elements in which a great portion of that community exist. We need only refer to the Tables of Dr. Key, which were the results of a surveyance of the town of Manchester, in anticipation of the cholera in 1832. Out of 657 streets inspected, 248 were unpaved, 53 partially paved, 112 ill-ventilated, and 352 contained heaps of refuse, stagnant pools, &c. &c. The tables are given in detail in Mr. Mayo's work, and a more minute examination of them 'will render the extent of the evil affecting the poor more apparent.' And to what but a similar condition of our large cities is their comparatively great, and we reasonably believe increasing rate of mortality to be attributed? According to some tables on the average mortality of different counties in England and Scotland, by Mr. Rickman, it appears that in Middlesex the rate of mortality is at its maximum, and compared with Cornwall, Somerset, and Devon, is as 41 is to 61, 55, and 53; and in counties abounding in marshes, and in which are the sites of our large Cotton Manufactories, the relative number of deaths is but little less. It is also worthy of note, that in England more die between the ages of fifteen and forty than in Belgium, Sweden, or France.

Again, within the last half century a system has taken root and flourished which has entailed misery, irreligion, disease, and death upon numbers of the poorer inhabitants of these realms; a system which, if allowed to go on unchecked, will speedily implicate the safety of our social institutions, and tends to render less stable even the pillars of our empire. We refer to the Factory system, but especially to the Cotton Manufactories of Lancashire, Nottingham, &c., to which our author alludes with much force, and which, as it is forced upon us, we shall here notice.

For a detail of the horrors of this system—and we bring our charges against *the system* only—we refer our readers to the Parliamentary Reports of 1832, 1833, and 1834; the work of Mr. Fielden; the 'Factory Statistics' of 1836, by Mr. Sadler; and the Inquiries of Dr. Key and Mr. Wing. By these pourtrayers of the evils of this system but one picture is delineated—a picture of degraded humanity; where want urges his victims on to the slaughter-house of the 'King of Terrors'—a picture in which are displayed the sacrifices of the Valley of Hinnom, but the revelry of the votaries of Mammon are substituted for the trumpets of the priests of Baal. Such systems are allowed (by an awful permission of Providence) to arise and

flourish in our land; but no protection is ready for the happiness and lives of those who are their necessary prey, in illustration of which we will now proceed to facts, anxious to bring before the public the evils which are abroad, that their remedy may not be delayed. Mr. Mayo's information is mostly furnished from the authorities to which we have referred; from which we shall quote in as brief a manner as possible. Mr. Thackrah, of Leeds, standing in the Oxford Road, Manchester, and observing the stream of operatives as they left the Mills, says, after specifying some peculiar features of decrepitude,—

‘I saw no fresh fine-looking individuals amongst them. . . . Here I saw, or thought I saw, a degenerate race—human beings stunted, enfeebled, and depraved.’—p. 262.

Mr. Wing provided himself with a Thermometer and visited the Mills.

‘In one mill which I visited, says Mr. W., there were about forty operatives in the card-room, which was very dusty and oppressive to respiration. I found the effluvia particularly offensive. To describe the effluvia in some of the rooms is difficult, partaking, as it does, of the combined qualities of the friction of the machinery, and the oil; the effect is of a faint and sickly nature. I had an opportunity of seeing spinal deformity, and upon making the relative inquiry, I found that it was induced by the system, and I saw wounds caused by the machinery.’—p. 265—267.

From Mr. Gaskell's volume on *Artisans and Machinery*, other features of this system are extracted, which we cannot forbear noticing.

‘The system of factory labour has gone far towards annihilating the great and beautiful principle in woman's moral organization. . . . This has torn asunder those links of affection which under almost all other circumstances have bound a mother to her offspring; and doing so, it has deprived her of that characteristic which is the most influential in rendering her a loveable and a loving being.’—p. 268.

Another writer, Mr. Gregg, gives the following account:—

‘These women (referring to those who have the care of the offspring whilst the mothers are at their employ) often undertake the care of several infants at the same time; their habits are generally indolent and gossiping: the children are restless and irritable and the almost universal practice is, to still the cries of the infant by administering opiates. . . . The quantity of opium which from habit some children become capable of taking is almost incredible; and the effects are correspondingly destructive. Even when the infants have a healthy appearance at birth, they almost uniformly become, in a few months, puny and sickly in their aspect, and a very large portion fall victims to bronchites, hydroce-

phalus, and other diseases, produced by the want of care and the pernicious habits we have detailed.'—pp. 268, 269.

These documents proceed to give still more awful results of this pernicious system, as evidenced in the moral and religious condition of the operatives; representing them as spending their Sabbaths in drunkenness and profanity, and living continually in the most debasing ignorance and practical heathenism. Here, then, are the elements of social life in a state of chaotic disorder, ruinous and deadly—here the light of a sound philosophy does not arrive, but the night of ignorance and despotism favours the dissonant struggles betwixt the fiercer passions and the softer feelings of our humanity; and with our author we may inquire,—

'For these complicated ills is there no relief? Is the prospect clothed in thick and utter darkness? Does no cheering light, however distant and dim, penetrate the gloom?

'We raise our thoughts to that great Being, whose attributes are mercy and beneficence; can this be the irrevocable earthly doom of one class of his creatures? when such infinite blessings, such capacity of moral worth, enjoyment, happiness, are partially yet profusely scattered through the world? can the author of nature intend this perpetual misery? Some exit there must surely be from this dark path; some turning in this crowded lane of human wretchedness.

'THAT under which so large a section of civilized humanity is prostrate, is the result of infinite thought, industry, skill: the mastery of mind over the physical elements of nature, that wields her powers with a force of productiveness and increase of national wealth, that no philosophic dreamer anticipated. Is national suffering and degradation to increase in the same ratio? Is that power which knowledge gives, like other power, in proportion to its greatness, to promote vice and misery? Is this the decree of nature? Does this tree likewise bear death? One cannot relinquish the contrary belief. . . . The main hope of amelioration for the condition of the labourer of the factory, is in the interference of the legislature, to organize a system of public education, and effectually to limit the hours of labour.'—pp. 272, 273.

Such a condition may be the result, but is not the purpose of the mastery of infinite thought, industry, and skill over the physical elements of nature; and such a result owns the interference of corrupting influences in the processes by which it is produced. If that thought has been infinite, it has been tainted by finite depravity; that industry has had some other than a legitimate, a beneficent purpose; and that skill has been too wanton with 'the gods of this world.'

It must be recollected, that the system under consideration has had but comparatively a short time for its operation, and its progress has received several potent checks. Scarcely half a

century has elapsed since Mr. Arkwright's looms were invented and employed in the large factories of Lancashire, Nottingham, and Derby, demanding hands from all parts of the kingdom. The effects of this congregation of 'apprentices' (as they were termed) in a rarified atmosphere, and their subjection to hard work, destitution, and filth, were fevers, which proved awfully destructive both amongst the labourers themselves and the community by which they were surrounded. These calamities invited the attention of our Legislature, and a temporary Board of Health was appointed in 1796, upon which the late Sir Robert Peel commenced a plan for the amelioration of these apprentices, which has since been followed up by Sir John Hobhouse, Mr. Sadler, and Lord Ashley. The system had, however, taken too deep root, and the public as well as the private purse had begun to be enhanced with its fruits; so that notwithstanding the exertions of these gentlemen, the cry of humanity, and the plea of religion, it was not until 1833 that a Bill proposed by Lord Ashley, and amended according to the recommendation of Commissioners appointed to inquire into this system, was sanctioned, whereby the hours of labour were restricted from sixteen per day (the original number) to eight for all children under thirteen, and twelve for those beyond thirteen. We have not entered into the detail of measures which were brought forward prior to that of Lord Ashley, as it is not to our purpose: nor is it necessary to enter into the regulations of minor importance which have been made. Our aim has been to show that institutions are allowed to spring up in our land, as baneful as the deadly Upas-tree, and to become so firmly localized as to mock at both reason and humanity, although the burden of their appeal is the silence of the slaughtered. We maintain that it is the duty of a government to exercise a vigilant circumspection so as to suppress, at its commencement, every thing which may compromise the national health. An authority vested with that power is demanded, and we again point to the 'Conseil de Salubrité' of Paris as its model. There are many and increasing spheres for its operation, and we urge that only by such means, under the blessing of the Almighty, will the fatal tendencies of such evils be averted. Left alone, their spirit is to extend themselves, and to impress upon the national scroll the record of old—'They forsook the Lord, and served Baalim and Ashteroth.'

' Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
 Where wealth accumulates, and men decay:
 Princes and lords may flourish, or may fade;
 A breath can make them, as a breath has made;
 But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
 When once destroy'd can never be supplied.'

We must now turn from the melancholy spectacle, which we have been contemplating; and, begging our author's pardon for having probably played the truant, return to the topics which are more directly treated of in the work before us. It is not our purpose deliberately to go through the maxims on hygiene which are contained in it, some of which are right, and some possibly wrong; we shall barely give a few of the leading principles, and for detail, in the old Abernethian style refer to the renowned 'page 84.'

In the appropriation of diet, &c. &c., it is obvious that we subject a material, the properties of which are determined, to the operations of an agent whose forces are varied and controlled by the active principle which we term 'vitality.' Muscles of equal mathematical proportions may nevertheless, in different individuals, be endowed with very different force; and this results from the varied character of the agency which has just been mentioned. So it is with the digestive and assimilating organs; and it is obvious, therefore, that the resistance of the material ought to be commensurate with the power of the agents, in order that their reciprocal operations may be conducive to perfect health. Upon such a principle, and ignorant of the power of materially modifying the capabilities of these agents, it becomes us to seek an acquaintance with their peculiarities in each individual, and thereupon determine the quality and quantity of the material subjected to their action. Thus the study of the 'diversities of constitutions,' or, in other words, 'temperaments,' 'habits,' &c., but especially the former, is of the utmost importance, if we would wish to attain to right and physiological principles for the management of our health; and for this reason we presume Mr. Mayo has placed their consideration in his Introduction.

After remarking that no two individuals 'have the same springs of their physical powers tempered alike, so that, under like circumstances, their reaction shall be equal;' Mr. M. proceeds to the consideration of temperaments.

'By temperaments are meant certain peculiarities of constitution compatible with perfect health and ordinary duration of existence, which are born with the individual, but are capable of being heightened or diminished through the influence of external circumstances; and which, when disease is excited in the frame, imparts to it a bias.' p. 5.

It may not be probably uninteresting to the general reader to have laid before him a succinct account of the leading varieties of temperament, and an elucidation of them by national peculiarities. It is obvious we cannot apply the balance and the plumb-line to that spiritual agent which is the main-spring of corporeal mani-

festation, and are therefore obliged to seek for a criterion of its energies in physical evidences chiefly. Mr. M. has distinguished five varieties, as developed in the English nation—the mixed or equal, the sanguine, the lymphatic, the bilious, and the nervous.

The *mixed* temperament is considered the *ne plus ultra* of corporeal excellence, 'in which the greatest soundness of constitution exists' . . . 'and to which, as might be expected, the highest physical and mental development is congenial.' The eyes are generally grey, or grey mingled with a shade of brown or blue—hair soft and brown—complexion fresh and fair—body neither spare nor large, and capable of great endurance. The Apollo Belvidere and the Venus de Medicis represent the physical attributes of this temperament. It is what a distinguished writer* represents as 'La perfection des proportions entre les elements combines.' The mind is generally active, fancy lively, and judgment sound; but it gives, however, no security for moral excellence—Helen was passionate, and Mary Queen of Scots imprudent. Amongst the Greeks this temperament abounded.

The *SANGUINE* temperament is characterized by a fair complexion, with colour sometimes amounting to ruddiness; a capacity for intellectual exertion of the strongest kind, but often capricious and ill-sustained. The morbid tendencies are all inflammatory; regimen should be abstinent, and depletive measures are well borne. The Germans, as a nation, are of this temperament, so that Pritchard has given it the distinction, 'Constitutio Germanica.'

The lymphatic is the peculiar temperament of the Dutch, and may be distinguished by a disposition towards indolence and inaction, with an impassive temper. The diseases to which persons having this peculiarity are liable, partake of an indolent or chronic character, and depletion in every shape is prejudicial.

In those of a bilious, choleric, or melancholic temperament, the complexion is dark, temper serious, and not easily excited. Persons of this temperament have given proofs of the most laborious industry, and minds of the highest rank have borne the burthen of its influence. Rousseau and Zimmermann, Burton and Pascal, are illustrious examples; and in Tasso and Kirke White the combination of youth's buoyancy and imagination's fire could not suspend its influence. Antiphlogistic measures, in such constitutions, if required, are tolerably well borne.

We submit that, with respect to the nervous temperament,

* Hallé.

Mr. M., who regards it as 'the offspring, and at once the parent of refinement,' is on the verge of a very serious error, by recognizing a morbid condition of system, or a diathesis, for an original tone. Some have gone so far as to say it is the product of excess and luxury, and hence only to be seen in connexion with the drawing-room and sofa. A young lady of a lardaceous complexion, who is well nigh 'frightened to death' at the 'vicious expression' of some harmless animal, or is actually prevailed upon to undertake a fit of a somewhat heterodox character, upon the discovery of a 'horrid spider,' and occasionally 'creeps into the jaundice by being peevish,' by such writers would be held a fair specimen of the genus; but this condition of the constitution is the result of baneful agencies, and as much a disease as gout or indigestion.

The nervous temperament is, as others, the result of an undue proportion of one or more of the elements of the human frame, or of their respective forces and faculties. It embraces individuals of varied configuration, but most generally with the external character of the mixed. The mind is vividly susceptible; excitement is its atmosphere; the intellectual powers are at times very vigorous; the perceptive faculties especially so. The peculiarity of persons so constituted is that probably from a more intimate connexion of mind and body, the powers of the latter exhaust themselves under an undue excitement of the former; and thus actual debility has not unfrequently been fatally mistaken for excitement, and a large bleeding substituted for sedatives and tonics. The Italians exhibit frequent examples of this temperament; and, with an intermixture of the bilious, it becomes their national feature. The French appear to combine the sanguine, the bilious or choleric, and the nervous, and are very deficient in the lymphatic. The English may be regarded generally as possessing the characteristics of the Italians, with a mixture of the lymphatic.

These, then, constitute the innate original forces of constitution, and furnish the most unexceptionable guides, if rightly conceived of, for the regulation of those measures which are necessary for the maintenance of health. The modifications which diathesis gives, as they do not admit, happily, of very extensive application, we must pass over.

When Dupaty saw the treasures accumulated by Fontana, and lodged in the anatomical museum of Florence, in a burst of enthusiasm he exclaimed: 'Philosophy has been in the wrong not to descend more deeply into physical man; there it is that the moral man lies concealed; the outward man is the shell of the man within.' We hold that the union of mind and body is conventional and not necessary; but we maintain that between the

two there is a reciprocal influence sufficient to give some plausibility to the problem of Condillac: 'The physical man being given, required the extent and character of his intellectual capacity.' Such considerations have a tendency to give additional importance to the designs of our author's philosophy, and will introduce us to his remarks on Health of Body. These, however, we shall pass over hastily, having been so frequently brought before the public attention. It has been pertinently remarked, 'that man has so long forsaken the simple laws which nature had instituted for his direction, that it is to be feared she has abandoned her charge, and left him under the control of that faithless guide and usurper to which civilization has given dominion.' It therefore devolves upon philosophy to supply what a constantly more arrogant system of refinement has destroyed, or at any rate impaired, and the varied amalgamation of 'aches' and 'uneasinesses' proclaim that the reparation has hitherto been but very imperfect. Mr. Mayo may certainly claim the credit of introducing as good a system of living as any that have preceded it. His observations on diet, sleep, clothing, bathing, exercise, &c. &c., are generally sound, and have the superior advantage of being based upon right physiological principles. Man is equally a carnivorous as well as an herbivorous animal; and requires a due mixture of food from both kingdoms, in order to present a just intermixture of the delicate and graceful with the firm and manlike. The Hindoo, who lives upon vegetable food only, is much inferior in vigour and strength to the Mahomedan of the same country, who lives almost exclusively upon animal food; and it is well known that animals strictly carnivorous are vastly more fierce and destructive than those which are solely herbivorous. Food should therefore be varied; and, as it is rendered more susceptible of digestion by being cooked, should be subjected to that process which relieves it of its more noxious matter. Broiling is preferable; and, next to it, boiling, since the former has a tendency to dissipate oil, which is very indigestible in every form.

Of tea and coffee, our author thinks the latter is most stimulant, and, at the same time, most salutary. In cases of weak digestion, Mr. M. says, 'it is sometimes better reinforced by a cup of coffee immediately after dinner than by wine.'

To whatever cause may be attributed the injurious tendency of immoderate tea-drinking, certain it is that such is its tendency, and we venture to say that by far the greater number of dyspeptics have their cure in their own hands. A comparison of the component principles of tea and coffee assuredly gives the greater recommendation to the latter; the following being analyses made by eminent chemists:

	GREEN TEA.	COFFEE.
Gallic acid.....	..	3·5
Tannin	34·6	..
Albumen	0·14
Gum	5·9	9·1
Gluten	5·7	..
Woody matter	51·3	43·
Volatile matter and loss. ..	2·5	6·
Extractive matter	1·
	—————	—————
	100·	64·

The quantity of strong astringent, and the absence of extractive matter in tea, not only acts deleteriously on the coats of the stomach, but also on the food with which it is taken, rendering it increasingly resistant to the action of the gastric juice. We therefore recommend the very suspicious use of strong tea, and the substitution of moderate libations of coffee, cocoa, or chocolate.

The chapter on exercise contains many sage maxims, resolving themselves into this important principle of Galen, that the right use of a part is its stimulus to perfection. The lives of Cicero and Julius Cæsar are eminent examples of the remedial and invigorating influence of exercise.

‘There is but one disease,’ says Mr. M., ‘to which female children are liable—that is education. . . . Whilst boys are encouraged to pursue sports of increasing exertion, their sisters, whose bodily strength not keeping pace with theirs, nevertheless requires exercise equal in proportion for its maintenance, are forbidden all they need. The consequence is that they are liable to become fragile and delicate.’ p. 123.

We should like to have quoted the maxims which are enjoined for the prevention of that formidable and too frequent disease amongst our female children, viz. spinal deformity, but have not room.

The work concludes with some excellent remarks on ‘Health of Mind,’ but we must terminate our analysis. The confession is due to Mr. Mayo that the preceding extracts from his work are not a fair criterion of the whole, no more than a detached group of trees or a villa can characterize one of Poussin’s landscapes. Books on health have been too generally unhappy requisites in a library;—sequels to the ‘Miseries of Human Life’—and their only panacea has been hope, almost without a kindling smile on her cheek, or rose on her brow, supporting the present by promising for the future; but the one before us requires no such incitement for its perusal, from the pleasing and almost

faultless style in which it is written. The abstractedly unengaging detail of Hygeine is made forcible and well-nigh bewitching by the pertinent aphorism and anecdote with which it is conveyed; whilst its axioms are, for the most part, commended by their innate reasonableness and Mr. M.'s reputation.

Art. VI. *A Narrative of Events, since the First of August, 1834.*

By JAMES WILLIAMS, an Apprentice Labourer in Jamaica. London: W. Ball. 8vo. pp. 30. Third Edition.

WE have been grossly deceived, and the fact must be suppressed no longer. No false delicacy, nor any feelings of wounded pride, must restrain us from the open avowal of our misplaced confidence and disappointed hopes. We have been absurdly landing ourselves to the very skies. The senate, the pulpit, and the press, have rung with our praise; and, as though this were not enough to feed our vanity, other nations have applauded our deeds, and proposed our example for their own imitation. What then will be said of us throughout the civilized world, when it is known,—as known it speedily must be,—that all this praise has been unmerited, for slavery yet continues in its vilest form, to brutalize and crush our colonial peasantry. Such is the fact, the undoubted, the well ascertained fact, and it remains to be seen whether the British people will bestir themselves accordingly. For some time past the evidence of this state of things has been rapidly accumulating, but has now become so strong and overwhelming as to preclude the possibility of doubt. For a time we were held in suspense. We fondly hoped that the colonists were not so madly bent on the frustration of our hopes as they were charged to be. But our confidence was delusive, and we awake to the sad, the humbling, the agonized conviction, that, over those islands which our power protects, and our besotted liberality has enriched, there is still extended the dark and withering influence of that accursed system, whose destruction the British people had willed. Our missionaries proclaim the fact; the vitiated administration of justice, as with a trumpet's voice, sounds it in our ears; and now at length the report of intelligent, impartial, and noble-minded men, returning from one of the most benevolent missions which humanity ever undertook, precludes the possibility of doubt. We have before us the copy of a document addressed, in September last, to one of our Missionary Societies, by six of its agents; amongst whom are Thomas Burchell and William Knibb, men ever to be held in grateful reverence, in which they say, referring to the apprenticeship scheme: 'With respect to the system itself, we feel it

‘ our paramount duty to denounce it as a most iniquitous and accursed one; oppressive, harassing, and unjust to the apprentice; liable to innumerable abuses, with but little positive and actual protection,—that, instead of assuming a more lenient aspect, it is becoming increasingly oppressive and vexatious,—that the change is more in name than in reality,—that the apprentices feel, yes, deeply feel, the disappointment of all their fondest hopes, and that the most fearful consequences are to be dreaded unless the British parliament is induced to proclaim full liberty to the predial as well as to the non-predial apprentices in the year 1838.’

This testimony from such men, whose means of information are so ample, is sufficient to determine the case; but, happily for the interests of humanity, there are other witnesses in court to speak to the same facts, one of whom we are desirous of introducing to the immediate acquaintance of our readers. James Williams, whose brief narrative we have placed at the head of this article, has been brought to our country by Joseph Sturge, Esq., who purchased the unexpired term of his apprenticeship.* His tale is written throughout with weeping, lamentation, and blood. It is simply told, and bears the obvious marks of truth. Never was there a narrative, couched in human language which revealed a darker and more atrocious scene,—which laid bare the secrets of a prison-house more loathsome and disgusting. It should be read and inwardly digested by every man and woman in the land. It should be sent from house to house, from the Land’s End to John O’Groats, till one strong and impassioned resolution combines all the intellect and virtue of the nation to crush the monster that now revels in negro blood. It is not needful that we should make many extracts, as the pamphlet, we are assured, will soon be in every person’s hand. The following is but a fair sample of the protection afforded to the apprentices by the special magistrates; men, be it remembered, paid by British benevolence to enforce the spirit of the Abolition Act:

‘ When Dr. Thompson come to the parish, him call one Thursday, and said he would come back next Thursday, and hold court Friday morning. He come Thursday afternoon, and get dinner, and sleep at Peshurst, and after breakfast, all we apprentices called up. Massa

* James Williams was appraised at the enormous amount of £46. 4s. 7d., Jamaica currency. This was effected by a store-keeper, Mr. Joseph Isaacs, offering to engage him when liberated at two dollars a week, together with food and clothes. The offer was altogether nefarious, being designed only to raise the value of his unexpired time. Isaacs, of course, subsequently refused to take him into his service, and his benefactor wisely resolved to bring him to England.

try eight of we, and Dr. Thompson flog every one ; there was five man, and three boys : them flog the boys with switches, but the men flog with the Cat. One of the men was the old driver, Edward Lawrence ; Massa say he did not make the people take in pimento crop clean ; he is quite old—head quite white—havn't got one black hair in it, but Dr. Thompson ordered him to be flogged ; not one of the people been doing any thing wrong ; all flog for trifling, foolish thing, just to please the massa.

' When them try me, massa said, that one Friday, I was going all round the house with big stone in my hand, looking for him and his sister, to knock them down. I was mending stone wall round the house by massa's order ; I was only a half-grown boy that time. I told magistrate, I never do such thing, and offer to bring evidence about it ; he refuse to hear me or my witness ; would not let me speak ; he sentence me to get thirty-nine lashes ; eight policemen was present, but magistrate make constable flog at first ; them flog the old driver first, and me next ; my back all cut up and cover with blood,—could not put on my shirt—but massa say, constable not flogging half hard enough, that my back not cut at all ;—Then the magistrate make one of the police take the Cat to flog the other three men, and him flog most unmerciful. It was Henry James, Thomas Brown, and Adam Brown, that the police flog. Henry James was an old African ; he had been put to watch large corn-piece—no fence round it—so the cattle got in and eat some of the corn—he couldn't help it, but magistrate flog him for it. After the flogging, he got quite sick, and begin coughing blood ; he went to the hot-house,* but got no attention, them say him not sick.—He go to Capt. Dillon to complain about it ; magistrate give him paper to carry to massa, to warn him to court on Thursday ; that day them go to Brown's Town, Capt. Dillon and a new magistrate, Mr. Rawlinson, was there. Capt. Dillon say that him don't think that Henry James was sick ; he told him to go back, and come next Thursday, and he would have doctor to examine him ; the old man said he did not know whether he should live till Thursday ; He walk away, but before he get out of the town, he drop down dead—all the place cover with blood that he puke up. He was quite well before the flogging, and always said it was the flogging bring on the sickness.'—pp. 6, 7.

But the workhouse system is the most horrible feature of Jamaica apprenticeship. Let the following description of it be inscribed on every British heart, and we shall soon see an end of such atrocities :

' There was about thirty people in the workhouse (St. Ann's Bay) that time, mostly men ; nearly all have to dance the tread-mill morning and evening ; six or eight on the tread-mill one time, and when them done, another spell go on, till them all done ; every one strap to

* Hospital.

the bar over head, by the two wrists, quite tight; and if the people not able to catch the step, them hang by the two wrists, and the mill-steps keep on batter their legs and knees, and the driver with the cat keep on flog them all the time till them catch the step. The women was obliged to tie up their clothes, to keep them from tread upon them, while they dance the mill; them have to tie them up so as only to reach down to the knee, and half expose themself; and the man have to roll up their trowsers above the knee, then the driver can flog their legs with the cat, if them don't dance good; and when they flog the legs till they all cut up, them turn to the back and flog away; but if the person not able to dance yet, them stop the mill, and make him drop his shirt from one shoulder, so as to get at his bare back with the cat. The boatswain flog the people as hard as he can lay it on—man and woman all alike.

'One day while I was in, two young women was sent in from Moneague side, to dance the mill, and put in dungeon, but not to work in penal gang; them don't know how to dance the mill, and driver flog them very bad; they didn't tie up their clothes high enough, so their foot catch upon the clothes when them tread the mill and tear them;—And then between the cat and the mill—them flog them so severe,—they cut away most of their clothes, and left them in a manner naked; and the driver was bragging afterwards that he see all their nakedness.

'Dancing tread-mill is very hard work, it knock the people up—the sweat run all down from them—the steps all wash up with the sweat that drop from the people, just the same as if you throw water on the steps.

'One boatswain have to regulate the pole * of the mill, and make it go fast or slow, as him like; sometimes them make it go very fast, and then the people can't catch the step at all—then the other boatswain flogging away and cutting the people's legs and backs without mercy. The people bawl and cry so dreadful, you could hear them a mile off; the same going on every time the mill is about; driver keep the cat always going while the people can't step.

'When them come off the mill, you see all their foot cut up behind with the cat, and all the skin bruise off the shin with the mill-steps and them have to go down to the sea-side to wash away the blood.'

pp. 11, 12.

The system presses with aggravated severity on nursing mothers and their infant offspring. The following will suffice as an illustration. It refers to those who were sentenced to the discipline of the workhouse.

'Them woman that have young sucking child, have to tie them on their back, and go to the field chain two together; when it rain ever so

* The lever.

hard they have to keep on work with the children tied on their backs, but when the weather dry, them put down the child at the fire-side; when Mr. Drake there, he don't allow them to suckle the child at all, if it cry ever so much; him say the children free, and the law don't allow no time to take care of them; it is only the good-will of the driver that ever let woman suckle the children.'—pp. 18, 19.

Such are the atrocities practised under Lord Stanley's much lauded apprenticeship system. Would that his evil genius had confined itself to questions of domestic policy, the results of which would have been open to every eye. We might then have witnessed, as we have done in the case of Ireland, the strong rousing of the national mind, and should have rejoiced to perceive that the immediate and obvious mischief of his measures led to their early abandonment. But his lordship has had his reward. His bitterest enemies must be satisfied with his present humiliation. His waywardness and caprice of temper, his aristocratic insolence, his despotic tendencies, his treacherous abandonment of his former colleagues, and the transference of his services from the cause of the people to the tactics of a party unparalleled in our country for recklessness and want of principle, have unnerved his arm, and rendered him as impotent as could be desired. We could find it, however, in our hearts to forgive him much of this, but his penitence must be deep and protracted before we shall cease to regard his colonial policy as one of the basest compounds of perfidy and injustice, which modern times have witnessed.

His evil genius unhappily did not abandon the Colonial Office when he retired from the councils of reform. Others have adopted his policy, and have employed all their skill in bolstering up the wretched system which was but too accurate a portraiture of his lordship's mind. It is with regret that we refer in terms of strong but well-considered reprobation to a member of the present government—a government which in the main commands our confidence, and to which we owe no trifling obligation. But the interests of humanity are at stake, and silence would be treachery to our principles. We are pleading the cause of those who are incapable of pleading for themselves, and must not suffer our approval of the general policy of an administration to render us insensible to the obliquities of some of its members. Nothing can be more disingenuous, or less becoming a liberal government—we say so deliberately, and with pain—than the conduct of Sir George Grey, the Under-Secretary for the Colonies. Were he the retained advocate of the planters, he could not labour more assiduously to prevent the great ends of justice from being attained, than he did during the last session of parliament, and especially in the Committee which was appointed to inquire into the Working of the Apprenticeship System. This was universally complained of by the witnesses who ap-

peared on behalf of the anti-slavery party, and was apparent in the whole of the evidence which he himself gave to the Committee. Every thing that proceeded from the pro-slavery party was readily credited, and the weight of his official influence was given to its support, while the averments of enlightened and impartial men were analyzed and commented upon with an *animus* which could not be mistaken. The most candid observers of the policy of the Under-Secretary attribute it to his solicitude to protect the government from the charges to which the remissness and chicanery of the Colonial Office expose it. This is probably the true solution of the enigma, but the interests of the apprentices must not be sacrificed even to such an end. If our colonial secretaries have failed to discharge their duty, let the guilt rest upon their own heads, but let not the helpless and the dying suffer in their stead. Were the policy of the Colonial Office on the great question now pending between the friends of the Negro and their long-cherished oppressors to be disclosed, we fear that the reputation of the government would suffer more damage than it has done by all the artifices of Sir Robert Peel, or the bedlam violence of the immaculate leader of the Tory lords.*

* The resignation of the Marquis of Sligo furnishes proof of this. His lordship, it is well known, was popular at first amongst the Jamaica planters, but his uprightness and industry soon earned him their bitter hostility. It was consequently thought advisable at home to effect his removal, and an opportunity for doing so was not long wanted. The following account is given in the *Jamaica Watchman*, of the 9th of May, and we have good reason to confide in its accuracy. 'In the case of Jamaica, what did it matter that the apprentices should be preserved in peace by a just administration of the abolition law, so long as the Colonial newspapers were rabid, the Assembly furious, and the West India body in a state of agitation? Jamaica was not 'quiet;' Lord Glenelg's slumbers were disturbed by its noise and tumult, and the Marquis of Sligo must be sacrificed. An incident most fortunately occurred of getting rid of him on anti-slavery grounds. He had a difference with Dr. Palmer, who had deservedly earned a high reputation as a special magistrate. This dispute ended in the suspension of Dr. Palmer, an error into which he was, too probably, betrayed by the very men who subsequently promoted his own resignation. The government gladly seized this opportunity, and sent out a despatch directing the restoration of Dr. Palmer, which, from the circumstances hereafter detailed, there is reason to believe was couched in terms which were deliberately intended to procure Lord Sligo's resignation.'

'About this time two individuals in England, one a retired planting attorney,* who, after accumulating a vast fortune in Jamaica, left it without investing a shilling in its soil; and the other, an eminent West Indian merchant,† after having on a certain occasion, as it is said, in vain attempted to move the West India body in London to make strong representations to the Colonial office against Lord Sligo, went to Downing Street to try what they could individually effect. They saw Sir George Grey, to whom they opened their hearts, and whose ready sympathies immediately echoed their wishes. The substance of his communication was as follows:—'We cannot recal

* Wm. Miller.

† Philpotts.

It will devolve upon the constituents of Sir George Grey to recal him to a sense of his position; and the sooner this is done the better. The weight of a liberal government must not be given to a course of policy which is based on an utter abandonment of every righteous principle, and is adapted to confirm and aggravate the worst features of a system which ought never to have received the sanction of the legislature. We know some of the men of Devonport, and we rejoice to feel assured that they will faithfully discharge their duties at this crisis.

But what must be done with the general question. Shall the apprenticeship continue, or shall it cease for ever? Shall we suffer it to drag on its existence, inflicting its wrongs, and committing its murders; or by one strong, united, and instantaneous expression of the public will, shall we consign it to the tomb of the Capulets? The case does not admit of doubt. There must be no hesitancy, no compromise. We must enforce the stern demands of justice, and never rest till the last instalment has been paid. 'Let the earnest entreaties of your Missionaries,' says the document from which we have already quoted, 'move you to exert your utmost energies to terminate this anomalous

him, he is in such favour with the dissenters, who are a powerful and influential body. We have, however, sent him a despatch which will ensure his resignation.'

'The result of this interesting interview was immediately communicated by letter to a wealthy planter resident in Jamaica, the father-in-law of the West India merchant. This letter was shown to those who might be trusted of the old Colonial party, among whom were numbered, the Chief Justice, the Deputy Island Secretary Stewart, and W. G. Nunes, the Private Secretary of Lord Sligo. Surrounded as the Governor was by such treacherous advisers, how was it possible that the deep-laid scheme should not take effect? Lord Sligo sent home his unconditional resignation if the restoration of Dr. Palmer was insisted on. But such was the magnanimity of his mind, long before any answer could be returned, he had restored Palmer to his favour, and replaced him in the commission. Theirs was the difference of two honest men, a friendship obscured by a passing shade of infirmity: respect for each other still remaining as the basis of a future re-union.

'The knowledge of the treachery detailed above was communicated to Lord Sligo by a highly-respected member of the Legislative Council, who gave up the Island Secretary as his informant. The Governor called in Stewart, and asked him plainly what he knew of such a letter. Unable to excuse himself, the abashed official criminated his colleague, the Private Secretary, Nunes, on which Lord Sligo, with contemptuous indignation, left them to cover their confusion as they best could.

'In order that so extraordinary a narration should not be without its appropriate sequel, it may be mentioned that Sir Lionel Smith, the successor of Lord Sligo, has again suspended Dr. Palmer on the report of a Commission of Inquiry, which sums up the heinous offences of that individual against the 'quiet' of the community, by declaring 'that he has administered the abolition law in the spirit of the Imperial Act.' This suspension has been confirmed at home, not, if report is to be believed, because it was a just and equitable act, but for the sake of the peace and 'quiet' of the Colony.'

‘and accursed system, and avert the ruin, the desolation, the misery, which may result from the apathy and indifference of British Christians. We cannot refrain,’ it is remarked, in solemn and ominous words, ‘from adding, that if this, our warning and entreaty be disregarded, we shall consider the responsibility resting upon those at home, who have the power to obtain justice for the enslaved apprentices in this island, and not upon us who daily exert our influence to tranquillize the minds of a people cheated with the mockery of freedom, and doomed to sustain injuries from which the magnanimity of their conduct ought for ever to have sheltered them.’

This language does honour to the intellect and the heart of the men who employed it. Faithful to their vocation, they have closed their ears to the suggestions of an unrighteous and selfish policy; and, fearless of consequences, have stepped into the breach between the living and the dead. The people amongst whom they labour in the gospel of Jesus Christ—who have been given to them as a reward of their toils, and an earnest of their future joy, are weeping, and groaning, and dying around them; and what would be thought of their humanity and religion, if they failed to plead the cause of men thus endeared to their hearts? But the question returns, and we must fairly meet it, What must be done? Shall we act upon the advice, and in conformity with the imploring entreaty of our missionary brethren; or shall we suffer the wrongs of the Negroes to be continued? We can imagine but two objections to the former course, the one relating to the moral of the case, and the other to its practicability. Have we not entered, it may be asked, into a compact with the colonists, whereby we bound ourselves to maintain the present system till 1840; and, having done so, can we now righteously refuse to fulfil the engagement? It is barely possible that some over-scrupulous minds in utter ignorance of the facts of the case, will be puzzled by this objection, and we may therefore be excused in devoting a few words to the exposure of its flimsy character. The compact entered into bound both parties, the one to pay £20,000,000, and the other to constitute the Negroes free—absolutely and wholly free—with the single exception, of their working a certain number of hours weekly for their masters. Our part of the engagement has been fulfilled, hastily and absurdly fulfilled, but what has been the case with the Colonists? Have they done their part? The £20,000,000 have been paid, but where is the freedom it was intended to purchase? We plead, therefore, a breach of contract—a gross and palpable violation both of the letter and of the spirit of the engagement. But this is not all. Accumulated wrongs have been inflicted upon the parties whom we sought to benefit. Instead of being restored to freedom, subject only to the condition of limited service, burning coals have been heaped

upon their heads. Insult has been added to oppression, and the hope of future freedom converted into an instrument of present torture. We point, therefore, to 'the bond,' while we demand that the injuries inflicted on the apprentices, since 1834, be compensated by their immediate and unconditional freedom.

Respecting the practicability of the case, little need be said. The British people have never yet willed an act of justice, and failed in its execution, unless they have first submitted their better judgment to the hollow and delusive guidance of others. They did so in 1833, and were instantly shorn of their strength. But we will do so no more. The fruits of our misplaced confidence have been too bitter to tempt us to repeat it. We have now a plain case, and our means of enforcing it are direct and simple. We must act on the public mind; and, through that, upon the legislature. From the Colonial Office there is nothing to be anticipated but opposition.* Its influence will be against us so long as the public feeling is dubious or half-hearted; but let the people speak out, and even Sir George Grey may feel it to be prudent to adopt a different course from what he has hitherto pursued.

A noble example has been set by the Society of Friends; and Birmingham, Liverpool, and Glasgow, have already responded to the appeal. Preparatory meetings have been held in London; and, on the 11th of July, Exeter Hall will bear witness to the true-heartedness and fixed resolve of English abolitionists. Let the country follow this example, and we cannot fail. Every Anti-Slavery association must be re-organized. Our constituencies must demand an unequivocal pledge from the candidates who solicit their votes, and the earnest intercession of simple-minded piety must bring down the blessing of the living God upon our humane and Christian exertions. One strong effort now, and we may rest from our labours, and our works will follow us.

* We hope in a future number to furnish our readers with some information respecting the conduct of the Colonial office in the MAURITIUS CASE. It is notorious that a large proportion of the negroes of that island have been imported since the Slave Trade was declared to be piracy, yet the planters have received their full share of the compensation fund, and the innocent victims of their cupidity are retained in bondage. It is said—and we believe the averment—that the present Chancellor of the Exchequer was so incensed at Judge Jeremie's honest attempt to bring this state of things to light, that he refused to reimburse the loss consequent on the detention of that gentleman in England, though his presence was required by the Parliamentary Committee, and the payment of his loss was recommended by their unanimous vote. Mr. Spring Rice refused to advance more than £80, leaving a deficiency of £170, which was voted from the funds of the Anti-Slavery Society. Surely the electors of Cambridge have a duty to perform as well as those of Devonport.

Art. VII. 1. *A Summer in the Pyrénées.* By the Hon. JAMES ERSKINE MURRAY. Two Vols. 8vo. London: Macrone, 1837.

2. *Sketches in the Pyrénées.* By the Author of 'Slight Reminiscences of the Rhine,' and 'the Gossip's Week.' London: Longman & Co. Two Vols. 12mo. 1837.

WE remember some few years ago contemplating the Pyrénées from Montaubon, with an earnest, but, owing to circumstances, a fruitless, wish to traverse its magnificent districts; and were therefore well pleased to see the announcement of these works. We were much impressed by the characteristic outline of the Pyrénéan district, as viewed at the distance in question, which was that of a long and almost level series of table lands, with here and there indeed a starting eminence, but presenting as a whole an obvious contrast to the irregular and jagged appearance produced by the frequent peaks that distinguish the Alps. One of the most favourable points from which to survey the mighty chain of the Pyrénées, is from the hills called Tech David, to the south of Toulouse, where the spectator is situated in front of nearly the centre of the range, and can distinguish the most remarkable of its features. There they may be traced for about 150 miles from the Canigoú, in Roussillon, to the summits at the head of the valley d' Ossau, in the Basses Pyrénées.

Separating France and Spain, it has been generally supposed that the Pyrénées constitute an isolated chain of 200 miles in length, from east to west, with an average breadth of sixty; but in fact they form a part of the system of mountains of both these countries. On the east they are attached to the Alps by the Montagne Noire and the Cévennes, and to the west they stretch from the point of Figuer to Cape Ortegal in Galicia. The boundaries of the two great kingdoms, which they appear to divide, are determined by the course of the waters from the summits of the central ridge; the land to the northward of the division of the streams belonging to France, that to the south to Spain. The French department of the Aude contains mountains which belong to the Pyrénées, and are the branches commonly known as the mountains of the Corbières, a part of the connecting link between the French and Swiss mountains.

The Pyrénées contain a great number of valleys; all the principal of which are transversal. They begin at a *Col* (a depression at the head of a valley), in the ridge of the central chain, and, proceeding directly north or south, form nearly a right angle with it. The valleys of the greatest length are those which are situated towards the centre of the range; as the valleys of the Garonne, fifteen leagues long, and the Lavedan thirteen leagues.

The longitudinal valleys, or those parallel to the central range, are of small extent; often mere ravines or gorges. Most of the valleys present a succession of basins throughout their course, formed by the receding of the bordering mountains from the banks of the river. These basins are elevated above each other, and are joined together by narrow ravines, rapidly inclined plains, or by a slope of rock so perpendicular that the river dashing over forms a cataract from the basin above to that beneath. In the upper districts of the valleys the basins frequently contain lakes of a proportionate extent to the dimensions of the basins; but, while these abound on the northern side, they are rare on the southern or Spanish side, proving the superior steepness of the latter. When these lakes are situated at such heights as to be surrounded with glaciers and perpetual snow, they are constantly covered with ice throughout the year. The walls of perpendicular rock which encircle the basins are called cirques, and sometimes form the successive slopes which surround these amphitheatres. Of these the most beautiful, though not the largest, is that of Gavarnie, at the source of the valley of the Lavedan. On the northern side of the central ridge are about thirty principal valleys, and twenty-six or seven on the southern. Of the enormous masses of ice and snow denominated glaciers, there are six of great magnitude. The Pyrénées abound in mineral springs, many of which have acquired much celebrity, and the most frequented are under the superintendence of a physician employed by government. The most remarkable are the Bagnères de Bigorre, Bagnères de Luchon, the waters of Barèges, Cauteretz, the springs of the valley d' Ossau, and the Eaux Chaudes. In the valley of the Arriège are various mineral springs, and several watering places, beautifully situated.

The climate of the two extremities of the Pyrénées is much warmer than that of their central districts. This advantage of temperature may be explained by the proximity of the sea, the inferior elevation of the land above its level, and the distance from the principal mountains. The eastern extremity is considerably milder than the western, on account of its more southern situation. In the bordering districts the climate is generally soft, and the winters short and temperate. Vegetation is everywhere luxuriant in the Pyrénéan valleys, whose fertility rivals any part of the globe, and whose beauties have been long celebrated, but comparatively little known.

Lofty ranges of mountains form what geologists sometimes call the bones or skeleton of the crust of the earth; and, while they furnish a splendid field of amusement to the traveller, they present a subject of interesting research to the philosophic inquirer and man of science. In the direction which they were made to take by the moulding hand of Omnipotence, in the general pur-

poses which they answer in the physical economy of the earth, by their regulation of the temperature of the atmosphere, the motions of the winds and clouds, the origination of a thousand rills and rivers, with other great purposes, we cannot but trace the wisdom as well as power of the almighty. May we not also perceive in their arrangement natural fences to bound the ambition of man, and to check the fury of his hostilities, and the folly of his grasping selfishness? Sometimes, indeed, they have been surmounted by a daring heroism, but it is instructive to observe how difficult and almost impossible it is to retain or to profit by the forced retention of captured possessions where the God of nature has seemed to prescribe eternal laws, written, as we may say, in the great mountains, to regulate the politics of nations.

But we must restrain ourselves, and inform our readers that this is not a work of science or literature, but mainly written to amuse, as the journey itself seems to have been undertaken *pour passer le tems*. We must observe, however, that the Appendix contains some useful memoranda of the geographical character of the Pyrénées, to which we have referred in our preceding statements. It supplies also some account of the composition of the Bearnais language, with specimens of their poetry, and gives a brief glossary of certain terms peculiar to the Pyrénées. Besides these we have a useful catalogue of the heights of the most remarkable mountains and places.

Our author's tour had nearly terminated, so to speak, before it had begun; and we will insert the account of his descent into Roussillon, for the especial amusement of those who delight in hair-breadth escapes.

‘The summit of the ridge is quitted by a narrow passage, the entrance to which has, in other times, been guarded by a fort built upon the rocks beside it; and, from this spot, the traveller can look down upon the plains of Roussillon, and distinguish the road corkscrewing down the mountain into the valley many thousand feet below. Few roads, even in the higher Pyrénées, are more rapid in their descent than this, and none of them narrower, and worse defended, without any parapet and hanging like a shelf on the mountain side. Having passed the old fort, and put the drag chains upon the wheels, the conductor set off full gallop down the descent. The lady screamed; but, with the noise of the diligence, and the rain which fell in torrents, no one could hear her but myself. She shut her eyes, seized hold of me, and, fortunately for herself, fainted. The rocks were almost over our heads; and, when we were going down at this rate, an immense block, of perhaps twenty or thirty tons weight, detached from its resting-place by the rains of the preceding night, came over the mountain side, and, dashing upon the narrow road a few hundred yards in advance of us, carried one half of it into the valley. Here was a pretty

situation to be placed in—a fainting lady in my arms, with the knowledge that a few seconds would decide whether we were to pass the breach which had been made, or accompany the rock in its descent. To pull up was impossible; the rate at which we were going, and the impetus given to the carriage, totally precluded it, even had there been harness for the horses to hold back with, which there was not. As we approached, a cry of horror came from those in the *blanquette*,* who could see the danger, and I thanked God that the lady was insensible to it. What, if any of the leaders swerved from the path; what, if the conductor had not a steady head, and still steadier hand—were thoughts of the moment. I threw the lady upon the seat; and, climbing through the window of the coupé to the side of the driver, urged him to keep the heads of the leaders well to the rock; so that they (if it was yet possible to pass) might not see the danger, and start from it. Most fortunately, he was a steady fellow; he did as he was desired; and we galloped over the remaining shelf, barely broad enough for the wheels to run upon: and, turning round, I could see an additional portion of the road roll down the precipice, from the shock which the diligence had given it. The danger was seen and passed in the tenth part of the time which I have taken to narrate it; and we arrived in safety at the bottom.

‘I have seldom found myself in a situation of greater danger; no exertion of my own could here avail in extricating me, which, when I could employ, I have always found effectual in stunning the unpleasant feelings upon such occasions. At the bottom of the descent is the village of Caudies, where the lady was soon revived, and the driver had the assembled villagers round him, listening to his story, which lost nothing by being told by a Frenchman; but, in this case, there could be no *embroidery*—it was not possible to make the danger greater, short of our having actually rolled into the abyss. I suggested the propriety of sending over the ridge, to give warning on the other side of the accident, and of the impossibility of crossing; and a party set off for the purpose.’ Vol. I. pp. 20—23.

At Valmania an incident is related, which, as it demands our sympathy, but more especially as it illustrates the customs of the country, we shall transcribe:

‘Here, for the first time, I drank wine out of the curiously-shaped bottle, chiefly in use among the Spaniards. It is made very flat and round, with a long neck, and still longer, but very narrow, spout. Glasses are not in general use, and therefore every one drinks from the bottle; there is more delicacy, however, displayed than in our old English way of using silver cups and porter pots, as they never, by any chance, apply the spout to the mouth, but, holding it at arm’s length, send the liquor, like a jet from a fountain, down the throat. I

* The upper part of a diligence.

did as I saw others do, but found there was more science required than I was aware of; for, not having made the neck and funnel of the bottle describe the proper angle, I discharged the contents in my bosom. I made particular inquiries whether any 'Anglais' had found his way to this spot, but could not ascertain that any had.' Vol. I. pp. 79, 80.

In the neighbourhood of Prades the banks of the Tet on both sides are decorated with villages, and the old chateaux. Among these, on the right, is the hamlet of the Ria, which derived its name from, or gave it to a family renowned in history. From the family of d'Ria are descended the Counts of Barcelona, whose posterity have given kings and queens to Arragon, Navarre, Castile, Portugal, Majorca, Naples, Sicily, and France. Thus the greater part of the reigning sovereigns of Europe can trace their descent from the original proprietor of the little village of Ria.

A tremendous thunderstorm brought our author into contact with an intelligent Andorrian, from whom he derived information respecting the district, the interesting character of which will, we trust, be a sufficient apology for the length of the extract.

'The Republic of Andorre, situated upon the southern side of the Pyrénées, and beyond the natural frontier of France, ought from its physical position to belong to Spain. It is, however, considered as a neutral and independent province, although it is, to a certain extent, connected with both countries; to Spain by its religious, to France, by its civil government. The history of this little country presents a phenomenon well worthy the attention of the naturalist and the politician. It affords the almost solitary instance of a people, few in number, and, in comparison with their powerful neighbours, almost incapable of defence, having preserved during twelve centuries their independence and their institutions uninjured by the many revolutions which have so frequently convulsed the two great kingdoms which surround it. The contented and unambitious minds of its inhabitants, with their seclusion from the world, and indifference to or ignorance of the political intrigues and commotions which have overthrown and subverted its many states, has for such a length of time secured to them, as the feudatory republic of France, more real and substantial liberty than was ever enjoyed under the purest of the Italian republics.

'The government is composed of a council of twenty-four; each commune electing four members, who are chosen for life. The council elect a Syndic, who convokes the assemblies, and takes the charge of public affairs. He enjoys great authority, and, when the assemblies are not sitting, he has the complete government of the community.

'It is to Charlemagne that Andorre owes its independence. In 790, that prince having marched against the Moors of Spain, and de-

feated them in the neighbouring valley of Carol, the Andorrians (following the tradition of the country, the only, but, in a state like this, the best authority to rely upon), rendered themselves so useful to the French army, supplying them with provisions, and taking care of their wounded, that the emperor, to recompense them for their kindness, made them independent of the neighbouring princes, delivered them from the Moors, and permitted them to be governed by their own laws. After him, Louis le Debonnaire, whom the Andorrians style the pious, having driven the Moors across the Ebro, ceded to Lisebus, the Bishop of Urgel, a part of the rights over Andorre which Charlemagne had reserved to himself and his successors. It was in virtue of this grant that the bishop of Urgel acquired a right to a part of the tithes of the six parishes, and still exercises a spiritual jurisdiction over the country. This is the only manner in which it has any dependence upon Spain.

Afterwards the Counts of Foix exercised in Andorre the rights of the crown of France, in the name of their sovereign, but more frequently upon their own account. Since Henry the Fourth, the kings of France have maintained their rights according to the usages established by the Counts of Foix. In 1793, these rights being considered as feudal, were abandoned, and Andorre was for a time completely separated from France; but notwithstanding this temporary independence, the Andorrians continued to preserve their attachment to that country. The inhabitants courageously resisted the violation of their territory by the Spaniards, and furnished to the French armies, during the late war, both guides and assistance of every kind. At the same time they anxiously solicited the establishment of the ancient order of things, and Napoleon yielded to their wish by a decree of the 20th of March, 1806. By this decree Andorre continued to be a republic connected with France; its Viguiier, or criminal judge, being a Frenchman chosen from the department of Arriege; and paying an annual sum of 960 francs, for which he was to enjoy the privilege of receiving various articles of commerce free of duty from France. Thus, excepting as regards the spiritual jurisdiction of the Bishop of Urgel, which, after all, cannot be said to interfere with its independence any more than the pope's ecclesiastical authority over Catholic countries can with theirs, Andorre is altogether independent of Spain; and, as regards France, the annual payment it makes to that country is only in lieu of certain privileges which it enjoys from it, while there being so little crime in Andorre, the appointment of the French judge has been more with a view to deter criminals of that country from taking refuge in the neutral province, than for the punishment of its natives. Andorre may therefore be justly considered as the oldest free republic in existence. The population is from seven to eight thousand, quite great enough for the resources of the country. The Andorrians are all of the church of Rome, and very religious. The members of their clergy are in general natives, and they, and the more wealthy of the inhabitants, receive their education at Toulouse or Barcelona. Each curé, in addition to his pastoral duties, has the charge of a school, where the poor are instructed gratuitously, but this does not

give him much extra trouble, few of the peasants thinking it at all necessary to send their children to school to acquire what, in their land of shepherds and labourers, they imagine can be of little consequence to them in their future lives; this erroneous impression is the cause why few of the natives have more learning than is sufficient to enable them to read and write, and the great majority are in total ignorance of even these first principles.

‘The Andorrians are simple and severe in their manners, and the vices and corruptions of cities have not hitherto found their way into their valleys, still, in comparison with the rest of the world, the abode of virtue and content. The inhabitants live as their forefathers lived a thousand years before them, and the little they know concerning the luxuries, the arts, and the civilization of other countries, inspiring them rather with fear than envy. Their wealth consists in the number of sheep or cattle they possess, or the share they may have in the iron forges, only a very few of their number being the proprietors of any extent of land beyond the little garden which surrounds their cottage. Each family acknowledges a chief, who succeeds by right of primogeniture. These chiefs, or eldest sons, choose their wives from families of equal consideration with their own, reprobating mes-alliances, and looking little to fortune, which besides is always very small upon both sides. The eldest sons have, even during the lives of their parents, a certain status, being considered as the representatives of their ancestors; they never leave the paternal roof until they marry, and if they marry an heiress they join her name to their own; and unless married, they are not admitted to a charge of public affairs.

‘When there are only daughters in a family, the eldest, who is an heiress, and succeeds as an eldest son would do, is always married to a cadet of another, who adopts her name, and is domiciliated in her family; and, by this arrangement, the principal Andorrian houses have continued for centuries without any change in their fortunes, *ni plus riche—ni plus pauvre*. They are married by their priests, after having had their bans, as in Scotland, proclaimed in their parish church for three successive Sundays. The poorest of the inhabitants are in Andorre not so badly off as in other countries, their wants are few and easily supplied, the opulent families taking care of those who are not; and they, in gratitude, honour and respect their benefactors.

‘The Andorrians are in general strong and well proportioned; the greater part of the diseases proceeding from the moral affections are unknown, as well as those from vice and corruption. The costume of the men is simply composed of the coarse brown cloth made from the wool of their own sheep; it resembles that worn by the peasants of Bigorre, with this difference, that the Andorrians wear the flowing red cap of the Catalans: the women dress exactly as the Catalan women do; they are not admitted to any of the assemblies where public affairs are considered; nay, so little has the wisdom of the sage Andorrians coincided with that of the British parliament, expressed upon a late occasion, that the ladies are not even allowed to assist at the masses which are performed upon the reception of the bishop, or the judge. Crime of every kind is very rare, and the punishments

awarded to culprits are, although mild, sufficiently effectual. There are no lawsuits relative to paternal successions; and should disputes of any kind arise, they are at once referred to the Syndic, whose decision is never controverted. All the males are liable to serve as militia, should they be required, and every head of a family is obliged to have in his possession at all times a musket and a certain quantity of powder and balls.

‘Commerce of every kind is free in Andorre, but as its industry is only employed in the manufacture of the most indispensable articles, and these are of the most indifferent nature; it has little to exchange for the produce of other countries, excepting its iron, the whole of which is sold to Spain, the high duties prohibiting its entrance into France. The republic is not without its arms, which are those of Bearn, quartered with those of Foix.’ Vol. I. pp. 161—170.

A curiosity in natural history presented itself at Mont Perdu. Near a cabin, where the flocks of sheep in this Alpine region are assembled each night for safety, quantities of molehills were observed, many of them freshly raised, among the thick grass. That such a little creature should have found its way to the height of at least 7500 feet was remarkable. The mole delights in rich and deep soils; and, whenever met with on the mountains, it is by the sides of brooks and streams, where the soil has accumulated, and the vegetation is the finest; but the little patch of land at the cabin in question was not only situated at an immense elevation, but entirely isolated from the lower pastures by extensive wastes of bare rock. If, therefore, this small animal had travelled from the plains beneath, it must have been with prodigious labour and difficulty, and under the influence of an instinct singular and unknown to us.

The shepherds of the Pyrénées are in many respects an interesting people; and, while their seclusion from the comforts and improvements of more civilized life may well awaken commiseration, it should excite, and we wish the consideration of it might lead to some benevolent effort for their good. While entertained and instructed by tours of amusement, we should like to see a journey of benevolence; and we have more than once observed with what advantage and success the Christian itinerant can follow the track of the philosopher and the traveller.

The shepherds and their flocks appear to understand each other extremely well. They have a simple and effectual method of assembling them from their dispersions in the mountains. If not very distant, the shepherd merely whistles, and they instantly leave off feeding and obey him; but if they are far off and scattered, he utters a shrill cry, and immediately the flock are seen leaping down the rocks, and scampering towards him. Having waited till all have mustered, he sets off for his cabin, while the sheep follow like so many well-trained hounds. Two fine-looking

dogs are generally attached to each flock, to protect them from the attacks of wolves and bears, to whom, on their appearance, they at once offer battle. The sheep are so well aware of the intentions and care of these fine dogs, that they continually crowd round them, as if to solicit their aid.

We must extend our article a little further, to introduce to the reader as curious an adventure as we have ever heard of. It was related to the author by Barras, one of the best of the Pyrénéan guides.

‘ A rencontre which Barras had with a bear is worth narrating. It seemed that he had discovered a cavern, in which a bear had taken up his winter quarters, and from which he immediately determined to dislodge him. Single-handed he did not dare to attempt this, and accordingly he chose one of his most hardy companions to join him in the attack. The place which the bear had chosen for his retreat was an almost inaccessible cave on the side of the Pic du Midi, and among its darkest forests. When the two hunters arrived at the entrance of the cave, they consulted as to the best mode of rousing the animal, and getting him to leave it. Barras proposed that he should enter the cave, and wake him, while his companion stood guard without. This extraordinary mode of disturbing the bear’s slumbers was adopted, and the sentry having sworn by the blessed Virgin to stand by his friend, the other prepared to enter the cave. For a considerable distance the cavity was large enough to permit of the daring hunter walking upright, but decreasing in height, he had to grope his way upon all fours. While proceeding in this manner, the bear, roused by the slight noise which the hunters had made at the entrance of his chamber, was heard approaching. To turn and run away was hopeless; the bear was too near to permit of this being attempted, so that to throw himself on his face and, take the chance of the animal’s passing over him, was the only chance of escape. Barras did so, and the bear walked over him without even saluting him with a growl. His companion at the mouth of the cave did not get off so easily, for, expecting that he would certainly have some warning of the approach of the animal, he was not altogether prepared for the encounter when he appeared, and ere he had time to lift his gun to his shoulder, he was folded in the deadly embrace of the giant brute. Within a few yards of the cave, the precipice was several hundred feet in depth, and in the struggle both bear and man rolled over it together. Barras, eager to aid his friend, followed the bear after it had passed over him, but reached the mouth of the cave just as the bear and his comrade were disappearing over the edge of the precipice. Horror-struck at the dreadful fate of his friend, and without the slightest hope of saving him, Barras rushed forward to descend the mountain-side, and rescue, if possible, his mangled body; when the first glance into the gorge below revealed to him his friend dangling by his clothes among the branches of a thick shrub, which, growing out of a fissure in the precipice, had caught him in his fall, while the bear, less fortunate,

had descended to the bottom. To release his friend from his precarious situation was no easy matter ; but by the aid of the long sashes which the mountaineers almost always wear, he at last effected it, and drew him to the platform from which he had been so rudely hurled. The bear had lacerated him severely, but he was no sooner on his legs than, expressing his confidence that the bear must have been killed by the fall, he proposed descending to the foot of the precipice to ascertain the result. This with much difficulty they effected, and to their great satisfaction, as well as profit, found among the rocks below the object of their search, in the last agonies of death. Sure of their prize, they returned to the Eaux Chaudes, the wounded man greatly exhausted by loss of blood ; and Barras returning next morning to the field of battle, accompanied by a band of villagers, triumphantly carried off the spoil. The occasion upon which Barras related this adventure to me was a very appropriate one ; we were then crouching together under a fallen pine of great size, watching a bear pass. I asked him how he relished the bear walking over him in the cave ; he said he knew that his life depended on his remaining perfectly quiet ; and he drew his large bony hand down my back, by way of indicating the feeling which the tread of the animal gave him.' Vol. II. pp. 234—237.

Upon the whole, these volumes will be found both entertaining and instructive. They are interspersed with useful historical notices, and comprise an account of the Pyrénean district situated between the Mediterranean and the valley d' Aspe. We shall be glad to find that the rapid sale of his first edition encourages the author to furnish us with the remaining volume, to which he refers in his brief *Advertisement*.

Having extended our notice of Mr. Murray's volumes beyond what we had intended, we have but brief space left for the 'Sketches in the Pyrénées.' In point of style and manner it competes fairly with the vivacity of the former publication, but contains less of historic reference. We are much gratified upon the whole with both productions, and only hope that the *cacoëthes scribendi*, or the idea that a good game has been started, will not induce too many to press into the field, and annoy us with their noise and number.

There is no reason, we think, for writing again, at present, *descriptively* about the Pyrénées ; but we shall hail the first competent performance that will give their scientific character, or that will let us more fully into the secret of their moral and religious aspect. Mountains and valleys are beautiful to see, and such mountains and valleys as those of the Pyrénées will bear to be described and descanted upon by a writer or two of vigorous imagination, in a few hundred pages of good readable letterpress ; but, after this luxuriant introduction, we wish for sketches of what in nature lies below the mere surface and the sunshine,

and in man below the form, and figure, and dress, in the recesses of his intelligent being, his mental habits, and the modifications of his character.

This, besides, is the more important, not only on account of what may be regarded as the permanent memorials of the past, in the firm, inwrought, and inflexible distinctions of a peculiar race, but also and especially because of the political struggle now in progress, and its probable results in rendering Spain and the Pyrénées more accessible to the objects of Christian benevolence. We wish to know more of the men, that we may judge better of the means by which their moral and spiritual amelioration may be attempted. We must not pursue this subject, however, but rather turn to the work before us for a few characteristic extracts.

‘Every thing in the Pyrénées has a character of its own. We seem to leave France behind us as we enter them, and the eye is immediately struck by the sudden and singular change. The dress of the women, their capulets and capuchons; the physiognomy of the young men with their Henri Quatri air, *fin et gaillard*; the shepherd look, pastoral and patriarchal, of the old ones; the southern nonchalance, Spanish-sounding language, and warm vegetation, all combine to produce an unexpected effect, which is increased by the tribes of Spaniards of all classes, whom political casualty or the desire of gain have thrown in upon the country. The labourers who come over from Arragon, being harder workers than the native peasants, and content with lower wages, are sure to find employment; their wives and children beg, and contribute not a little to give a foreign and especial character to the country.

‘The shepherds of Béarn have the dark eyes and the aqueline nose, as in the time of Montaigne, but I am not sure of the ‘*odeur de forte conscience*.’ The old Béarnais with his small flat berrêt, blouse of blue or white, his hat cut close on the crown, but flowing over the shoulders like the kings of the Merovingian race, has something frank yet staid in his aspect, which becomes the simple and pastoral character of the country,—I speak especially of the old men, the young ones being free gaillards, who have not yet come to their dignity. Old age in peasant men is usually dignified, but rarely so in peasant women, who are oftenest bleared and full of care; while the men contrive to set off their silver hairs with a healthy and pleasant, though magisterial, serenity of countenance. I have seen a few respectable Roman-nosed matrons here, stern as northern prophetesses, but erect and active in their long black robes and scarlet capulets; but these lofty specimens are scarce, while the hearty old grandads seem all of the same upright, ruddy, patriarchal race. The young men are often handsome, with a marked expression of shrewdness and simplicity; two qualities apparently opposite, but frequently united: the young women in general comely, superb in the valley d’Ossau, pretty and coquette at Pau, expert (the damsels of Pau, I mean,) in the tie of a

madrass as the grisettes of Bordeaux ; and, if the scandalous chronicle says true, not at all disposed to follow the example of that fair girl of Monasque, who, seeing that her beauty had made an impression on the susceptible heart of Francis the First, scalded or scorched her face till she had destroyed every thing that could have excited his dangerous admiration.

‘ In summer, the light vest, or the blouse, (the long-sleeved tunic of the ancient monument,) is the habitual dress of the Béarnais peasant. In cold weather, the *cape* with its friar’s hood keeps out the biting air. It is probably the same ‘cape Bergerique’ which ‘Saint Martin acheta pour son usage’ hundreds of years ago. In remote places the people are like well-preserved coins, that hand down to us the fashions of past ages.’—Vol. I. pp. 215—218.

We subjoin the following passage because it contains some explanations which will gratify those of our readers who are fond of exploring the signification of words and names. And, by-the-by, this is, to most minds, as soon as they commence the inquiry, both fascinating and useful. In fact, to the studious, every study has its charms, and we would recommend, especially to our juvenile readers, early to addict themselves to every kind of research, assured that they will find both pleasure and profit from all. But to the text.

‘ The eldest sons of the earth, as some one calls the great mountains, become the expressive appellations which distinguish them here,—as La Maladetta, (the accursed mountain); the Poey Mourou, (black peak); Mont Perdu, (lost mountain); Traou Malet,* (mauvais trou); Campana del Val, (bell of the valley, and the same that will toll on the day of judgment), &c. The lakes and torrents, too, have had their romantic baptism,—as the Coumbe Scure, (lake of the dark hill); Riou Mou, (bad stream); le Pas de l’Ours, (the pass of the bear), and many others; some christened in the patois of the country, others familiarized to the stranger’s ear through the less energetic medium of the modern tongue. The poetical feeling to which the streams and mountains of the Pyrenees owe their characteristic denominations, appears to be the heritage of rude minds. We often find fine or modern names grafted on the simple and expressive ones by which the remarkable features of a country are known in the dialect of the peasants, but they have not their charm or character. The literal meaning, too, of these vernacular names is sometimes so beautiful! What sweet ones are often attached to old lands in Ireland,—as Lisnegar, the fort of sorrow; or Benena, the music of the glen: what a sin it would be to make Rose Hill, or Holly Mount, of them, or even Tivoli, or Laurentinum. I do not know what Cader Idris may mean, nor yet Helvellyn; but if they be translateable it must, I am sure, be

* Tourmalet.

into something wild and grand ; both sound so in their untranslated tongue.'—pp. 319, 320.

We are pleased to observe here and there scriptural references, and an estimation of religious men or things that bespeak a mind not spoiled by travelling. The moral progress of the age will doubtless secure much more of this in yet to be published *Tours and Travels*. We must make room for the account of a thunder storm, which confirms the statements in the writer of the preceding volumes as to the character of these Pyrénéan visitations.

'The other day I quarrelled with a thunder-storm for its muffled tone and small artillery ; but last night we had such a wiping off of scores,—such a hurtling in the heavens ! lightning sheeting the earth with its blue glare and streaming in at the unshuttered windows, while the loud thunder came booming from the distance with a deep forward roll, like a mighty vessel labouring through the clouds and throwing off its tremendous broadsides ; and then the last unearthly sound,—the retreating one,—dying with slow rebound along the hills until it was lost in fearful silence, quickly and suddenly broken by a fresh uproar, more awfully near, or more solemnly distant than the former.

'What plenitude of power is in a storm ! with what a voice it cries aloud in the wilderness, compassing the earth in its mighty sweep, and mocking the strength and violence of man ! When the stars that keep nightly watch in the firmament seem extinguished, and the blue dome into whose fields of light the timid imagination fears not to adventure, feeling that nothing but joy, and love, and praise can dwell in such a heaven, is transformed into a tossed and shapeless desert, the heart sinks,—seeing in its lurid darkness images that it had not dared to think of, and hearing in its deadly and portentous sounds the same voice, that when the condemned to everlasting punishment inquire what hour of the night it is,—as if the passage of time could allay their torments,—answers, 'Eternity ! '*

'Such storms as that of last night are not heard, even in countries subject to their visitations, without some feeling of alarm, though familiarity strips danger of many of its terrors ; but the unknown voice, the unfathomable power, never entirely loses its hold on the mind. Science may prove that the shock and the flash are the effects of natural and explicable causes ; but in the volume of the mind is a page on which the might and majesty of the omnipotent hand, that impels the storm and sends it reeling through the heavens, are written in everlasting characters, in defiance of the demonstrations of chemistry. 'It is the Lord that commandeth the waters, it is the glorious God that maketh the thunder.'—pp. 248—250.

* 'This fine and fearful image was presented by a Christian missionary to the minds of his Indian followers.'

We must add, and it is all we can add,—though we would willingly make other extracts,—a brief account of the curate of Gavarnie :

‘ Returned to the hamlet of Gavarnie with my chair carried backwards, and my face turned towards the Marboré ; by which means I enjoyed a view of its glories for nearly an hour longer, taking in the whole of the hollow sweep from one extreme of the crescent to the other, and its sudden break down into softer mountains ; which, sinking into green hills, pastured by sheep, or pleasantly wooded, melt gradually into the gentle valley of Gavarnie,—a pleasant valley, where the grass is enamelled with meadow-saffron and moistened by swift streams, and where the curate sits reading in the shadow of a rock, but with a better breviary open before him than his written one. An angel, the mistress of the inn calls him,—wise, mild, learned, and, she might have added, resigned ; for it requires the courage of piety to wear out with cheerfulness a young existence in this lonely hamlet, which, during the seven or eight months of its long winter is almost buried in snow, and not a human being to speak to but the few poor peasants who remain in it ; no commerce with the responding mind, no companionship of thought ; nature sealed up, and the short hours of daylight bleak and clouded.

‘ Nothing but the consciousness of a great duty, and the power of alleviating by counsel and by comfort,—but above all by the lesson of devout hope, the hardships of the small flock of whom he is in the most beautiful sense of the word the pastor, could make such a situation acceptable to a young and (as he is described) educated man. An intense conviction, the heart-whole earnestness and simplicity of an apostle, and an humble confidence in divine support belong, no doubt, to one who thus devotes himself to the labours of holiness,—labours too of love, love which finds its requital even here, in the warm affection of the poor dwellers by the winter river and the cold mountains of Gavarnie.

‘ But, after all, it is a beautiful and edifying life ; full of usefulness, privileged in good. Who can say, when their wanderings have led them to the remote cabin of the Christian priest, that ‘ there is no longer perfume in the temple, or music in the sanctuary, or emotion in the heart ! ’—pp. 426—428.

We have observed nothing objectionable—(nor from a lady traveller could we fairly apprehend it)—but much that is attractive in these *Sketches*, which we cordially recommend to our readers.

ART. VIII. 1. *Letter to the Right Hon. Lord Stanley, &c., on the Law of Church Rates.* By SIR JOHN CAMPBELL, &c. Ridgway and Son, Piccadilly.

2. *A Few Historical Remarks upon the Supposed Antiquity of Church Rates, and the Three-fold Division of Tithes.* By a Lay Member of the Church of England. Ridgway & Son, Piccadilly.

3. *Will you have your church Repaired?* Ridgway & Son, Piccadilly.

THERE are in all just *four* aspects which the present absorbing controversy respecting church rates may be said to assume—or four grounds on which the question of their continuance or abolition may be argued. The first is the abstract reason of the case, in which we include the justice or injustice of compelling the whole community to support the religious services of a part. This view of the subject has been copiously argued, *pro* and *con*, in almost all the speeches at public and vestry meetings in all parts of the kingdom. We certainly think that little cause has been shown to justify so obnoxious a measure, either on the ground of the incompetence of the conformists to defray the expenses of their own worship, or any advantages which the non-conformists derive from the moral and social excellences of the privileged party. And this, because the advantages are reciprocal; and if such an argument were valid on the one side, it would be equally valid for the other. The contributions to the general or national amount of virtue and piety, are as valuable in the one case as in the other. And, as far as the nation is concerned, it is, to say the least, as much indebted to the nonconformists as to the conformist, for the promotion of social virtue. Consequently, these reciprocal claims equalize or neutralize each other. The churchman has, on this ground, no more right, in the view of natural justice, to tax the dissenter, than the dissenter to tax the churchman. If the second is benefited by the piety of the first, so is the first by the piety of the second. One has no peculiarity of claim which the other has not.

The *second* aspect of the question, or the second ground on which it may be argued, is that of sacred law, divine authority, or the genius and spirit of Christianity; or, if the parties please, the practice exhibited in both Testaments. It is abundantly obvious that all the pro-rate advocates have failed to produce a single scriptural argument in support of compulsory payments. We have seen scarcely one who has made any reference, however slight, to the new dispensation, while the advocates of the abolition have entrenched themselves strongly in the great principles laid down by the founder of Christianity, and the uniform procedure of his apostles. But some show of argument has been made

by appeals to the Jewish establishment—the divinely instituted system of tithes and offerings, the ordinances and regulations of various pious kings of Israel, when special pecuniary exertions were necessary for the rebuilding and repairs of the temple. In some instances we have seen references to eminent nonconformist commentators, in recommendation, as it is alleged, of a compulsory tax for the support of a national profession of Christianity. Now, all these arguments may be classed under two species; the *first* are those that are derived directly from the divine authority for the support of the Jewish church—and the second are all arguments of authority, or *ad verecundiam*, in reference to nonconformists.

Let us examine the first class, as to their validity. They are of this description: tithes and offerings for the support of Judaism were sanctioned and enforced by divine commandment, therefore it cannot be wrong in Christian rulers to make analogous assessments for the support of Christianity. Supposing the premises admitted to the full extent of the assumption, the inference we say could not logically follow; because it argues from what God did, and that in a special case, to what we may do. God established Judaism by taxing the people for its maintenance, and we may therefore do the same in reference to Christianity. But if the argument is good in one case, it is good in another. God established an order of priests, according to lineal descent. God commanded that the Sabbath-breaker should be put to death; and innumerable other things. Dare we or our Christian legislators do the same? Does the divine act authorize our act? We apprehend not.

But we say further, the argument is essentially invalid, because its premises are bad. Neither tithes nor offerings, under the law of Moses, were a compulsory payment in reference to the civil power. They were wholly a religious regulation, placed upon divine commands, left to the conscience of the Jew—*voluntary* as it regarded all human interference—not recoverable if withheld. This is clearly stated by Mosheim in his ‘Laws of Moses,’ and by many other writers. It is demonstrated by the fact that no directions are given for the seizing of them; no instances can be found of their being violently taken—and all the threatenings and criminations of the prophets respecting them show that they were often withheld, and that divine judgments were the consequence. ‘Bring ye all the tithes into the storehouse.’ ‘Ye have robbed me, even this whole nation—in tithes and offerings.’ We put this matter to all our clerical friends who argue for the compulsory payment of tithes and rates, from the supposed fact of their compulsory nature under Judaism. Let them show that the system now sanctioned by so many Christian divines, had any parallel in Judaism. We allege that, in this respect they have

incorporated with their established Christianity a feature of extortion and severity alien even from the system of Judaism. They would fasten around our necks a yoke which was never borne even by the Jews. God left the support of the Mosaic church to the conscience of the Jew, wrought upon, indeed, by the authority of the divine law, but altogether exempt from the coercion of the priesthood, or the power of the civil ruler. Thus it appears that Judaism supplies no sanction whatever to the compulsory exactions for which so many Christian ministers and bishops are now blindly zealous.

As to the various quotations which we have seen from Matthew Henry, Baxter, and other non-conformist writers, our reply is, that were these opinions far more clear and decisive than they really are, they would not deserve the weight of a feather against the unquestionable fact that Holy Scripture affords not the slightest sanction, in either Testament, to coercive payments. Further, it is to be observed, that many of the writers in question meant no such thing as to give their approbation to forced payments in support of the Gospel; and, further, that some of them were only nonconformists in some points of discipline, and agreed with our opponents in the propriety of a national system of religion—only they did not approve that system called Episcopalian—but preferred an Established Presbyterian. Then, finally, it behoves all our adversaries to know that we admit no authority in religion but the inspired word. *Nullius addictus juravi, &c.* We believe that many of the early nonconformists, though right in the fact of their nonconformity on the grounds they assumed, yet, like the first reformers, did not go far enough—did not carry out their own principles consistently. We believe that they were fallible men, and that we have just as good right to examine this subject for ourselves as they had—and therefore, that though we are bound to consider, as we have done, their opinions, yet we are not bound to bow to them. Our opponents may, therefore, save themselves the trouble of citing such authorities, for our appeal is to a higher tribunal—and to that only in such a case can we submit.

We pass on now to the *third* ground on which this question is at present argued—that is, the *antiquity* of the claim to rates, constituting, as the clergy say, their right to demand them as a real property belonging to the church, and having as valid a title as can be shown for holding any other property in the empire. They pretend to have their origin as far back as the time of Ina, king of the West Saxons; if not to the ancient British churches which existed when Augustine, the monk, arrived in Kent with authority from Pope Gregory to convert the Anglo Saxons. Every thing that has emanated from the pro-rate party professedly treating this branch of the argument, proves, when examined, to be a

tissue of mistake or misrepresentation. They find, first, an injunction from Ina upon his subjects to pay church-shot—and they instantly leap to the conclusion that this must have been a church-rate established by royal mandate in the seventh century. But unfortunately for the argument, *first*, Ina was king of only a small section of England, and had this been a church-rate, it would no more have constituted a proof of a national statute upon the subject, than a county-rate or parish-rate of the present day. Moreover, *secondly*, it can never be proved that the church-shot or scot was a payment for the repair of the church or maintenance of the service. The learned author of the second pamphlet at the head of this article, has clearly shown that the repair of the churches was well provided for in another way during this very period—so that the *church-shot could* not have been a church-rate in any sense. We submit the following passage in proof of this point, and in reproof of those who say the tithes were never burdened with the claim for the support of the churches—nor divided into several portions having distinct destinations.

‘The first person who brought Christianity to this country, as a missionary from Pope Gregory of Rome, was St. Augustine: he found the people of England worshipping Wôden and Thunor, and other gods, and he succeeded in converting a great number of the men of Kent from heathenism. He came weak, poor, and friendless, but he speedily became strong, rich, and influential; and from Kent, the true religion gradually made its way into the other kingdoms of which England then consisted. The men of Kent made various offerings to the church, and to Augustine, the Bishop, even as they had before been accustomed to make offerings to the priests of Wôden and the other gods. Now Augustine had not been very long here, before he found that he could not proceed in a half-converted land, as he could in Italy or France, which had much longer received the light of the gospel; and, being unwilling to take upon himself the whole responsibility of making changes which might have been contrary to the strict laws or canons of the church to which he belonged, he took care to consult Pope Gregory as to what measures he should adopt, and what steps he should take. We have still the letters which Pope Gregory sent to Augustine, and not only from their great wisdom and piety, but from the rules of conduct which they laid down, these letters were held in great estimation by the primitive English Christians; one of these letters is particularly valuable, because it contains a large number of inquiries made by Augustine, together with the answers returned by Pope Gregory. Now, one of the questions, amongst this great number all directed to the one end of ascertaining what Augustine and his clergymen were to do in the newly converted land, inquires, ‘What distribution is to be made of such gains as accrue to the altar (i. e. the church), from the offerings of the faithful.’ And to this Gregory answered, ‘that it was the custom of the Apostolical see, whenever a bishop was ordained, to give him a command to this

‘ effect:—that of every stipend which accrued to the church, four portions should be made; one for the bishop and his family, that he might keep himself, and receive guests and strangers; a second, for the maintenance of the clergy; a third, for the relief of the poor; and a fourth, for the repairs of the churches; but,’ Pope Gregory added, ‘ as you are a monk, you must not be separated from your clergy; but in a newly established church, like that of England, you must adopt such a habit as prevailed amongst our forefathers, in the primitive church of Christ, who had nothing for themselves alone, but all things in common.’—pp. 4, 5.

We have not space to go through the various documentary proofs which this tract affords that church-rates can derive no support from those early ages, and that all the argument which has been raised respecting the antiquity of church-scot or shot, is mere delusion. We must refer our readers to the pamphlet itself, which is mainly confined to the question of antiquity. It brings many curious matters to light, and appears to us satisfactorily to prove that no such thing as Church-rate existed in the Anglo-Saxon or Norman period of our history.

The *fourth* ground upon which the present controversy rests, relates to the present legal existence of such a property, and the power of the church to enforce its payment. The pro-rate party have taken upon them to declare that statute law is its basis—that the church can enforce its payment and possesses a right to it as a property which never did belong to the parishioners, but is reserved as an attachment to all lands and houses. Now, the absurdity of this whole argument is exposed by Sir John Campbell’s pamphlet, noticed at the head of this article. He clearly challenges his opponent Lord Stanley, to the proof that any statute of the realm, or even the common law, knows any thing of church-rates, except as a power parishioners possess of voluntarily taxing themselves. He gives his legal opinion, confirmed by an examination and citation of all the cases in which the question has appeared in court—that till the majority of a vestry agrees to make a rate, there is no such thing in existence. He denies that the Ecclesiastical Courts, or the Court of Chancery, or the King’s Bench, has any power to enforce any payment in the form of a church-rate. He proves that all these courts have decided that there is no rate, and consequently none to be enforced till the parish have, by their majority of votes, made one. He clearly defines that the utmost power of the courts is to enforce upon the wardens or the parish the duty of holding a meeting for the purpose of considering the matter; and then, if they meet and refuse a rate, the power of the courts terminates. This opinion is supported by the decisions of the most eminent judges since the Reformation. He further exhibits very clearly a most important matter at the present moment, and to which we par-

ticularly wish to draw the attention of our readers, because the Dissenters may yet have to pitch their battle-field in their respective parish vestries, and may be called to beat their enemies in detail throughout the kingdom. He shows that no rate is legal, or can be legally enforced unless it be *prospective*—that if only a part of the sum demanded by the churchwardens is to pay a debt already contracted—it may be refused, and if a majority of the vestry agree to grant a rate for it, such rate cannot be enforced. This opinion, grounded upon numerous decisions, should now be universally acted upon by Dissenters; and, if they will take the trouble to scrutinize the churchwardens' accounts, we presume it will be found that, in a majority of parishes, the rates are demanded to re-imburse the wardens.

‘In *Rex v. Haworth** it was decided, upon the authority of several prior cases, that a rate to reimburse churchwardens such sums as they *had expended*, or might thereafter expend, on the parish church, is bad on the face of it, as in part retrospective.

‘Lord Ellenborough there says:—‘The regular way is for the churchwardens to raise the money before hand by a rate made in the regular form for the repairs of the church, in order that the money may be paid by the existing inhabitants at the time, on whom the burthen ought properly to fall. It will, indeed, sometimes happen that more may be required to be expended at the time than the actual sum collected will cover; but still it is admitted that the inconvenience has been gotten rid of in such cases by an evasion; for the rate has been made in the common form, and when the churchwardens have collected the money, they have repaid themselves what they have disbursed for the parish. But we cannot now grant the mandamus to make a rate in the common form; for the demand made upon the defendants was to make a rate in the form in which the rule is drawn up, to reimburse the churchwardens of Bradford for money which they had expended, as well as for what they might expend; and the refusal of the defendants to make such a rate applies to the form of the demand; and we cannot now qualify their refusal. At present it appears that the rate prayed for in this form would be bad, and therefore we cannot enforce it by mandamus.’ *Per Curiam*. Rule discharged.

‘The illegality of a retrospective church rate has likewise been decided in equity. In *Lanchester v. Thompson*,† an attempt was tried to force the making of a church-rate on the ground that the vestry had sanctioned the expense which the churchwarden had incurred. But Sir John Leach, M.R., said, ‘In the case before Lord Ellenborough it was established, that a church-rate can be legally made for the reimbursement of no churchwarden, because that would shift the burden from the parishioners at the time, to future parishioners. The law was the same with respect to the poor rate, until a late statute. And although

* 12 East, 456.

† 5 Madd. 4.

the Spiritual Court may compel a church-rate for the purpose of repair, it must follow the law, and cannot compel a rate for reimbursement."—pp. 21—23.

Sir John then gives other decisions of the courts to the same point, and closes his admirable and well-timed argument with a few paragraphs showing the inoffensive nature as to the clergy, and the healing nature as to the church and dissenters, of the proposed Bill. We recommend all our readers who wish to stand prepared for local conflicts, to peruse carefully, the brief, but satisfactory exhibition here made of the state of the law and practice of the courts, upon this important and agitating question.

The third pamphlet before us is admirably adapted to open the eyes of parishioners to the situation in which they will soon be placed, if they allow the intemperance and intolerance of the clergy to seduce them into a rejection of the wise and healing measure of our reform government—a measure which appears will do good to all, and injury to none.

Since the preceding remarks were written, a momentous change in our public affairs has taken place. It is not for us to speculate on the consequences which will probably follow. Our first duty is to prepare for the impending crisis. Parliament will, of course, be speedily dissolved, and then comes 'the tug of war.' The nation will be appealed to, and we look for its reply in the firm assurance that it will determine many questions yet unresolved, and render certain the success of measures too liberal and reforming for the present House of Commons. The Dissenters of Great Britain have a high duty to perform in the approaching struggle. The ministers of the crown have evinced their readiness to extend to us some measure of justice, and a majority of the lower House have adopted their views. But the strength of the Tory party would inevitably have defeated the design if the present parliament had been continued. Inveterately hostile to our claims—with the language of conciliation on their lips, and the deadliest enmity in their hearts—they were prepared to hazard all consequences in order to crush our hopes, and to react the part which they have been accustomed to perform in the history of our country. But our fortunes are now in our own hands, and we shall be the contempt of our enemies, and the pity of our friends, if we do not act worthy of the occasion. To this subject we shall return in our next number. In the mean time, let the Dissenters be *vigilant, cautious, and decided*. Not a single vote must the Tory party receive from our ranks, and those pseudo liberals who court our aid, but refuse us justice, must be left to confederate with the enemies of human virtue and of religious liberty.

Art. IX. *A Treatise on Painful and Nervous Diseases, and on a New Mode of Treatment for Diseases of the Eye and Ear.* By A. TURNBULL, M.D. Third Edition. London: Churchill, 1837.

THE study of medicine is purely an inductive science and can only be pursued with advantage by those who narrowly watch the relations of facts or those phenomena which are exhibited by the human body in a state of health and disease. In the earlier ages physicians were either dogmatists or visionary speculators; the one, imperious as Sir Anthony Absolute, restricted his attention to detached and isolated facts; the other, smitten with a theorizing mania, bewildered himself in regions of fiction as airy and unsubstantial as any dream in the Arabian Nights Entertainments. Both overlooked the path of induction; and the science of medicine therefore became overrun with all sorts of vagaries; dogmas the most absurd, theories the most extravagant, found some champion or other ever ready to support them; and too deservedly did they incur the Ciceronian censure,—‘*Nihil tam absurdum, quod non dictum sit ab aliquo philosophorum.*’ As in the higher department of Theosophy the light of truth has gradually dispelled the superstitions of heathenism, so in medical science the spirit of philosophy has repudiated these dreamy fictions; and now assumes a tone of practical wisdom, which does more to ameliorate the sufferings of humanity than all the fine-spun theories that ever emanated from the schools.

In accordance with these principles, Dr. Turnbull has recently conducted a series of investigations which have led to some curious and important discoveries. In 1834 he announced to the profession the fact that Veratria has a specific power in curing Tic-doloureux, Neuralgia, and affections of the heart. In the public hospitals, and in private practice, the remedy was forthwith had recourse to, and the seven cases which were cured by Veratria, after having resisted every other mode of treatment, proved at once the importance and value of this discovery. Dr. Turnbull was next induced to try its effects in cases of blindness from Amaurosis or Gutta Serena; and the most happy results attended its exhibition. He then further extended his researches, and discovered that the vegetable principle of Stavesacre exerts also a specific remedial effect on the nerves of hearing and vision when these are in a state of disease. These are interesting facts. He furthermore shows the nature physiologically of inflammation, and explains that these remedies have the effect of displacing the conditions upon which inflammation is dependent. This is strictly philosophical, and rigidly in accordance with the principles of inductive science. That Veratria, Delphinia, and Aconitine, should possess these specific properties, is not more marvellous than that mercury should act upon the glands of the mouth, or belladonna dilate the pupil of the eye. It was, however, reserved for Dr. Turnbull to make these discoveries. The mode in which the most simple substances act upon the human body is not, strictly speaking, understood;

we observe that different medicinal agents induce different effects ; but the secret action, the *modus operandi*, is not so easily explained. This, however, is no more an opprobrium on medical science than it is an opprobrium on physical science, that philosophers are unable to reveal the connexion that exists between cause and effect. They deduce from observation the laws of gravitation, but in what the phenomenon intrinsically consists they cannot tell ; they cannot, in fact, unveil the relation between cause and effect, which it has been finely observed seems to be the grand secret that divides the Creator from the created. The cases which Dr. Turnbull has published, and which occurred not only in his own practice but in that also of other medical practitioners, constitute a mass of evidence that is perfectly irresistible. They prove that, under his new mode of treatment, persons who have been blind and deaf have recovered permanently their sight and hearing. We receive the discoveries of Dr. Turnbull in a thankful spirit, and sincerely hope he will persevere in researches which contribute so essentially to the benefit and happiness of mankind.

Art. X. *A Treatise on the Nature of Trees, and the Pruning of Timber Trees.* By STEPHEN BALLARD. Ledbury: 1836. Second Edition.

A RATHER bold attempt to show the utter inutility of pruning as applied to forest trees, either in improving the quality, quantity, or shape of timber. The author is, we are informed, a practical man of considerable experience, who has devoted much of his time to the study of trees. The first three chapters show the power of trees to adapt their form to their situation—to shed such sprays as are useless, without the pruner's aid—and to send out sprays and branches wherever there is room for them to grow. The fourth chapter endeavours to prove that the idea of the stem being enlarged by cutting off the side branches is erroneous, and that the effect is, on the other hand, to deprive the tree of the sap which would have been elaborated by those leaves which are cut off, and retard the growth, since the stem always grows in proportion to the head which it supports. The author next shows that the quality of timber is injured instead of improved by pruning, as the place where the branch has been cut off will not unite with the young wood, when enclosed in the tree, and forms therefore a blemish in the timber—sometimes also introducing decay into the tree ; while some of the sap-vessels of the stem, being rendered useless, contract and form what carpenters term shakes. He then combats the idea of improving the shape of the tree by cutting, instancing the fine shapes of the trees near gentlemen's seats, where they have been preserved from mutilation. The treatise concludes with some remarks on cutting down timber at too early an age. The subject is one of great importance, and Mr. Ballard's observations are well worthy the attention both of practical and scientific men. They are not published, the author informs us, from the expectation of pecuniary profit,—if they had, he might have swelled out his little

volume into much more formidable dimensions ;—‘ but,’ he continues, ‘ convinced of the correctness of my positions by long and attentive observation, and by experiment, I feel compelled to prevent, as much as I am able, a practice that is annually robbing this country of an immense quantity of valuable timber, and shall be amply rewarded for my trouble if, in passing through the country I see any trees left unpruned, through a knowledge of the certain ill-effects of pruning.’

* * * The Editor regrets that the press of other matter has compelled him to postpone the article on Menzel till next Month.

ART. XII. BRIEF NOTICES.

1. *Spring ; or the Causes, Appearances, and Effects of the Seasonal Renovations of Nature, in all Climates.* By R. MUDIE. Ward & Co.
2. *Summer ; or the Causes, Appearances, and Effects of the Grand Naptials of Nature.* By R. MUDIE. Ward & Co.
3. *Sacred Philosophy of the Seasons, Illustrating the Perfections of God in the Phenomena of the Year.* By the Rev. H. DUNCAN, D.D., Rutliwell. Oliphant & Son.

We regret that our notice of these volumes appears so late. They are not more alike in their titles, than they are in sentiment. Each presents religion and philosophy, beautifully and harmoniously blended—and as we have read page after page, we have been delighted ; not more with the minute and accurate description of nature, with which they abound, than with the correct and religious reflections which direct the thoughts to nature’s God. Dr. Duncan has adopted a somewhat novel plan in the construction of his work. It is divided into short sections, for daily reading, extending over a period of thirteen weeks, or the Spring quarter. The Sunday portion is strictly devotional, having reference, however, to the subjects introduced during the week. The meditations are highly interesting and instructive, and not the least valuable part of the work. We most cordially recommend these volumes to our readers. The style is popular, and the subject most inviting. Few works are better adapted for presents to young people ; for, whilst they are

sure to fix the attention of the youthful reader, they cannot fail to improve and elevate the mind.

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Brief Records of the Independent Church at Beccles, Suffolk, Including Biographical Notices of its Ministers, and Some Account of the Rise of Nonconformity in the East Anglian Counties. By SAMUEL WILTON RIX. London : Jackson and Walford, 1837.

This volume belongs to a class which we should be glad to see greatly multiplied. They awaken a deep local interest, and tend to keep alive the memory of our father’s virtues and sufferings. Many of our churches possess records, the publication of which would greatly serve the cause of religious liberty and of scriptural truth. The principles and history of our ecclesiastical system would thus be kept before the view of our several communities, and the deep piety and costly sacrifices of their founders be better appreciated. Though the interest awakened by such publications may not be so extensive as that of a general history, it is more powerful within its sphere, and will frequently be found to lead to the perusal of larger and more permanent works.

Mr. Rix’s little volume is written with considerable judgment, and displays throughout extensive research and a commendable liberality. It cannot fail to be very acceptable to the church whose fortunes it records, and is admirably adapted to awaken an interest in the more general history of the Christian church.

The Evangelist. Nos. 1 & 2. Edited by the Rev. JOHN LEIFCHILD and the Rev. Dr. REDFORD. London: Leif-child & Bulgin.

Each number of this new periodical 'is intended to consist of about six skeletons of Sermons, with hints for filling them up, and two short Discourses.' The class for whose benefit it is designed consist of village preachers and city missionaries, 'whose habits and avocations preclude them from the use of Commentaries, and books of divinity, as well as from the employment of much time in forethought and meditation.' To such persons the publication is eminently appropriate, and we heartily recommend it to their notice. But let not those for whom the excellent editors never designed it resort to it as the refuge of indolence. We sometimes fear that considerable injury has been done to the mental vigour and independence of the rising ministry by the *dishonourable* use of such publications.

The high character of the Editors is an ample guarantee for the literary respectability and theological soundness of the work: and the materials already accumulated will insure, we are informed, 'an ample variety, both in the topics discussed, and in the method of discussion.' If the numbers before us be a fair sample, the work cannot fail to obtain extensive circulation.

Rosette and Miriam; or the Twin Sisters: a Jewish Narrative of the Eighteenth Century. By the Author of 'Emma de Lissau,' &c. &c. London: Charles Tilt.

We have read this volume with considerable interest, and recommend it to the perusal of our readers. It is a Jewish tale, intended to exemplify some of the domestic and internal peculiarities of the Jews; and, like the former narrative, (by the same author), 'Emma de Lissau,' is calculated to awaken feelings of sympathy and interest on behalf of this neglected and excluded people. In England the Jewish character is little under-

stood—for the most part it is looked at through a prejudiced medium. In Germany or Poland the Jew is not excluded from the highest offices in the state, nor refused the most distinguished literary honours; whilst, in England, they neither gain admission to our seats of learning, nor are they to be met with in any of the ordinary or higher departments of the government. There is much to admire in the domestic character of the people; reverence for parental authority is strongly displayed by all classes—and perhaps none are more uniformly remarkable for sobriety, industry, and perseverance. If there be any thing to regret in this tale, it is, its tragical conclusion. We think it betrays want of taste, and renders the finale too painful and abrupt.

A Brief History of the Church of Christ. From the German of the Rev. C. G. Barth. London: Tract Society. 1837.

Few of our readers probably ever expected to meet with a History of the Church of Christ adapted to the capacities and capable of engaging the interest of very young persons. Yet, such a work is supplied in the little volume before us, which we cannot too strongly recommend to the parents and guardians of youths. The Tract Society has performed a very acceptable service in presenting it to the public, and we hope it will have an extensive circulation.

The Judges of Israel; or a History of the Jews, from the Death of Joshua to the Death of Samuel, &c. London: Tract Society.

Another of those very useful and interesting little works for young persons, which have recently issued from the same press, illustrative of Jewish history, manners, and customs, and intended to allure the youthful mind to the study of the word of God. Like its predecessors, it is neatly adorned with very appropriate engravings on wood, and garnished with a variety of useful hints in favour of true piety and devotedness to God.

ART. XIII. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Just Published.

Visit to the Great Oasis of the Libyan Desert, with an Account, Ancient and Modern, of the Oasis of Amun, and the other Oases now under the dominion of the Pasha of Egypt. With a Map and Twenty Plates. By G. A. Hoskins, Esq., Author of 'Travels in Ethiopia.'

Remains of Alexander Knox, Esq. Vols. 3 & 4.

Dr. Chalmers's Works. Vol. 6.—Commercial Discourses.

Summer; or the Causes, Appearances, and Effects, of the Grand Nuptials of Nature, in all its departments. By R. Mudie.

The English Martyrology, abridged from Foxe. By Charlotte Elizabeth. Vol. 1.

The Church of Christ Considered, in Reference to its Members, Objects, Duties, Officers, Government, and Discipline. By G. Payne, LL.D.

Investigation; or Travels in the Boudoir. By Caroline A. Halstead.

The Progress of Creation Considered, with Reference to the Present Condition of the Earth. By Mary Roberts.

Notes Abroad, and Rhapsodies at Home. By a Veteran Traveller. 2 vols.

A Narrative of Events since the First of August, 1834. By James Williams, an apprenticed labourer in Jamaica. Third Edition.

A Second and Enlarged Edition of Hymns for Young Persons, selected by the Rev. Richard Harvey, Rector of Hornsey, and chiefly designed for the higher classes in National and Sunday Schools.

Wallace; an Historical Tragedy, in Five Acts.

In the Press.

The Poetical Works of Robert Southey, Esq., Poet Laureate. The first complete and genuine edition, revised and amended, with many additional pieces never before collected, or now first published. In 10 Monthly Vols., with frontispiece and vignette titles.

Athens and Sparta; their Private Manners and Public Institutions. By James Augustus St. John, Author of 'Egypt and Mohammed Ali.'

The Author's principal object has been to supply, as far as possible, a complete picture of domestic life in the several states of ancient Greece, and to show how the various forms of civil polity which prevailed in those States arose naturally out of the manners and national character.

A History of English Literature, Critical, Philosophical, and Bibliographical. By J. D'Israeli, Esq. 8vo.

The Life of Edward, First Earl of Clarendon. By Thomas Henry Lister, Esq. With Original Correspondence and Authentic Papers never before published. 3 vols. 8vo., with Portrait.

A Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament. By E. Robinson, D.D., late Professor of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary, Andover, North America. Edited, with careful revision, corrections, occasional additions, and a Preface, by the Rev. S. T. Bloomfield, D.D., F.S.A.

Aristocracy in America. By Francis J. Grund, Author of 'The Americans, in their Social, Moral, and Political Relations.'

Classical Education Reformed. By Charles Rann Kennedy, M.A., Barrister at Law, and Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.

An Analytical View of all Religions. By Josiah Conder, Esq., Author of the 'Modern Traveller,' &c. &c.

An Analysis of Bishop Butler's Analogy. Designed to facilitate the study of that celebrated treatise. By the Rev. J. P. Wilson, M.A., Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford.

THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR AUGUST, 1837.

Art. I. *Oxford University Calendar.* 1837.

IN our last number we gave an account of the Oxford University and College Systems. To gain a full insight into the working of their regulations, it is requisite to enter farther into two other topics: viz. The Studies of the Place, and the Habits of the Resident Members. To these we now address ourselves, and shall finally offer some remarks on certain reforms which seem to be primarily needed, reserving for future discussion the important and difficult subject of the *curriculum* of study.

I. *Studies of the Place.* Under this title it is useless to include all that *may* be studied at Oxford with advantage or facility. The University affords Professors, and the Bodleian Library books, for the study of Arabic and Anglo-Saxon; but it would be strange to speak of these as among the studies of Oxford. Again; a slight impulse has been given to Hebrew by the recent founding of several Hebrew University Scholarships; and hence-forward it is probable that there will always be a small but regular supply of persons having a tolerable acquaintance with this language; but this again would not justify our speaking of Hebrew as belonging to the Oxford curriculum. In fact, the Vinerian Law Scholarships have been founded for eighty years, without producing any perceptible effect on the Oxford course of study.

Length of time occupied in study. According to the theory of the University, a student must reside seven years before taking his degree as Master of Arts. This time was intended to be employed in what must be called *general*, in opposition to *profes-*

sional studies. But it is evident that so long a period can never be obtained for this object, except when students are entered at a very early age. If they began at fourteen, they might continue till twenty-one. But now, when scarcely any are admitted before seventeen,—and eighteen is a medium age,—the professional education cuts short the University course before it is completed. About four years after entrance, the student takes his Bachelor's Degree; after which, he ordinarily obtains a dispensation, allowing him to reside one term only, (which may be three weeks, if rightly chosen,) instead of three years, and yet get his Master's Degree when the period is complete.

The four years preceding the Bachelor's Degree are half years, since the Colleges are in residence only twenty-eight or thirty weeks out of the fifty-two. Moreover, it being possible to get a dispensation for residing but three instead of four years, the Colleges enforce it as a *law*, prohibiting the full time of residence, because it is not convenient to them to give 'rooms.'

To illustrate this, we will relate a fact. A young gentleman of our acquaintance came to Oxford when about sixteen years old, and resided there under the instruction and superintendence of a relation, who was Fellow of a College. After a year, he was entered at another College, and desired to commence his course of study immediately. But *rooms* were not to be had; and his College bade him go home to his father for another year. He was desirous, if he could not attend the College lectures, to be allowed at least to stay under the protection of his relation, in the University. But this might not be. A gownsman and freshman could not be allowed to reside within the precincts of the University, and not within the College walls: he was therefore driven to his own home, where no instruction was to be had. When the year was complete and he came into residence, his *bill* was handed to him; in which he found that he had to pay, not only all University dues, but even the full sum for College tuition during the year that he had been forbidden to reside.

Theological Education. In former days the Universities themselves were supposed to hold out professional, as well as general education; but now those who mean to study Law or Medicine leave Oxford after taking the Bachelor's degree, to complete their education in other schools. The clergy alone have no professional education, except indeed the presenting themselves at a single short course of the Divinity Professor's lectures, at which he speaks, and they listen, if they please. Ordained at twenty-three or twenty-four, very shortly after taking their Bachelor's degree, they enter on the gravest of all professions at an earlier age than any

other can be practised, and without any more education than that in which the young country squire and barrister have participated. How much knowledge of divinity is required in the schools, we shall presently say. For ourselves, we think it problematic whether any divinity course that they are likely to get, would be of more profit than mischief. Yet, since those who uphold Oxford as a place of theological instruction cannot be supposed to take such a view, their apathy must be regarded as indicating, that their judgments and feelings are determined by habit, not by principle.

Subjects proposed for Study to Undergraduates. They are included under three heads, in the examination of the schools, viz. Divinity, Logic, and the classics. Besides which, *honours* are awarded to one who attains a respectable knowledge of pure and applied Mathematics. All these subjects are explained in the College lectures; though many reputable Colleges are often unable to afford adequate instruction in the mathematical line.

In Greek and Latin, the range of reading followed by those who are candidates for the highest honours, is considerable; but, as was before observed, it is not possible that the College lectures be managed for the benefit of such. A student who comes to the University well prepared, has already read the text of most of the books (excepting Aristotle) in which he is called to attend lectures; and when he finds the time chiefly spent in elucidating verbal difficulties for the sake of those less advanced, he is apt to count the lectures lost time and lost money. To such a student, the chief literary benefits of the University system, are,—the hours at his own disposal, with power of unlimited retirement,—intelligent companions, engaged in the same studies, whose conversation and vivacious rivalry excites his powers, while it relieves him by the variety,—a fixed definite line of study, to which the mind is directed continuously, so as to foster habits of application and energetic perseverance;—literary information and access to books; and if he can afford it, private tuition from such as have already distinguished themselves. These are advantages, which are not much diminished, be the College lectures as inefficient as they may.

But if we speak of the *minimum* of Greek and Latin necessary to entitle a gownsmen to the certificate of his degree, the amount is scanty enough. It may be hard for strangers to believe, what is yet most certain, that it is very far below what is attained by an ordinarily clever school-boy of the age of sixteen. If this arose from Greek and Latin bearing a subordinate place in the system, there would be nothing disgraceful in it; but when this is in truth the *main* topic of examination, it should make Oxonians blush.

At the public examinations, it is not usual to press even on a

candidate for honours any Greek or Latin author, which he has not named in his list; (or in the dialect of the place, which he has not *taken up*.) The object of this regulation is, to give a premium to diligent study; for if no books were certainly fixed on, it would give an undue advantage to clever men, who had gained a considerable knowledge of the mere languages at school, but who had been idle ever since. This is one cause of the apparent devotion of the Oxonians to a few authors, and especially to Aristotle. It is probably carried to an excess, and yet it is better than the opposite error.

As to Divinity and Logic, little difference exists between the examination of a first-class man and of a *pass* man; in the former subject absolutely none. On the pretence that Divinity is too sacred a subject to grant *honours* for it, (though *degrees* are granted!) no cognizance is taken of it for the degree, except to reject those who are desperately ignorant. If it be hard to obtain belief as to the low standard of a degree, in Greek and Latin, much more incredible would the specimens seem that might be produced of ignorance in divinity, in those who nevertheless obtained the examiner's certificate.

We have thought it right to let the last paragraph stand; but, since it was written, we have been informed that in the last ten years the examiners have laboured to raise the divinity examinations; and have occasionally struck terror into candidates for honours by rejecting men of high name for inability to recite the Thirty-nine Articles *memoriter*. We do not wish to overcharge any thing against the University, but are unable to say whether the above indicates any recent improvement. 'Divinity,' in the Oxford schools, implies a knowledge of the Old Testament History, the Four Gospels, the Thirty-nine Articles, with texts to prove them; and (as a handsome addition) the outline of Paley's Evidences.

What is the standard of Oxford logic, we may learn by the Archbishop of Dublin's candid statements. He has laboured meritoriously to redress matters; prior to which, he justly believed an exposure of the evil to be necessary. The long and short, we will state thus: all that is requisite in logic for the University degree, may be acquired by an intelligent person in the course of a few hours; though the numerous artificial difficulties which a technical system and strange phraseology throws in the way, make this fragment of science arduous to persons who are wanting in clearness of head.

Oxford sciences. It would be childish to pretend that all sciences ought to enter a University course; yet there is room for grave inquiry whether Oxford is right in her very contracted scheme. We have now only to notice how the word *science* is understood at Oxford; as meaning the philosophical treatises of

Aristotle (or sometimes Cicero or Plato) on Morals, Rhetoric, Poetry, and kindred subjects. In spite of numerous Professors, other subjects do not work their way into the system. Even the zealous efforts of the mathematicians have failed of making the slightest knowledge of 'Natural Philosophy' a substantive part of the course. 'History' is confined to a scanty (though important) portion of time, even in creditable degrees. 'Philology' itself, in which one would expect Oxford to excel, is not known as the science which it has become in the hands of the inquisitive Germans.

That Oxford has exceedingly fallen back in comparison with her ancient fame, cannot be denied. Once she stood on a par with the most celebrated foreign Universities. Even more recently her Professors were of leading rank in oriental studies. Now we hear of Paris, Copenhagen, and Petersburg, as the centre of numberless valuable publications in the languages of the East and North: but of Oxford, nothing of the kind. She seems to have long been living on German classics, and on French and Cambridge mathematics. The Germans have so outstripped her in Greek, Latin, Arabic, and Hebrew criticism, in Philology at large, in Biblical Antiquities, in Ecclesiastical and other ancient history, that for a length of time she will have nothing to do but translate from German authors. Now, when we ask, *Why* has Oxford thus fallen back, the answer is so obvious and complete, that it is wonderful how party zeal can blind men from seeing the truth: *Because she has been turned into a political engine.* Municipal corporations were once meant for good local government, and Universities for the promotion of good learning; but in its days of despotism, the crown corrupted the boroughs into instruments of political, and the Universities into instruments of ecclesiastical, domination. Elizabeth and the Stuarts sacrificed the interests of science and learning to their project, of 'tuning the pulpits' after their own will.

We must not be understood to undervalue the many eminent men who come from the University of Oxford. Out of the whole number who frequent its walls, there must be many of first-rate minds, many born of opulent parents, who seek for their children all sorts of intellectual improvement, and are able to continue their education for many years both before and after their coming to the University. No Oxonian will deny, that in the last century the state of things at Oxford was scandalous; yet past generations showed no lack of able and accomplished men, in church and state. They became what they were, not by help of the University, but in spite of her; and the same may be in a measure the truth still.

Causes of the low standard of the Degree. A principal cause lies in the very low average acquirements of those who enter

the University; and this again greatly depends on the low state of the public schools. Some Colleges have no examination at entering, or one perfectly nominal; with others it is a mere grammatical trial in simple passages of Latin and Greek. As for mathematics, we believe that a person might not only enter, but pass through the University course and take his degree creditably, without being able to say the Multiplication Table; without knowing what is a Vulgar Fraction; without understanding the philosophical principles of Numeration and Arithmetic; without knowing what mean Longitude and Latitude. Hence, if a tutor endeavour to raise the tone of the lectures, he perpetually finds himself thrown back to first principles, that should have been learned at school.

If it were possible to enforce a decent measure of application, as three or four hours a day, the evil would act less on the degree; but now, when so many come with knowledge so defective, and so many more add scarcely two months' effectual study to that which they learned at school, it is practically impossible to raise the standard of the final examination. More than a small fraction of candidates cannot be rejected. As it is a dishonour to be 'plucked,' (for such is the name,) no examiners are desirous of the odium of inflicting it; and the University at large is afraid of frightening away the higher aristocracy, if 'plucking' become too frequent. These remarks will suffice respecting the Studies of Oxford, and we proceed to the *Habits of the resident members*.

The resident graduates may be distributed into the following classes: (1.) The Heads of Colleges, and the married men; whether canons of Christ Church, professors or others, who are not fellows. These are generally engaged more about University than College business. Many of them are besides rectors of parishes, in which their 'preferment' in part consists. The Heads have no lack of business to fill up or fritter away time, between the affairs of the University and those of the College, besides all that rises out of the College estates. But the vacations, being nearly one half of the year, are a vast relief; and in the summer long vacation of three or four months, they can visit their parishes, and put on an entirely new character, if they please. Few reside through the long vacation, except those University officers whose situation constrains residence, those whose parishes are on the spot, and those whose families are too large to move. (2.) The fellows who occupy College offices. In full term we may sketch a tutor's day as follows: At eight o'clock in the morning he attends chapel; at nine takes his breakfast. From ten to two he perhaps is engaged in lectures; and then is free for his walk or ride. At half-past four or five is dinner time; and at six or half-past six is the evening chapel: after

which their time is supposed to be their own. Nevertheless, a variety of matters, connected with College discipline and regulations, demand attention, so that they have by no means so much leisure as might be supposed. Add to this, what was mentioned before, that many have some curacy or lectureship; and of those who hold other College offices, some are likewise in University office. We should have said, that the fellows ordinarily dine together in the hall, at the high table; whence they retire to the 'common room' for wine and dessert. This is the general rendezvous of the society; the chief opportunity of getting acquainted with each other, and interchanging sentiments on all subjects. In the long vacation, it is by no means a rare thing for the fellows to travel on the continent; sometimes on their own account, sometimes with a pupil of rank or fortune. It is said that this will ever prevent a shortening of the summer vacation, which is so very pleasant and comfortable a relaxation. Another reason, however, is also assigned; viz. that during the summer months it would be impracticable to control the license of the more vicious part of the young men. The appearances maintained before strangers by the fellows of a College, are those of persons having four or five times their income; partly because numerous expenses are shared among them, partly because they have the use of the College servants, College plate, and public rooms, on all extraordinary occasions. (3.) A portion of the resident graduates take little or no part in public business, (except voting in convocation on particular occasions,) but are either recluse students, or idle men little respected, or lastly, are engaged entirely as parish priests. (4.) The Bachelors who reside, have no very marked description. They are separated pretty strongly from undergraduates, by the aristocratical mark of admission to the high tables and common rooms; by taking private pupils, and again, by the circumstance that a Bachelor is always thought 'to have a character to maintain!' In consequence, they rapidly merge in the mass of the graduates.

The undergraduates have a greater variety, inasmuch as the differences of fortune between them are far greater, as well as of moral character. Those who are deeply engaged in study seldom find time for very expensive occupations. A chief danger is to those who without large fortune have high connexions, or gain introduction to men of fortune. In a single College are contained numerous sets of students, (in Oxford dialect, 'of men,') who are not formally introduced, and who therefore behave to each other as strangers. They may dine side by side in hall for years together, and while thus engaged, may ask each other for salt, without ever conversing; and if they meet in the street, they pass without mutual salutation. This extreme formality is thought absurd by strangers, but is generally believed at Oxford

to have important moral advantages. However this may be, the effect is, that strong lines of division exist between different *cóteries*; and in general, the average expense of a University residence depends upon the *cóterie* to which a man belongs. However moderate may be the ordinary and necessary expenses of a College, the sons of the nobility and of the highly opulent, will always manage to spend freely. They will have their rooms expensively furnished. They have their horses, perhaps their hunters, their grooms, and private servants; boating is practised under circumstances that lead to extravagance. Prohibitions often increase the evil; for the same thing then goes on in secret, but at greater expense. The *tandem* is sometimes joined to the hunter; entertainments at taverns displace the more moderate entertainments within the College walls. Experience shows that it is unwise to draw prohibitions too tight, and attempts are generally limited to regulate rather than suppress such things. That grooms, huntsmen, and boatswains, should be grand intimates of Oxford students, is assuredly not desirable; but so long as it is thus with them under the paternal roof, it must be hard indeed to stop it in the University. We know a case of a young man of high spirit and gentlemanly demeanor, who was ever at war with his tutor on the subject of hunting, which was forbidden by the College. This young man insisted on hunting about once every term, and when called to account for it (for he never sought to conceal it) steadily replied, that 'his father saw no harm in his hunting at home; and as he did it in moderation, he thought no one need complain.' His general character was too good for him to be visited with severe punishment, and all lighter censures he quietly set at nought, till the rule was as it were broken down by his pertinacity.

A greater evil is, that those who without large income are familiar companions of the rich, are enticed to spend vastly beyond their means. Many a poor clergyman, who with much effort and self-denial expends perhaps the savings of some years in sending a son to Oxford, has the misery of finding that this son has spent three times as much as had been allowed him. While gownsmen can get from tradesmen unlimited credit, many of them will not have strength of mind enough to refrain from imitating their companions in expense; though many a sting their conscience inflicts on them for the selfishness which entails suffering on the other members of their family. An abatement of the evil is supposed to be obtained, by allowing a distinction in rank and dress for the noblemen and for the richer commoners, under the title of *Gentlemen Commoners*. Persons thus elevated have the honour of dining at a separate table in hall, (sometimes at the high table,) and of paying higher for most

things. It is believed in Oxford, that this operates to prevent the commoners from vying so much as they else would do, to keep up the same exterior as their richer fellow-collegians.

Sumptuary laws are generally found to succeed in no state of society, except that in which they are not needed; and we fear they must ever fail at Oxford, as they failed at Rome. But if practicable at all, it must apparently be by having a scale of rank, (suppose four or five different orders) analogous to the existing divisions of nobleman, grand compounder, petty compounder, commoner; so that by entering a student in any order that might be chosen, his maximum expenses might be determined accordingly. This is thrown out as a hint; but we think, even so it must fail.

Debating Society. For many years past, a Society with this name has existed, which exercises the talents of many young men in public speaking. With the laudable design of keeping down party politics, its debates were once limited to purely historical questions; but this proving too tame and uninteresting, the rule was broken through. A reading-room was added, and a library, which has become valuable enough to secure the permanence of the Society. We have heard that many young men now become members, solely with a view to the advantages held out by the library; which contains just the books in which other Oxford libraries are deficient; modern and political publications: but our information is not so recent or accurate as we could wish.

It is not allowed to the undergraduates to give *dinner* parties, except by special permission. Their ordinary entertainments are wine parties (or desserts), which are probably regarded as the most elegant and gentlemanly. Supper parties are (we believe) rather looked on as gross and vulgar, and as indicating a disposition to drunkenness and late hours; though patronized in high quarters. Luncheons are the natural resort of those who are preparing for a long afternoon in boating or other amusements, in which they calculate on missing their dinner. The reading men rather prefer breakfast parties, since these cannot easily exceed one hour, or an hour and a half, being cut short at ten o'clock by lectures, *except on Saints' days*. But at an Oxford breakfast are often seen the viands which elsewhere appear at all other meals; hot and cold side dishes, pies and sausages, lamb, veal, ham, mixed with marmalade and ices, and even wine and fruit in the season; besides crumpets and muffins, chocolate, coffee, and tea; together making what we suppose is called a *déjeuner à la fourchette*. Lastly, the poorest, as also the most professedly religious part of the students, are given to tea parties, which in some Colleges prevail considerably among the reading men.

That gross excesses have greatly diminished at Oxford, (as among the aristocracy generally,) is certain; yet, as things now

go on, they will never be extinguished; and it is most lamentable, when they seem to be kindled up by injudicious attempts to force students to acts of religious profession. We know one College at which there was uniformly and systematically a drunken party every Saturday night preceding the celebration of the Lord's Supper; the enormities of which ordinarily exceeded every thing else in the course of the term. At another College we can speak of a single act of profligacy, which seems equally to elucidate the tendency of things. On the Sunday morning after receiving the Sacrament, it was forbidden to the undergraduates to have from the College kitchen any thing more than their simplest single breakfast. This was with the well-meant design of keeping them from company and bringing them to religious reflection, after the solemn ordinance in which they had partaken. Disgusted with the prohibition, a party of them refused to breakfast in College at all, and went out to breakfast at a neighbouring confectioner's. Wine was brought on table, and several of them drank to manifest and disgraceful intoxication. This account we received from a man of the same College, who was present at the time, and had personal acquaintance with the facts.

When we consider the general moral state of the Universities, we feel it a very hard thing for a religious parent to be willing to send a son thither, unless he has been already in a measure proved and tried, has gained strength to resist ridicule and a certain judgment how to deal with men of bad character; we should add, unless he has learned to put a religious value on both time and money, feeling a deep responsibility to God for the use of them both. To say that *in no case* it is right to send a young man into a place of immorality and temptation, is, we believe, overstrained. The sentiment, carried to its just results, would draw after it the inference, that men of all ages must shrink from places of service which involve temptation. It would condemn us to go *out of* the world, instead of seeking for divine grace to keep us from the evil. Yet there ought to be no disproportion between the danger and the combatant; and if parents neglect to learn what is the nature and character of the danger, and what is the moral power of him whom they are exposing to it, they lamentably neglect their children's true interest, while fancying that they are studying it.

No reformation of the University of Oxford ought to satisfy a Christian mind, which does not address itself to the moral evils of the place as of primary importance. Nay, to measure the matter as a philanthropist or a statesman, what is to be said of the influence of an Institution, professing to give religious education and theological instruction, to the nation; but which is practically the place where the sons of the aristocracy find themselves freed

from the restraints of domestic society, to revel in shameless licentiousness! The subject is humbling and painful; the evil inveterate, and not to be remedied by mere law. The public schools must be purified, before it can be extirpated. *There* the imaginations of boys are prematurely defiled by corrupt companions, by heathen poets, by Lempriere's Dictionary, and by bad English novels; and thence they come up to the Universities, greedy to taste the sensualities, with which their minds have been filled. The authorities of the University of Oxford do perhaps their utmost in the way of mere coercion; and we do not blame them that this is unsuccessful. If we blame them, it is for want of discerning how deep-seated is the disease; it is for being so puffed up with pride in their gorgeous edifices and ancient foundations, as to fancy themselves in no need of reformation; as to fancy that their University is a fountain of holiness to England, instead of (what we must call her) a whited sepulchre, full of dead men's bones and rottenness; forcing on young men a form of godliness, who are denying the power. They ought rather to supplicate the king's government to help them in the extirpation of those roots of bitterness, the branches of which they are now in vain trying to lop. Proctors and constables, alas! and is this the regimen for the 'members of Christ' and 'heirs of glory,' who are term by term summoned to the communion rail! It is sad, woefully sad.

We shall be expected to offer some hints for the reformation needed, since we have spoken thus of the evil; but it is not with the vanity of supposing that we can do more than hint. It needs a union of effort, a deep consciousness of the disgrace, the abomination, and a thorough purifying of the old sink: and the first step towards it is in a deliberative confession of, and protest against, the present state of things. When the minds of many able persons are brought to bear on the subject, we do not doubt that regulations will be found to accomplish much; for though no laws will make them spiritual, it is not above the attainment of human machinery to keep young men moral.

In our opinion, the first thing needed is to enlist in the cause a larger number of the elder men, and make them more responsible for the conduct of the juniors. As in the parish churches, one clergyman is expected to administer discipline, so are now one or two tutors in a College; and the weight proves more than they can bear. We would suggest that a considerable subdivision of undergraduates should be made, suppose into bands of ten, at the head of each a Master of Arts should stand. Such master should be vested with peculiar care over their morals. It might be his duty to make periodical returns, containing replies to a variety of queries throwing light on their habits. The principle should be acted on, that a man's moral conduct as member of a

family is important, not to himself only, but to the whole society; and as such, no vice and no riotous conduct should be winked at. The strictest inquiry also should be made into debts. Peculiar regulations, we understand, do exist at Cambridge, to which there is nothing analogous at Oxford, by which the tradesmen's bills pass through the tutors' hands. But no mere College laws can prevent secret expenditure and numberless frauds. It would be much to be desired that the legislature should enact, that no person should be able to recover a debt which he had allowed an undergraduate to contract, (knowing him to be such,) unless the bill were sent into the College within a quarter of a year after it was incurred. Nearly all vice rises out of, or draws after it, large expenses; so that, whatever keeps a check on the expenditure, restrains the vice. Again; any extraordinary expenditure, (not suitable to a person's rank,) as well as any gross immorality, might be made an impediment to attaining University honours or receiving a degree. We do but throw out hints: we will add, that if there were hearty concurrence in seeking a reformation, it might be found possible to institute Courts of Honour, in which the young men themselves should be judges, (a Master of Arts presiding,) whether any gownsman had disgraced himself by low language or unbecoming familiarity with huntsmen, grooms, boatmen, and others.

But before any moral reformation of the young men is attainable, we must get a body of resident masters who will zealously co-operate for the purpose, having the practical control of the University and the confidence of the national legislature. While we gladly admit the considerable improvement which the spirit of the age has wrought (under the guidance of God's good providence) in the character of those who fill the Oxford High Tables; it is too plain that far more is wanting; that centuries of such improvement as the last thirty years have witnessed, would avail little; since the hatred of innovation has in this very time become more intense than ever; while the opposite parties into which Oxford is divided, paralyze her exertions from within. It was most truly said by Lord Melbourne, in his excellent speech on the subject, to which we have before alluded, that 'a fresh eye,' 'an eye from without,' is needed to understand the evils and their remedies. Old as is the sarcasm, 'Physician, heal thyself;' it is generally admitted that the cleverest physicians are seldom able to judge rightly of their own case. We cannot see how any enlightened person can doubt that it is *desirable* 'to have able men 'of good character in all places of influence and authority.' The Reform which we should propose would, in the first instance, limit itself entirely to this object; and, for the following reasons: It is not to be supposed that bodies composed as our Houses of Parliament are and ought to be, are the best judges concerning

the *studies* of a University. They may mark out certain outlines of the plan, but all the details, (and all on which the good working of the whole depends,) must be committed to the discretion of other hands. It is therefore wise, first, to secure the *men*, and that part of the system which shall perpetuate the men; else, what the legislature enacts will be thwarted or spoiled in the execution. Again; the University is a prodigiously ramified corporation, needing a Reformation of its own. The convocation should be freed from the oligarchy of the Heads, and be restored to a decent and wholesome liberty, restricting the franchise to such as are likely to use and not abuse it. But how such a reformation is to be carried out beneficially, no one can say, until the effect of a reform in the College system shall have been seen. Simply to emancipate convocation might turn out any thing but an improvement. The changes in the College system, of which we are about to speak, if effected at all, must be effected at once to be serviceable; but there is no reason for coupling with them any organic University changes.

The primary reform then that we demand, regards the election of Scholars and Fellows, Heads, and Public Professors; and we base it on two principles. First: *To attain honest elections, the number of electors must in each case be very few.* We think three quite sufficient; and they might be taken by lot out of a larger number. If the responsibility be divided among many, it is in vain to hope for fair examinations or conscientious decisions. Secondly: *The self-perpetuating system is to be every way discountenanced.* Perhaps the simplest method might be to forbid any fellow or head of a College to vote in filling up vacancies in his own body. It is already a regulation of the University, that no public examiner can examine a man of his own College; and all know its necessity. The necessity of that for which we plead would be as obvious, if the evil of giving fellowships to undeserving persons were as strongly felt as the evil of giving them public University honours. It is not *because* the Oxford men are aware that the awarding of the latter is a public trust; but they are accustomed to feel the electing to fellowships a private right, and to deny that they are responsible to any one for the mode in which they exercise that right.

Previous to any reform whatever, it is highly necessary that 'all the College statutes be made public.' At present they treat their statutes as the deeds of a private estate, and resent the demand to produce them, as an infringement on personal right. It is amazing that sensible persons should so speak and feel. Every will and testament is registered in Doctor's Commons; were it otherwise, the executor of a will might pilfer all the legatees at pleasure. If the College property devolves on the head and fellows as executors, it is not to make them absolute

proprietors, but trustees, with a certain remuneration, and certain duties, limited in various ways, and conferring rights and claims on numerous other persons, whom the trustees may be able to defraud, if the deeds are kept secret. Under such circumstances, men who resent the call for publicity, bring on themselves a just suspicion of fraud. It matters not whether the statutes be regarded as a private will, or (since their modification by Act of Parliament,) as a public document. In either case the attempt to hide them from public scrutiny is utterly indefensible.

After they are published, it will be easy to ascertain whether there are any private claimants, (as founders' kin,) whose rights might seem to be compromised by any general measure of reform. If there are such, they should be duly compensated out of the College estates; after which, the persons eligible to the Colleges should be determined by public enactment. (1.) We take it for granted that all will see the desirableness of abolishing any exclusive claims of counties and schools; as has been already done at the University of Cambridge. These restrictions belong to an age, in which the parts of the empire were but imperfectly blended into one nation. Limitations of *age* might be allowed for scholarships and for some fellowships; but limitations of *place* are quite unreasonable. We know a case of a clergyman, who used to convey his poor wife into Hampshire, every time that he expected a birth, in order that the infant might be eligible to more places at Oxford; but, unhappily, three times she disappointed him by presenting him with a *girl*. It is surely high time to avow that the University and its Colleges belong to the *nation*, and not to separate counties. (2.) We hope our readers will not be offended, when we add, that we could not advise at present to admit Dissenters into the fellowships, or into any places where they would have the religious or moral control of the students. Our reason is shortly this: such a measure is not *necessary* to the success of the first part, already proposed, nor does it conduce to its success. It is then far safer to plant your first step well and safely, before making a second. It is impossible to admit Dissenters, without admitting Roman Catholics; nay, perhaps Jews. *We* may be prepared to follow out our principle, and we may think that we can obviate difficulties; but is a sufficient body of religious persons so prepared? Could such a measure be at all carried, except by the help of those, whose effort would be to make the Universities *anti-christian*? Let the principle be broadly laid down, that the Universities exist *for the welfare of the nation*: let all places of authority be filled with the soundest, ablest, and most liberal minds in the Established Church; and it will be then *their* business to remove needless restrictions, and admit as large a proportion of the *nation* as can be

done consistently with the welfare of the University itself, and its utility as an engine of moral and religious instruction.

That the University subscriptions ought to be entirely removed, as regards admissibility to *pupillage*, to *degrees*, saving at least the vote in convocation, and to numerous *professorships*, is indeed manifest;—(we beg pardon of the Oxonians:)—and we hope that before long this will be done. It is humbling to read of the Moorish Universities in Spain, where Christian youths from all Europe were admitted to study unmolested; to remember that this was the source whence Oxford learned her Aristotle, and Cambridge her Euclid; and then to think that Oxford now refuses to her countrymen and fellow-christians what Mahomedans gave to us all. It is as much for the good of the Universities and of the establishment, as for the good of Dissenters, that we desire this freedom; for we are satisfied that it would cause a gradual breaking down of prejudice and softening of religious controversy, more than any thing else that could be devised. But while we desire this, we know that it will not be easily effected against the will of the Colleges. It will be necessary to permit the establishment of additional halls, as in old time, (under the care of any Master of Arts as principal,) into which Dissenters may obtain admission; forbidding at the same time to administer subscriptions any where at all, except on admission to places of trust and moral influence.

It is, moreover, in our belief every way desirable, that marriage should not vacate a fellowship; but the fellows might go out after ten years' holding, with ability to be re-appointed. We see no reason why the fellowships should not be divided into two classes, in the one requiring residence during the whole University year, and leaving the others free from restriction. The latter class might then be usefully made retiring pensions for men of learning, even those who had *not* been fellows when young. Experience would show what number of resident fellows are enough for supplying the University offices which naturally devolve on them; and a fresh division might take place from time to time. At present it is a matter of mere caprice or accident whether residence is exacted or not.

If the principles which we are endeavouring to set forth are acknowledged, any practised lawyer acquainted with the University would invent a machinery for carrying them into effect. We will suggest, that a Board might be formed by selection from the persons who have been distinguished in the University, sections and sub-sections of whom might elect to all the fellowships and scholarships. Another Board might elect the heads; or their election might beneficially be vested in some body exterior to the University. We do not know what might be thought of the plan of making each University elect the heads of Colleges in the

other. A third Board would elect the tutors of Colleges; perhaps also the University professors. In case of members of the Boards refusing to act, the crown might have leave to fill the vacancies at discretion. We must calculate that immense resistance would be made by the University in its present temper, unless they saw all resistance to be hopeless. Strong measures would presently subdue them, weak ones would inflame their animosity and contempt. For which reason it seems essential to success to adopt regulations such as the following: (1.) To have the statutes published. (2.) To declare it unlawful to administer in future any oaths to observe the statutes, without the proviso that they shall no longer be binding, when dispensed with by lawful public authority. Any collegiate or University station should be declared *ipso facto* vacated, if such oaths have passed as pledge the holder to maintain the system unreformed. (3.) We have ourselves no doubt of the expediency of vesting the College estates in public trustees, responsible to parliament. But if this be thought unnecessary, the least that can be demanded is a publication of all the accounts, after being approved by responsible University auditors. For we repeat, the Colleges are but trustees, and the nation ought to demand that common security for their honest behaviour, which publicity gives. Not the least benefit of the Municipal Reform is the publication of the accounts: and is it to be endured that a body of men who are practically entrusted with the management of so important an institution as the national University, should claim to be irresponsible? If the fellows of a College chose to defraud all the scholars, and take the income to themselves, there is at present no remedy. Suppose that originally each scholar was allowed sixpence a day, and each fellow a shilling, and that now (the estates being improved, and the value of money changed,) the fellows allow themselves £300, where they give £30 to scholars: we say, the scholars have no redress, and cannot even prove that they are being defrauded. In some Colleges they take an oath, we believe, never to bring an action at law against their College. Now it is very fine to reply that the fellows are honourable men, and are not to be suspected of such practices; but if so, they need not shrink from publicity; and the world well knows, that there is no so good safe-guard of the honour even of individuals, and much more of an associated body. We repeat, therefore, that as public trustees, they must be held responsible to make their accounts public. In a few years, parliament would then judge of the faithfulness of their administration. (4.) It is most important that there be a standing Committee of Parliament itself, to report every year on the state of the University, until the Reforms are completed, and prevent the possible occurrence, that when other public business presses, and the novelty of the matter is

past, a vigorous beginning may terminate in an unsatisfactory conclusion.

It may be asked whether we have any serious belief that such reforms are practicable; or whether we are penning mere dreams of Utopia. We reply, that as yet we think the nation inadequately informed and inadequately interested in the subject. Such changes as we propose, the Oxonians will now treat as revolutionary and monstrous; and by violent declamation may at first persuade cautious persons that they are so. But only let time be given to digest the proposals; let the matter be well canvassed, and objections be put into tangible form; and we have no doubt to what conclusion the good sense of our countrymen will come. We do not wish any changes made without the amplest discussion: after which, we expect that a reform of the Colleges, and in due time, of the University, will be found quite as easy as of the other self-electing and irresponsible Municipal Corporations.

Art. II. *Early Recollections, chiefly relating to the late Samuel Taylor Coleridge, during his long Residence in Bristol.* By JOSEPH COTTLE. London: Longman & Co. 2 vols. Post 8vo. 1837.

IN a preface Mr. Cottle explains, though with some reserve as to circumstances, the manner in which this work originated; adverts to the conditions which several classes of persons would, respectively, require to be observed in writing the history of such a man; and maintains the obligation of the rule under which he has proceeded, of explicit unqualified truth.

The friends with whom Mr. Coleridge was most associated in his latter years, designing to prepare a comprehensive memoir, applied to Mr. Cottle, as a person known to have been intimately acquainted with him in his youth, and at intervals of the middle stage of his life, requesting him to furnish the materials, very defectively afforded from any other quarter, for that portion of the personal history. After a consideration of the labour it would cost to examine, select, digest, and illustrate the memorials in his possession, and of the infelicitous character of much that he would, in conscientious faithfulness, have to relate, he declined the office. A renewed application, however, turned his thoughts again on the subject, so as to set his memory in exercise with a revived interest, and to induce him to look into a repository of papers which had long remained undisturbed. By degrees the scenes, and incidents, and sentiments of times long past, returned so vividly on his mind, as to bring him to the determination of

working into a regular form his recollections and written materials.

But the question arose, what kind of record would be deemed admissible as a part of the work projected by Coleridge's executors. Would they be willing to admit an unreserved exposure, set forth with a particularity of circumstances, of the grand moral malady of the person to be commemorated? Finding there would be an insuperable objection to this, and regarding such impartiality as essential to the integrity and usefulness of biography, our author had to choose whether to abandon the undertaking, after he had employed considerable labour on it, or to execute it as a separate and independent work. And by that time he had become too much interested in it, and had begun to entertain too strong a presumption of its possible usefulness, to be willing to throw it finally out of his hands. As he proceeded in his course of researches and recollections, his materials accumulated so much beyond his expectation, that a very severe rule of exclusion must have been applied to limit the work to the dimensions first designed.

It is most truly 'a plain unvarnished tale.' And it bears the striking peculiarity that a sincere and admiring *friend* has exhibited the dark and deplorable, as fully as the bright and laudable, parts of the character. For the author was warmly, almost enthusiastically, attached to Coleridge, during the season of their personal intimacy; and has unalterably retained for him, since its cessation, a cordially benevolent sentiment, combined with that admiration of his genius which was an involuntary tribute, rendered independently of all personal regards.

He has asked himself what is the object, and what the law, of biography. Why should a formal exhibition be made of any man's life and character? Not for mere amusement; for that purpose an ingenious fiction might do better. Not merely to make it, or keep it, known that such a person has existed; that a certain human conformation of qualities and faculties, under an individual name, has had his allotment under the sun, in assigned time and place; thus to stand recorded as one matter of fact among innumerable others. We remember that Coleridge has somewhere pronounced the worthlessness of bare facts (those of biography, no doubt, included), as viewed separately from principles and doctrine.

The philosophers say that the chief, or one of the chief, uses of biography is to assist the study of human nature, as exemplified and illustrated by the particular specimen, in which we may verify certain principles available to a general theory. But if so, the specimen ought to be set before us in its plain reality; every thing in its consistence distinctly seen; no artifice to modify its appearance, by abstracting or disguising any of its components,

falsifying their proportions, or giving any of them an arbitrary prominence or colour.

The same may be said when the moralists tell us, with much gravity, that the recorded lives of men, various in character, situation, and course of action, constitute a sort of theatre, in which are represented, with far more salutary impressiveness than in any didactic theses of reason or eloquence, the virtues and vices, in all their forms, degrees, mixtures, causes, and consequences. When they tell us that here, instead of dry abstract discourse, soporific lecture, vague generality, we have morality alive, the qualities of humanity coming before us warm, embodied, and in action, bearing with them or on them the palpable tokens of their good and evil, uttering an earnest voice to deter or persuade, we may justly require that there be no deceptive lights or shades, that nothing of importance be retained behind the scenes, that there be no management to conceal one thing by dilating another, and that the voices which speak to us should faithfully reveal all that it may profit us to know.

But then the futility of the larger portion of biography! If composed by writers distant in time or place, or both, from the persons to be commemorated, and without the aid of memorials by contemporaries immediately cognizant of the facts, it can have little of individual characteristic verity. It will probably be no better for resemblance than would be, for the representation of a personal form, a bust, of which time, the elements, and accidents, have worn off all the nicer markings and the distinctness of feature. If written by a known or suspected enemy, it is rejected of course. But most commonly it is the work of friends, whose very judgment is beguiled even when they mean to be honest; or who are willing to excuse to themselves a conscious treachery to judgment in favour of a person who has possessed their affection or respect; or, (a frequent case) whose vanity is seeking a flattering reflection on themselves from a fine image set forth of a relation, or friend, or acquaintance, whom they are ambitious to claim as having been a friend; or, (also a common case) who are restless to figure in authorship, and eagerly seize an opportunity to shine in the pomp of such eulogy as would have made the subject himself, if he could have anticipated it, blush for shame.

Some of our readers will remember instances of having seen, in the full width of a book, or the abridged space of an oration or obituary, a celebration of a person with whom or with whose character they had been well acquainted. And when they have seen each good quality lauded without discrimination or measure, talents magnified, hardly a *peccadillo* acknowledged, or but just hinted, in the palliating protective neighbourhood of a virtue; and then have compared this portraiture with what they

positively knew of the person, they have been compelled to exclaim, How worthless is panegyric! how faithless is biography!

The reader of the present work will go but a little way in it before he sees in how different a manner the author has performed his office. Coleridge's name and character have been too much and too long before the public to have any one unapprised, that a wonderful splendour of genius suffered a malignant moral eclipse during a large portion of his life. But the extent of that dark encroachment will be rendered far more distinctly apparent by this publication; which combines with an assemblage of the facts obvious to the view of spectators, emphatically sad and affecting testimonials from the eminent unhappy person himself.

It is, indeed, a most humiliating and melancholy spectacle: a mind at once of vast comprehension and minute and exquisite perception; opulent in multifarious knowledge; sympathetic with every thing good and amiable; ardent in admiration of the great, the noble, the sublime; but subjected, enslaved, degraded, and tormented by one tyrant habit; and that habit formed on a kind of indulgence of which many persons may wonder how the allurements should be so irresistible; especially when they see how severely it became its own punishment. That punishment fell on the conscience with even more deadly infliction than on the bodily frame. Many of the men of talent who have been the slaves of vicious habits have lived under a very lax conviction, some of them in a disbelief or contempt, of revealed religion. Some of them who did retain from their education a certain thoughtless impression of its truth and authority, were so ignorant of its nature, and so seldom reminded of it, that they were but slightly and transiently disturbed by some vague idea, never consolidated into faith, of the Christian laws, the Supreme Judge, and a future retribution. But Coleridge was a firm and even zealous believer in Christianity; an exercised theologian; and, subsequently to the early stage of his inquiries and opinions, held a creed accordant, in the most material points, with what has been denominated the evangelic scheme of doctrine. To be, notwithstanding a constant recognition of all this, together with every other remonstrant consideration, and under the solemn menaces which such a faith was incessantly darting on the soul, and with the consciousness, all the while, of great intellectual power—still to be the hopeless victim of a vice abhorred while surrendered to; to have it clinging, and gnawing, and insatiable; to be, like Prometheus, chained for the vulture's repast—this is truly an exhibition fraught with all the powers of tragedy to raise pity and terror. It is but a feeble image for comparison that is recalled to us in the description of some fine fleet and powerful animal, desperately and vainly bounding and plunging over the wilderness

under a leopard fixed with fangs and talons over its crest. The appropriate image would be that of a beautiful spirit, closely and relentlessly pursued, grappled at, poisoned, and paralyzed by a demon from the dark world.

That such a representation does not exaggerate, will be seen in some of the recitals, and certain of the letters produced in these volumes.

A brief indication of the very miscellaneous contents may not be unacceptable, though so much has been published concerning Coleridge, and through so many channels, since his decease, and though so many of our readers will, no doubt, obtain a sight of the book itself.

Our author's acquaintance with him began (about the end of 1794) in connexion with a circumstance remarkably adapted to discredit genius in the estimation of plain practical folk; showing indeed that *their* class is quite as necessary in the world as poets and philosophers; and that genius, though disciplined in high speculation, may have some time to wait before becoming mated with sound judgment, or what is conventionally called common sense. It was well to give an out-of-the-way name (Pantisocracy) to so curious a thing as a scheme, originated by Coleridge, and acceded to by Southey and two other literary young men, for commencing, in the wilds of North America, a new form of society and polity; on the principle of undivided property, labours in common, unerringly proportioned by willingness and ability, the results equitably shared without question asked of vulgar arithmetic; in short an experiment (if that be not too sceptical a word) of the purest theory of democratic equality. It was presumed that this *beau ideal* of a community would not only be realized by the original fraternity, the patriarchs of the colony, but carried prosperously down through succeeding generations.

'If any difficulties were started, a profusion of words demonstrated the reasonableness of the whole design. The Mercury at these times was generally Mr. Coleridge, who ingeniously parried every adverse argument, and, after silencing his hardy disputants, announced to them that he was about to write and publish a quarto volume in defence of Pantisocracy, in which a variety of arguments would be advanced in defence of his system too subtle and recondite to comport with conversation. It would then, he said, become manifest that he was not a projector, raw from his cloister, but a cool calculating reasoner, whose efforts and example would secure to him and his friends the permanent gratitude of mankind.' Vol. I., p. 10.

If we wonder through what coloured spectacles the deliberate projectors of such a scheme looked on mankind, it is to be noted that the leader was then, and for a considerable time forward, of

that theological school which denies the radical depravity of human nature, and of the then philosophical school which was sounding with the jargon of its 'perfectibility.' He was to know better in due time, and has recorded his conviction in remarkable and striking terms.

The colonization scheme was not more poetical in the prospective vision of its felicities than in the calculation of means for the very first movement in preparation. A ship was to be freighted with provisions, implements, and all imaginable requisites for creating the predestined Eden (where there should be no tempter or fall) in the 'waste howling wilderness.' And many pleasant musings, no doubt, there were on the gentle gales to waft the adventure across the Atlantic; and images of the vista brightening in fairy gleams through the gloom of an American forest. The party were drawing one after another to the rendezvous at Bristol, in expectation of a speedy adieu to a land most inhospitable and malignant, as it then truly was, to all liberty, equity, and peace. But no ship volunteered its decks; no cargo collected spontaneously on the quay. The surprising truth came out that such things would obey no talisman but, plainly, that of money; and money there was none, not even enough to pay a few weeks' hire of the lodgings in which the party were expecting the hour to go on board the *Argo*.

The design was, however, to be prosecuted at all events; and, as some expedient must be thought of for 'raising the wind,' which should first blow the vessel to the point of embarkation, and then over the ocean, an available resource was suggested in the delivery of courses of lectures, on moral, political, and theological subjects, by Coleridge, and on some departments of history by Southey. The prospectuses are here given; and the width of the field undertaken to be surveyed, and the curiosity and difficulty of some of the topics, afford a presumptive proof of very extensive reading and study—unless we should suspect there might be somewhat too much of the self-sufficiency of youth. They obtained, however, the approbation and applause of their auditors. The *political* tone of the lectures was in declared total hostility to the spirit and measures of the government. Mr. Pitt was the object of execration.

There was an early indication of one of the failings so disastrous through subsequent life, in the circumstance that Coleridge, having requested and obtained Southey's consent that he should give one of the lectures set down in the scheme of the latter, and being accordingly announced for the splendid theme of 'The Rise, Progress, and Decline of the Roman Empire,' just troubled himself no farther about it.

'At the usual hour the room was thronged. The moment for commencement arrived. No lecturer appeared. Patience was preserved

for a quarter, for half an hour—but still no lecturer. At length it was communicated to the impatient assembly ‘that a circumstance exceedingly to be regretted, would prevent Mr. C. giving his lecture that evening.’ Some few present learned the truth; but the major part retired under the impression that Mr. C. had either broken his leg, or that some severe family affliction might have occurred. His rather habitual absence of mind, with the little importance he generally attached to engagements, renders it likely that, at this very time, he might have been found composedly smoking his pipe, and lost in profound musings on his divine Susquehannah.’ *ib.*, p. 38.

It is not explained exactly by what gradation of time and reflection the Pantisocratic passion ebbed away. Coleridge appears to have remained the longest afloat, and the last to be stranded. He reproached with bitterness his chief associate’s unfaithfulness, as he charged it, to what he had regarded as almost a religious league and covenant.

He had written divers short poetical pieces, which, under the pressure for money, were brought into negotiation with Mr. Cottle, at that time a bookseller and publisher, who is quite justified in mentioning the liberal proposals which he voluntarily made to terms of publication. While the friendly allowance to draw the money as wanted, previously to furnishing the stipulated compositions to the printer was promptly acted upon, the article came not to hand but through a tedious succession of delays, promises, and excuses for non-fulfilment, which no publisher less kind and personally attached would have tolerated.

In 1795 Coleridge married, and betook himself to a rural cottage, ‘on the banks of—the Susquehannah?—no, the Severn,’ at Clevedon, a pleasant abode, in a humble style; but which, his biographer says, did not withhold his imagination from fondly prolonging its revels in the regions of that same Susquehannah. As to certain matters, indispensable, on either side of the globe, how commodiously the poetic imagination could leave them out of account, and leave its possessor to be surprised at being called upon to hear and write their uncouth names, is shown by a missive, soon received by Mr. Cottle, in Bristol, containing a list, dictated of course by his domestic companion, of divers culinary utensils, and articles for immediate and daily consumption, which he requested his friend to procure and send without delay, as things of which none of the Muses had beforehand signified the necessity. They were conveyed to him with a speed and copiousness which might remind him of the obsequious genii in some Arabian tale.

At this point the ‘Recollections’ turn off from Coleridge, into a long miscellaneous discussion, relating, in the first instance, to a sanguine, mercurial, more than half-crazed, young man, of the

name of Gilbert, a fanatical devotee to astrology, and one of the party for the Susquehannah; a curiosity worth a passing notice; but the sample of whose hallucinations, given in the Appendix, might have been spared. The almost forgotten name of Mrs. Yearsley is recalled, for the purpose of vindicating, to a considerable degree, an extraordinary, if not perfectly amiable woman, from the unqualified condemnation of the panegyrists of Hannah More; whose conduct, beyond all doubt benevolently intended, did certainly savour very considerably of the aristocratic spirit. We are not aware whether there has been elsewhere so particular an account of the flagrant tyranny of a profligate set of domestics by whom, from a strange and culpable want of resolution, Mrs. M. suffered herself to be oppressed and almost insulted, and her income to be wasted, during several years of her later life; and her final escape from whom, in abandoning her favourite residence, was judged to require the attendance of a party of her friends to save her from some outrage of abuse.

Family affection must be the admitted plea for the author's desire to give a marked distinction to his brother Amos. In connexion with this notice there is a kind of parenthesis, extended through many pages; which we regret that Mr. C. had not been advised to omit. It is an elaborate argument, in a long series of counts, to repel and requite a rude assaillment of himself and his brother by Lord Byron, when running-a-muck among his literary contemporaries, in a juvenile satire. As against *him* such a thing is labour thrown away. Nobody, but the party aggrieved, will take the trouble to think or care about the question of justice or wrong in the random or spiteful rigs of a witty lampooner. The amusement afforded by his hits and bites is not neutralized by any conviction of their malice. The wiser way is to let it all alone. It would be little better than ludicrous to go into a grave arraignment, on a particular point, of so wild and reckless a spirit as Lord B.; delighted with his power of indiscriminate annoyance, and doubly delighted as he would have been, and as his wholesale admirers will be, to see that annoyance tell in the irritation of its object. As well might you prosecute in a court of law H. B., the clever caricaturist. A laboured defensive and reactive traverse of an old ground of offence, while it will leave the satirist's nettles just where they were, will but expose the indiscretion of needlessly handling them again; as also some defect of philosophy in retaining so long the irritation of the first contact. We hope that, in the probable event of a new edition, the author will be induced to exclude the pages in question, together with the verses recited from his 'Expostulatory Epistle,' printed many years since.

Returning to Coleridge, we find him willing, for a short time, to fancy himself happy. But very soon divers inconveniences,

partly of the locality, and partly created by his own temperament and habits, grew to a fatal competition with the roses that invested the cottage, the salubrious air, the rural and marine scenery, and the connubial felicity. There was a longing for the excitements, the varieties, the libraries, the convivial talking-parties, the admiring listeners, the opportunities for figuring, of the great town. Accordingly he is transferred, after a few weeks, to close apartments, amidst the smoke, and bustle, and noise of Bristol. Here he was to set himself to the real working business of completing his volume of poems. And what a grievance was the task, and what a mortification to fail of the promised performance, is curiously illustrated in a letter written on being informed that, while he was out of the house, a note (returned unopened) had come from Mr. Cottle; which, being in fact only a friendly invitation to dinner to meet one of his admirers, his conscience had read, unseen, as a remonstrance against his dilatoriness.

My dear Sir,

'It is my duty and business to thank God for all his dispensations, and to believe them the best possible; but, indeed, I think I should have been more thankful if he had made me a journeyman shoemaker, instead of 'an author by trade.' I have left my friends; I have left plenty; I have left that ease which would have secured a literary immortality, and have enabled me to give the public works, conceived in moments of inspiration, and polished with leisurely solicitude; and, alas! for what have I left them? for ———, who deserted me in the hour of distress, and for a scheme of virtue impracticable and romantic! So I am forced to write for bread! write the flights of poetic enthusiasm when every minute I am hearing a groan from my wife. Groans, and complaints, and sickness! The present hour I am in a quickset hedge of embarrassment, and whichever way I turn a thorn runs into me! The future is cloud and thick darkness. Poverty, perhaps, and the thin faces of them that want bread looking up to me! Nor is this all. My happiest moments for composition are broken in upon by the reflection that I must make haste. I am too late! I am already months behind! I have received my pay beforehand. O wayward and desultory spirit of genius! Ill canst thou brook a taskmaster! The tenderest touch from the hand of obligation wounds me like a scourge of scorpions!' *ib.*, p. 141.

From his appointed biographers there will be expected a plain statement respecting the advantages, position, and prospects which he here represents himself, without any sign of conscious blame, to have sacrificed. From the pecuniary difficulties which so embittered his lot, and were relieved only by strangers casually become friends, occasion is taken by Mr. Cottle to reflect in terms of strong reproach, though without pointing distinctly to individuals, on the unworthy conduct of Coleridge's family, in neglecting,

casting off, such a man from their care and kindness. It is known that in his letters, written to one friend especially, too confidential for publication, he expressed himself with bitterness of sorrow and indignation on this subject.

The urgency of his circumstances stimulated his prolific faculty of projecting. One literary phantasm after another presented itself, and perhaps stayed long enough to take the form of a 'Prospectus' before it vanished. The project, however, of 'The Watchman' was actively carried into experiment; a weekly pamphlet of two sheets, 'intended to supply at once the places of a Review, Newspaper, and Annual Register.' He could persuade himself, notwithstanding his convicted impotence of will, his many procrastinations, and his horror of the bondage of working against time, that he should punctually by the week furnish forth a highly-rectified preparation of fact, speculation, and fancy; an elixir which, as he might not unlikely have expressed it, should intellectually vitalize that portion of time.

Successful exertions of his friends to obtain subscribers in Bristol started him in good spirits on the tour among the midland great towns, so humorously narrated in his *Biographia Literaria*; and here additionally described in seven sprightly letters to his excellent friend, Mr. Wade.* Notwithstanding some snubs from vulgar ignorance, and the dry selfishness of trade, it was a gratifying career. Such a shining, dazzling, blazing display of eloquence had not, as the newspapers say, when telling of extraordinary storms and floods, 'been witnessed by the oldest inhabitant.' Subscriptions came so thick and fast as to raise his list to a thousand. Perhaps the admirers of his colloquial exhibitions really imagined that so much fine speculation expanded over a succession of mornings and long evenings, could and would be concentrated to a quintessence, that all this radiance would converge to a focus, in a matter of an hour's reading per week. A few weeks' experiment broke up the delusion on both sides. Each fourpenny patron complained that the thing had failed in just that particular quality which *he* had reckoned upon; one alleged, probably with great truth, that 'his boys did not improve much under it;' subscribers fell off rapidly; many of them in too dignified a mood of displeasure to pay for what they had received; and the *Watchman* closed at the tenth number; with a loss on the adventure, which was borne, for the greater part, by

* A part of one of them, however, is in effect of the darkest possible character, as relating his conversation with a very learned and scientific Atheist (a Dr. Darwin), who 'boasted that he had never read one book in favour of such stuff' (the evidences of the existence of a God, and of revealed religion), but that he had read all the works of Infidels.'

Mr. Cottle, who had rendered the most assiduous services in the most disinterested spirit.

The addition of so eloquent a man to the Socinian school raised a question (dubious on account of his notorious political opinions) of drawing him into its service in the pulpit. He would have had little inclination to so formal and ecclesiastical an office, separately from the necessity of some certain means of support. He was, however, induced to make an experiment; and Mr. C. has given a vastly curious description (the humour of it mingled with regret) of his first two appearances, made in uncanonical guise, in a Socinian meeting-house in Bath. The first sermon proved to be no other than a lecture on the Corn Laws, which he had previously delivered in Bristol; the second, addressed to an auditory of seventeen persons, men, women, and children (that is, to as many of them as did not fling open the pew doors and bolt before the conclusion), was a recapitulation of an old lecture in reprobation of the Hair Powder Tax. He did afterwards, in 1798, go on probation for the pastoral office at Shrewsbury; but was happy to be rescued from the vocation by the intervention of Messrs. Wedgwood, proposing to settle on him an annuity of £150.

After finding that the world thought it could take care of itself without a Watchman, he removed to a small house at Stowey, with the addition to his family of a son, and an amiable young literary friend of the name of Lloyd, who had solicited to become domesticated with him, and brought some addition to his scanty and precarious means. A gleam of happiness on this new abode—'wife, bratling, and self remarkably well;' neighbours intelligent, loved, and loving; even the Muses disposed to renew their coquetry—proved only the morning of a darkening day. Dread of inevitable and remediless poverty is assigned by the biographer as the chief immediate cause of the prostration of spirit, described in several letters to himself. 'A sort of calm hopelessness diffuses itself over my heart. Every mode of life which has promised me bread and cheese has been, one after another, torn away from me. But God remains.' A reference, in the same letter, to Milton and Epic poetry, betrayed that he was haunted by 'lofty imaginings' (as he expresses it) of some high station which he might, perhaps, under auspicious circumstances, have attained in the same intellectual region. But if it be a correct inventory that he sets forth of the materials and apparatus, prerequisite to genius for going to work on an Epic poem, he might have the consolation to his vanity that what he was not destined to accomplish never will be achieved by any other, to the end of time.

'I should not think of devoting less than twenty years to an Epic poem. Ten years to collect materials and warm my mind with

universal science. I would be a tolerable mathematician. I would thoroughly understand mechanics, hydrostatics, optics and astronomy, botany, metallurgy, fossilism, chemistry, geology, anatomy, medicine, then the mind of man, then the minds of men, in all travels, voyages, and histories. So I would spend ten years; the next five in the composition of the poem; and the last five in the correction of it. So would I write: haply not unhearing of that divine and nightly-whispering voice, which speaks to mighty minds of predestinated garlands, starry and unwithering.' *ib.*, p. 192.

Not to notice the absurdity of supposing any mortal man thus to possess himself (in ten years, too!) of all things in heaven and in earth, and under the earth, it may be surmised that if he *had* conquered this grand totality, he would seek in vain for a subject that could avail itself of the cyclopædic accumulation; and also that his genius would be too much attenuated and absorbed among so chaotic a world of substances to issue forth, at the word of command, in one impetuous brilliant emanation. Many various substances may, certainly, be made collectively the materials for a great fire; but our poet's scheme, of taxing every element, looks like an ambitious anticipation, in figure, of that last fire which will take all things for its fuel, and flame from every thing.

By the way we may notice one deficiency of the poetic temperament in Coleridge. He seemed to feel no interest in the material monuments and vestiges of antiquity which can carry the mind back into a solemn and mysterious converse with ages and races of the earlier world. Mr. C. mentions that when once in York, and having occasion to go for some inquiry after a companion to the Minster, he did not care to enter, or look into, or apparently look at the magnificent edifice. As a much more remarkable instance, it is recollected that, in a conversation which turned on his sojourn in Italy, he was asked about Pompeii; when, to the surprise of the querist, he said that he had never been much interested by objects of that kind; the answer being given with a brevity and indifference which left it to be inferred (we know not whether correctly) that he had not taken the trouble to visit that most impressive scene. It may be doubted whether he would have been affected with an awful sentiment at sight of the stupendous structures which retain to the mind a kind of spectral presence of ancient Egypt.

Extracts of a correspondence with the biographer, during the residence at Stowey, make an amusing exposure of his toils and perplexities in the endeavour to do just the right thing in literary manufacture. It might bespeak the candour, but will, we are afraid, be fully as likely to excite the ridicule, of ordinary readers, to see what mortal trouble there is in the adjustment of lines, words, and syllables; and to hear a powerful genius con-

fessing, with chagrin, that he had maintained 'a hundred' hard conflicts to displace, and replace, a single refractory participle—and been beaten. No wonder that obstinate factions, and entrenched abuses, in the political state, should be so difficult to be overturned, when these sinners of syllables can defy the best efforts of the strongest hand for reform. If this seem going very far out of the way to force a parallel, we have only to say it is suggested by the references to the state of the nation which Coleridge himself intermixed with these exercitations of minute criticism. For example :

'Public affairs are in strange confusion. I am afraid that I shall prove, at least, as good a prophet as bard. O, doomed to fall, my country! enslaved and vile! But may God make me a foreboder of evil never to come.'—*ib.*, p. 232.

Again :

'Oh! into what a state have the scoundrels brought this devoted kingdom. If the House of Commons would but melt down their faces, it would greatly assist the copper currency—we should have brass enough.'—p. 240.

The narrative, on to the time of his departure for Germany, is made up of anecdotes, little adventures, notes, and letters blending criticism and philosophy with witticisms, quips, and puns; the unprosperous commencement of Wordsworth's literary career; and quarrels among poetical and therefore irritable (?) friends. From a casual mention of the notorious Rev. Sir Herbert Croft, so unfortunately admitted by Dr. Johnson as his substitute for writing about Young in the *Lives of the Poets*, Mr. C. takes occasion to relate the obtrusive proceeding of that clerical charlatan in the affair of Chatterton's Poems, and his base conduct to that extraordinary, ill-principled, and ill-fated literary adventurer's family. There is the pleasant incident of Coleridge's falling in with a woman who asked if he knew one Coleridge; on his replying that he had heard of such person, she showered every abuse within the compass of her vocabulary on 'that vile Jacobin villain,' for having corrupted and wiled away a young man of her parish, of the name of Burnet. He so 'won her heart,' he says, by his manner of listening, and exclaiming 'dear me,' that his good nature made him forego the pleasure of creating a fine dramatic surprise by telling her that he was the man.

Though it be a curious and amusing, it is a disconsolate review, of the history up to this period (of his going to Germany). A man of such rare talents and accomplishments, in the energy of youth, with the well-spring in his soul of all vigorous and aspiring thoughts, thrown on the world (by himself, as he said,) for a

course perfectly erratic; without destination, without friends but by accident, or any but the most precarious means of support, till the annuity from the Wedgewoods; his imagination bewitched into a scheme in all ways and degrees Utopian; a most imprudent marriage—imprudent, we mean, on any consideration of pecuniary competence; the habits of a 'chartered libertine' from every thing like method, regularity, and punctuality; a fertility of transitory projects, rising like bubbles through a disturbed fluid, to break and vanish into the atmosphere; irksome shifts to get over the month or the week; changes of residence; the tenour of life broken by excursions, jaunts of amusement, rambles and wanderings with no sufficient object, and apparently prompted very much by pure restlessness; sudden starts away, at the slightest touch of accident, from employments or engagements; diminutive occasional compositions sought out and gathered, with an impatient task-work for making up their deficiency of quantity to fill a small volume, as a temporary resource; and all this while the undefined idea of something great and extraordinary in possibility, and an indignant feeling against adverse fate, with no great severity of reflection, as it would seem, on his own defects as partly, at least, the real evil under which he was suffering.

At the same time, it is but just to observe, that it is not so easy to say *what* he should or might have done, as to reproach him for the faults which went so far to frustrate his good intentions. But let us suppose him, by the time that the American fantasy had gone off, coming to a resolute stand; compelling himself to a deliberate consideration of what was practicable and eligible, for his talents and in his circumstances; determined to concentrate the whole force of his mind on a selected object; denying himself that social dissipation in which he squandered his mental wealth and his time; peremptory with himself to forego the vanity of temporary display, for the production of what should be a permanent honour; carefully economising the means, though narrow, which the respect and admiration of such a man, so employed, would not have suffered to fail him, while in a progress toward public patronage—suppose thus much; and he might have raised on this tract of his time some substantial and elaborated monument of his genius, instead of leaving it, as now beheld, a comparatively desolate scene of small operations and abortive plans; showing, indeed, that a capable power has been there, but too desultory and vagrant to do itself justice.

From the period of Coleridge's departure for Germany, toward the end of 1798, to the close of our author's communications with him in 1815, he comes in view only at intervals. The plan of the work being cast to comprise notices of other individuals, of whom Southey is conspicuous, we have several sprightly and

satirical letters to Mr. Cottle from him at Lisbon; descriptive of manners; of a filth which beats hollow that of the Yahoos; and of a superstition, which might raise a question in what sense reason is an *essential* property of human nature. For a sample of the last:

‘To-night I shall see the procession of ‘Our Lord of the Passion.’ This image is a very celebrated one; and with great reason; for one night he knocked at the door of St. Roque’s church, and there they would not admit him. After this he walked to the other end of the town, to the church of St. Grace, and there they took him in: but a dispute now arose between the two churches, to which the image belonged, whether to the church which he first chose, or to the church that first chose him. The matter was compromised. One church has him, and the other fetches him for their processions, and he sleeps with the latter the night preceding. The better mode for deciding it had been, to place the gentleman between both, and let him walk to which he liked best. What think you of this story being believed in 1796!!!’—Vol. II., p. 10.

The acquaintance commenced with Mr. (afterwards Sir H.) Davy might be regarded as one of the red-letter days in the record of Coleridge’s life; since he has somewhere said, at some late date if we remember, that he had never known but two great men, Wordsworth and Davy; an exclusion pronounced on the strength of some rather fanciful caution, we should think, considering how many distinguished men he had known, less or more. Mr. Cottle, who had the gratification of introducing them to each other, mentions a perilous hazard that Davy’s splendid course had never been run. In what may be denominated the desperate enthusiasm of science, he inhaled, deliberately and progressively, such a quantity, in the way of experiment, of one of the noxious gases, that his life was within a trifle of being extinguished. How truly he estimated Coleridge, in his power and his infirmity, appears from the following passages, in letters to their early and mutual friend, Mr. Poole, of the date of 1803 and 1808.

‘Coleridge has left London for Keswick. During his stay in town I saw him seldomer than usual; when I did see him, it was generally in the midst of large companies, where he is the image of power and activity. His eloquence is unimpaired; perhaps it is softer and stronger. His will is less than ever commensurate with his ability. Brilliant images of greatness float upon his mind, like images of the morning clouds on the waters. Their forms are changed by the motion of the waves; they are agitated by every breeze, and modified by every sun-beam. He talked in the course of an hour of beginning three works. . . . What talent does he not waste in forming

visions, sublime, but unconnected with the real world! I have looked to his efforts as the efforts of a creating being; but as yet he has not laid the foundation for the new world of intellectual forms. . . . His mind is a wilderness, in which the cedar and the oak, which might aspire to the skies, are stunted in their growth by underwood, thorns, briars, and parasitical plants. With the most exalted genius, sensitive heart, and enlightened mind, he will be the victim of want of order, precision, and regularity. I cannot think of him without experiencing the mingled feelings of admiration, regard, and pity.—*ib.*, p. 72.

To Mr. Davy and our author he told the curious story of his having, when a Cambridge collegian, and in consequence of a young woman's rejection of his addresses, run away to enlist as a soldier, under the name of Silas Tomken Cumberbatch. In the most perfect character of farce the tale relates his tumbling feats of horsemanship; the jokes of his comrades on his incorrigible aptitude in that way; his transfer to the office of attending the sick; his manner of amusing them and the convalescents by the recital of facts of ancient history, some of which they believed and admired, some of which they discredited and laughed at. The oddest occurrence in the whole affair is thus related:

‘He had been placed as a sentinel at the door of a ball-room, or some public place of resort, when two of his officers, passing in, stopped for a moment, near Mr. C., talking about Euripides, two lines from whom one of them repeated. At the sound of Greek the sentinel instinctively turned his ear, when he said, with all deference, touching his lofty cap, ‘I hope your honour will excuse me, but the lines you have repeated are not quite accurately cited; these are the lines,’ when he gave them in their more correct form. ‘Besides,’ said Mr. C., ‘instead of being in Euripides, the lines will be found in the second antistrophe of the *Œdipus of Sophocles.*’ ‘Why, who the d— are you?’ said the officer, ‘old Faustus ground young again?’ ‘I am only your honour's humble sentinel,’ said Mr. C., again touching his cap.’—*ib.*, p. 57.

He appears to have been regarded with great good humour by his comrades, who took him for a queer compound of booby and conjuror. How he was treated by his friends when they traced him out and restored him to his college, is not told; but it would not be an unlikely surmise that this enlistment vagary might have been one cause among others of the alienation of his family.

We do not find the exact dates and duration of his residence in Malta, whither he went for his health, being previously acquainted with the Judge, and became secretary to Sir Alex. Ball; or of his subsequent adventures in Italy. The relation of them belongs to the office of the authorized biographers. But why did he not write a narrative of them himself? We remember to have heard that for a work so comparatively easy, one would think, he

was offered a very large sum by the booksellers. And he wanted money; for Mr. Cottle says he had expended by the time he reached England all he had received for his secretaryship.

One of the most remarkable things he had to tell of was, his critical escape from Italy, upon a friendly and cogent warning personally given him by Jerome Bonaparte. He made his way to Leghorn, under a continual alarm of being tracked or interrupted by the keen vigilance of the French police; and was there almost in despair, when accidentally, while indulging his melancholy forebodings among some ruins in the neighbourhood, he fell in with an American captain, who became so interested for him that he undertook and accomplished his deliverance. When he eagerly inquired by *what means*, as soon as the ship had cleared the port, the captain was very grave in answering, that it was by *swearing*, before the local authorities, that the young man was his steward, a native American, whose parents he intimately knew. He had clothed him in character, and given him a basket of vegetables to carry after him to the ship.

After an absence of a number of years, he was again in Bristol, in miserable health, the chief cause of which Mr. C. had not suspected, even in reading such a description as the following, in a letter which preceded him :

‘ You will find me the wretched wreck of what you knew me, rolling rudderless. My health is extremely bad. Pain I have enough of, but that is indeed to me a mere trifle; but the increasing, overpowering sensations of wretchedness; achings in my limbs, with an indescribable restlessness, that makes action, to any available purpose, almost impossible; and, worst of all, the sense of blighted utility, regrets, not remorseless.’ But enough; yea, more than enough, if these things produce or deepen the conviction of the utter powerlessness of ourselves, and that we either perish, or find aid from something that passes understanding.—*ib.*, p. 75.

In aggravation of all this he had cause to apprehend a cessation or great diminution of his annuity from the Wedgewoods, and it was eventually reduced to £75; the whole £150 being found too onerous a tax for the wealth of Etruria to bear; ‘so that,’ writes Coleridge to Mr. Wade, in dread of the entire loss ‘at my age, I am to be pennyless, resourceless, in heavy debt, my health and spirits absolutely broken down, and with scarce a friend in the world.’ Just at this time young Mr. De Quincey, very slightly acquainted with Coleridge, *solicited* Mr. Cottle to be the medium of conveying to him a present of *more* than £300, but positively insisted it should not be less; and the benefactor not to be named. In receiving this generous donation, Coleridge tried to save his pride by affecting to accept it as a *loan*;

so convinced as he must have been, on the ground of both the receiver's ability and the giver's intention, that repayment was out of the question.

Soon afterwards he removed far from our author's knowledge; residing partly in Westmoreland; so that another seven years elapsed before he returned, in 1814, to Bristol, on an engagement to lecture on Shakspeare. That same poet would, in his time, have been somewhat more punctual to any appointment *he* had made. The engagement was expressly for a certain day, against which every arrangement and announcement was industriously made for assembling an auditory. Coleridge took his journey from London accordingly; but having discovered that a lady in the coach was sister to a friend of his in North Wales, whither she was going, he came to the conviction, by the time the coach came to Bath, that it was his duty to accompany her all the way, and see her safely set down at her brother's door. He did so; and left the good people of Bristol to make the best of their own judgment of Hamlet till several days after.

From this point of time to that which closes our author's series of documents and recollections, marked by the date of March, 1815, the history darkens to the greatest melancholy; a gloom indeed so profound, that but for the alleviation of an assurance that he recovered to a better and happier state in the latter years of his life, every reader of benevolent sensibility would retire from the contemplation of such a ruined magnificence of mind with an oppressive sadness. It was on an occasion in this last visit of Coleridge to Bristol, that his friend was surprised and shocked by being suddenly made aware of the dreadful habit which he acknowledges, in the following passage, to have been evident to others long before the occasion alluded to, which startled him with the discovery.

‘ I received information [it was after he had his own evidence] that Mr. C. had been long, very long, in the habit of taking from two quarts of laudanum a week, to a pint a day; and on one occasion he had been known to take, in the twenty-four hours, a whole quart of laudanum! This exceeds the quantity which Psalmanazar ever took, or any of the race of opium consumers on record. The serious expenditure of money, resulting from this habit, was the least evil, though very great, and which must have absorbed all the produce of his lectures, and all the liberalities of his friends.’—*ib.*, p. 169.

While entertained for many months in the house of his generous friend, Mr. Wade, with every possible attention to his accommodation, he consented, willingly in appearance, to put himself under medical superintendence; and even to be accompanied or followed in his walks by a man employed, in substitution for

his own impotent will, to prevent his access to the places where he could obtain 'the accursed drug;' for so he named it with emphatic feeling; in similar plight to what may be read in legends of *diablerie*, of some spell-bound captive to an object at once fascinating and detested. But he had the advantage of genius for doing himself mischief. And perhaps he might even be somewhat gratified at the conscious dexterity of his manœuvres (one of which is here related) to baffle his guard. Yet, under the combined pressure of self-reproach, a broken constitution, dishonoured character, disablement for literary exertion, and the exhaustion of pecuniary resources, he was driven to think of a refuge, and requested his friends to consult about the means of admission into a receptacle for the insane, to be under the coercion of a will possessing the authority which his own had lost. 'The impression was fixed on his mind, that he should inevitably die unless he were placed under constraint, and that constraint he thought could alone be effected in an asylum.'

As to the constant grievance of an empty purse and accumulating debt, which humbled him a little time afterwards, to the project of offering himself for a daily teacher of boys and youths, to be received by him in 'a cheap lodging,' Mr. C. is constrained to say it *must* have been chiefly owing to the opium expenditure; supplying him with money was proved to be worse than useless; and it became a matter of conscience with his faithful old friend to discontinue his profitless liberalities, after a last gratuitous remittance to him when living in a friend's house at Calne, in March, 1815. He returned no more to Bristol; removed to London or its neighbourhood; and became finally a stranger to the biographer. We think it did not look well that, to a friend so warmly and faithfully attached, so solicitous for his welfare and honour, so ready to assist him in difficulty and misfortune, so indulgent to his failings, and who would have been so delighted to receive from himself any information of the attainment at length of a state the reverse of that which had been so long witnessed and deplored, he never wrote again. The long subsequent stage of his life, to the end, remains to be described by the gentlemen who had the happiness of an intimate acquaintance with him during the period of recovered virtue, emancipated mental energy, and religious peace.

No adequate idea can be formed of the condition in which the present work leaves him, without the lurid light thrown on it by several letters, which we can well believe that nothing would have determined Mr. Cottle to publish but a strong conviction of the duty of rendering the memorial of so remarkable a man salutary, as an impressive warning. The pain he had felt in so deciding was somewhat relieved, and his assurance of having done right

confirmed, when the following letter, written to Dr. Wade, came into his hands, after he had proceeded far on in his work.

‘ Bristol, June 26th, 1814.

‘ Dear Sir,

‘ For I am unworthy to call any good man friend—much less you, whose hospitality and love I have abused ; accept, however, my entreaties for your forgiveness, and for your prayers.

‘ Conceive a poor miserable wretch, who for many years has been attempting to beat off pain, by a constant recurrence to the vice that reproduces it. Conceive a spirit in hell, employed in tracing out for others the road to that heaven, from which his crimes exclude him ! In short, conceive whatever is most wretched, helpless, and hopeless, and you will form as tolerable a notion of my state, as it is possible for a good man to have.

‘ I used to think the text in St. James that ‘ he who offended in one point, offends in all,’ very harsh ; but I now feel the awful, the tremendous truth of it. In the one crime of *OPIMUM*, what crime have I not made myself guilty of !—Ingratitude to my Maker ! and to my benefactors—injustice ! and *unnatural cruelty to my poor children* !—self-contempt for my repeated promise—breach, nay, too often, actual falsehood !

‘ After my death, I earnestly entreat, that a full and unqualified narration of my wretchedness, and of its guilty cause, may be made public, that, at least, some little good may be effected by the direful example !

‘ May God Almighty bless you, and, have mercy on your still affectionate, and, in his heart, grateful—

S. T. COLERIDGE.’

ib., pp. 185—187.

It cannot be known whether the writer, supposing him, toward the end of his life, to remember the purport of this letter, would, on being questioned, have persisted in the wish and the injunction it expresses. But Mr. Cottle deems himself justified in assuming that his matured benevolence and piety could not have made him less willing that his unhappy example should stand conspicuous to warn others back from the vortex.

That the letter was not written in a transient mood of grief and exaggerated self-abasement, in a momentary disturbance or lapse of his reason, may be assumed from the bitter sensations of conscience betrayed here and there in preceding communications ; and from the deliberate surrender of himself to justice in two letters to the biographer, of a date somewhat earlier than this to Mr. Wade ; the one in answer to a faithful solemn remonstrance, the other to a second letter of more consolatory character. A part of the first will complete the spectacle of the loftiest hu-

manity laid prostrate, a powerful, capacious, aspiring mind, bound down to hopeless slavery and anguish, by one disastrous habit.

‘ April 26th, 1814.

‘ You have poured oil in the raw and festering wound of an old friend’s conscience, Cottle! but it is *oil of vitriol!* I but barely glanced at the middle of the first page of your letter, and have seen no more of it—not from resentment, (God forbid!) but from the state of my bodily and mental sufferings, that scarcely permitted human fortitude to let in a new visitor of affliction.

‘ The object of my present reply, is, to state the case, just as it is—first, that for ten years the anguish of my spirit has been indescribable, the sense of my danger staring, but the consciousness of my guilt worse—far worse than all! I have prayed, with drops of anguish on my brow; trembling, not only before the justice of my Maker, but even before the mercy of my Redeemer.—‘ I gave thee so many talents, what hast thou done with them?’ Secondly—overwhelmed as I am, with a sense of my direful infirmity, I have never attempted to disguise or conceal the cause. On the contrary, not only to friends, have I stated the whole case with tears, and the very bitterness of shame; but in two instances, I have warned young men, mere acquaintances, who had spoken of having taken laudanum, of the direful consequences, by an awful exposition of its tremendous effects on myself.

‘ Thirdly, though before God I cannot lift up my eyelids, and only do not despair of his mercy, because to despair would be adding crime to crime, yet to my fellow-men, I may say, that I was seduced into the ACCURSED habit ignorantly. I had been almost bed-ridden for many months, with swellings in my knees. In a medical Journal, I unhappily met with an account of a cure performed in a similar case, (or what appeared to me so) by rubbing in of laudanum, at the same time taking a given dose internally. It acted like a charm, like a miracle! I recovered the use of my limbs, of my appetite, of my spirits, and this continued for near a fortnight. At length the unusual stimulus subsided, the complaint returned,—the supposed remedy was recurred to—but I cannot go through the dreary history.

* * * * *

‘ O God! how willingly would I place myself under Dr. Fox, in his establishment; for my case is a species of madness, only that it is a derangement, an utter impotence of the volition, and not of the intellectual faculties. You bid me rouse myself: go bid a man paralytic in both arms, to rub them briskly together, and that will cure him. ‘ Alas!’ he would reply, ‘ that I cannot move my arms, is my complaint and my misery.’

‘ May God bless you, and your affectionate, but most afflicted,

‘ S. T. COLERIDGE.’

ib., pp. 155—158.

The second short letter was in answer to his friend’s entreaty to be pardoned if he had seemed too severe in his remonstrance.

‘O dear friend! I have too much to be forgiven to feel any difficulty in forgiving the cruellest enemy that ever trampled on me: and you I have only to *thank!* You have no conception of the dreadful hell of my mind, and conscience, and body. You bid me pray. O, I do pray inwardly to be able to pray; but indeed to pray, to pray with a faith to which a blessing is promised, this is the reward of faith, this is the gift of God to the elect. Oh! if to feel how infinitely worthless I am, how poor a wretch, with just free-will enough to be deserving of wrath, and of my own contempt, and of none to merit a moment’s peace, can make a part of a Christian’s creed; so far I am a Christian.’
 ib., pp. 160, 161. •

It will be a most cordial gratification to see, we hope not long hence, an accurate statement of the manner, the progressive degrees, the accompanying feelings, the calm of conscience brightening into a temperate happiness, of his ascent from the depths of his long sojourn in so baleful a region, to the delightful ground of liberty, exemplary piety, and Christian hope.

Occasional references, and one or two lengthened arguments, in these volumes, exhibit Coleridge as a zealous maintainer of the orthodox theology, as long since, at least, as 1807. On one point, the native depravity of human nature, we alluded, early in this article, to an avowal in remarkable terms, which Mr. Cottle has quoted from the *Literary Remains*.

‘I believe and hold it as the fundamental article of Christianity, that I am a fallen creature; that I am of myself capable of moral evil, but not of myself capable of moral good, and that an evil ground existed in my will, previously to any given act, or assignable moment of time, in my consciousness. I am born a child of wrath. This fearful mystery I pretend not to understand. I cannot even conceive the possibility of it,—but I know that it is so. My conscience, the sole fountain of certainty, commands me to believe it, and would itself be a contradiction, were it not so—and what is real must be possible.’—ib., p. 191.

A long letter to Mr. C. contains an ingenious discussion on the doctrine of the Trinity, ventured only in the way of indicating ‘some floating ideas,’ which he ‘hopes to mould hereafter into a consistent form.’ Receiving the doctrine on the authority of revelation alone, and as mysterious in a very great degree, he yet thinks that *some* approximation may be made toward a definite conception, that a ‘glimpse of light’ may be obtained, by means of a hypothetical analogy.

‘He makes the supposition that *one mind* could command an unlimited direction over any given number of *limbs*, provided they were all connected by *joint* and *sinew*. But suppose, through some occult and inconceivable means, these limbs were dis-associated, as to all material connexion; suppose, for instance, one mind, with unlimited au-

thority, governed the operations of *two* separate persons, would not this, substantially, be only *one person*, seeing the directing principle was one? If the truth, here contended for, be admitted, that *two persons*, governed by *one mind*, is, incontestably *one person*; the same conclusion may be arrived at, and the proposition equally be justified, which affirmed that, *three*, or, otherwise, *four* persons, owning also necessary and essential subjection to *one mind*, would only be so many diversities, or modifications of that *one mind*, and therefore the component parts, virtually collapsing into *one whole*, the person would be *one*. Let any man ask himself, whose understanding can both reason, and become the depository of truth, whether, if *one mind* thus regulated, with absolute authority, *three*, or, otherwise, *four* persons, with all their congeries of material parts, would not these parts, inert in themselves, when subjected to one predominant mind, be, in the most logical sense, *one person*? Are ligament and exterior combination indispensable pre-requisites to the sovereign influence of mind over mind? or mind over matter?—*ib.*, pp. 93, 94.

The illustration is drawn out to some length; but it does not appear to us to become a beam, or even a 'glimpse' of light on the mysterious subject. To produce any semblance of analogy we must first exclude the idea of corporeal, or material, personality, which only makes confusion. The supposed three, or other number, must be pure spiritual existences. Next, what is the meaning of words 'command,' 'govern,' 'absolute authority,' 'subjection to one predominant mind?' They seem to imply that the supposed three have, respectively, an existence *of their own*, distinguishable in the first instance from the superior mind that is to 'govern' them. Take it so, and it is easy to conceive a superior mighty spirit pervading and actuating them to the effect of unity, in one sense, that is, perfect agreement, harmony, sympathy, same principle of action. But still they are not essentially *identical* with that governing spirit. They are subordinate, under his commanding influence. The hypothesis, therefore, is no analogy; for the case requires that the supposed 'three, or otherwise four,' should *be*, should constitute, and not be 'governed by,' the supposed paramount mind. But if they do so—if, while set forth under a numeral distinction, they be one sole indivisible essence—then *how*, in what sense, (for *that* was the thing attempted to be explained) are they 'three, or otherwise four?' The mystery in question remains inexplicable and unapproachable by the human understanding.

Coleridge's religious opinions are interspersed or interwoven through a wide extent of all sorts of subjects and speculations. They would require to be collected into order, if that were a practicable undertaking, from his *Biographia Literaria*, *Friend*, *Lay Sermons*, *Constitution of the Church and State*, *Aids to Reflection*, *Table Talk*, and *Literary Remains*. We are not aware

of Mr. Cottle's authority for expecting, apparently with confidence, 'a great Posthumous Work, to elucidate and establish the everlasting principles of Christian truth, and to exhibit a System of Christian Ethics.' It should be, of course the work announced in the *Aids to Reflection*, as 'having been,' the author says, 'the principal labour of my life since manhood, and which I am now [in 1825] preparing for the press, under the title, Assertion of Religion, as necessarily *involving* Revelation; and of Christianity, as the only Revelation of permanent and universal validity.' If the work should actually appear, it will be a signally remarkable, and memorable phenomenon, as combining a far greater variety of properties, and what may be called colours, than any other of the class. It will be learned, historical, philosophical, metaphysical, scholistical,* subtle, profound, fanciful, mystical, poetical in illustration, and strongly tinged with the phraseology unfortunately acquired from the German academics. The work cannot fail to contain much that will be valuable; but still, as to the truth and authority of the Christian religion, we are tempted to ask what new lights can be shed, what more valid arguments remain to be produced, what quietus of controversy, what fiery element for blasting the fallacies of scepticism? We are reminded of the following passage from one of his letters:

'If these Scriptures, impregnable in their strength; sustained in their pretensions by undeniable prophecies and miracles; and by the experience of the *inner man*, in all ages, as well as by a concatenation of arguments, all bearing upon one point, and extending, with miraculous consistency, through a series of 1,500 years; if all this combined proof does not establish their validity, nothing can be proved under the sun; but the world and man must be abandoned, with all its consequences, to one universal scepticism!—*ib.*, p. 88.

Then what class of speculatists, in spite of all this still doubting, disbelieving, or despising, could he expect to convince? Was it any of the school of those German atheists, Kant, Fichte, Schelling, &c.

But another work was repeatedly announced by him as on the point of coming into the light, under the title of *Elements of Dis-*

* Coleridge is remembered to have said that he had read *all* Thomas Aquinas; a most enormous hyperbole, of course. Apart from the formidable array of that miraculous Doctor's other writings, let any one look at and into the gigantic volume of the *Summa Theologiæ*, built up of myriads of logical ingenuities, conflicting arguments, distinctions real and unreal, on all things in existence, in possibility, and in neither the one nor the other. Coleridge added that he could give a general view of the speculations of the schoolmen. But this he might do from Brucker.

course, purporting to be something like a new system of logic. And here again, whatever new arrangements, whatever transfers or partitions of provinces, a revolutionary hand may impose on logic as a technical science, we may be permitted to doubt whether any great *practical* improvement can be brought to the economy of thinking, after we have been so long familiarly in the company of the most effective thinkers that ever lived, or that human nature is capable of producing. Nor, with all our respect for intellectual endowments so eminently extraordinary, can we rid ourselves of the impression that our logical reformer's own example is far from affording an auspicious omen.

There may be those who, from patient attention, great effort, and unusual mental strength in making that effort, have the consciousness of a satisfactory understanding of the tenour of his speculations. They could perhaps give them back, point by point, in language of their own. But assuredly a very great proportion of his readers, of at least moderate and not unexercised intellect, find themselves grievously at a loss in parts, and unsuccessful on the whole. There has, indeed, been no little affectation in the matter. Not a few, aware of the writer's great fame, unwilling to seem deficient in capacity, and perhaps really admiring particular parts of his works, have concealed their consciousness of being often baffled in the study, under a dissembling show of applause, while they would have shrunk from the test of having to state the exact import of what they had read.

For one thing, it is quite obvious that Coleridge, after setting before his readers the theme, the *one* theme apparently, undertaken to be elucidated, could not, or would not, proceed in a straight forward course of explanation, argument, and appropriate illustration from fancy; keeping in sight before him a certain ultimate object; and placing marks, as it were, of the steps and stages of the progress. He takes up a topic which we much desire to see examined, a question which we should be glad to see disposed of, and begins with good promise in preparatory observations; but, after a short advance, the train of discussion appears to lose or abandon its direction; veers off arbitrarily, or at the call of accident; complicates what should be the immediate question with secondary, relative, or even quite foreign matters; arrests itself, perhaps, in a philological dissertation on a particular term that comes in the way; resumes, nominally, at an interval, the leading purpose; but with a ready propensity to stray again into any collateral track, and thence into the next, and the next; till at last we come out as from an enchanted wood; hardly knowing whither, and certainly not knowing how to retrace the mazy course; having seen, it is true, divers remarkable objects, and glimpses to a distance on either hand; but not having obtained the one thing which we imagined we were conducted to pursue.

When we have asked ourselves, Now what is the result, as to the purpose we started with in such excellent company? we could not tell.

We have sometimes felt as if our instructor were playing the necromancer with us; causing shapes of intelligence to come before us as if ready to reveal the secrets we were inquiring about; but making them vanish when they were opening the semblance of a mouth; again bringing them or others, grave and bearded, or of more pleasant visage; and when they are getting into hopeful utterance, presto, they are gone. Or perchance, if sometimes permitted to say on, it may happen that they emit such an oracle that we are in danger of muttering, after a pause, 'There needed no ghost to tell us that.'

Another too evident characteristic of his writing is what we may denominate an *arbitrary abstruseness*. No doubt, the extreme subtilty and abstraction of his speculation at one time, and its far reach at another,—the recondite principles and remote views in which he delighted to contemplate a subject—must necessarily and inevitably throw somewhat of a character of obscurity, indistinctness, shall we say *unreality*, over his intellectual creations, as looked upon by minds of but moderate perspicacity and discipline. But still, we think he might have forced them up, if we may so express it, into a more palpable form; might have presented them more in relief and nearer to the eye; so that their substances, figure, junctures, transitions, should have been more distinct, more *real*, to the reader's perception. Instead of being content to trace out and note the mental process just as he performed it *for himself*, in his own peculiar manner, and requiring to be understood on his own conditions, (the *whole* of the accommodation and adaptation for understanding him being on the part and at the cost of the student, who was to be despised if he failed) he might at least have met the student half way, by working his thoughts into a cast more like the accustomed manner of shaping and expressing ideas among thinking men. When the reader thinks he has mastered the full meaning of a section or paragraph, he feels confident that the portion of thought *might* be put in a more perspicuous form, without injury to even a refinement in any part of its consistence; and that it would have been so in the hands of Hume, for example, or Stewart. But Coleridge seems resolute to carry on his process at the greatest distance from the neighbourhood of common thinking. Or if the plain nature of the subject compels him to perform it nearer at hand, he must, lest any thing should be vulgarly tangible, make every substance under operation fly off in gas.

Not a little of the obscurity complained of may be owing to the strange dialect which he fabricated for himself, partly of his own invention, and partly from the German terminology; which never

will or can be naturalized in English literature, whatever efforts are making, or to be made, to deprave our language with it—an impossibility at which, as plain Englishmen, we sincerely rejoice. If the *greater part* of the philosophy, for which it was constructed as the vehicle, shall keep its distance too, so much the better. That inseparable vehicle itself will debar it (and Coleridge is a proof) from all chance of extensive acceptance.

Notwithstanding all these animadversions, it were little better than an impertinence to say that his writings (we make no reference to the beauties of his poetry) contain, though unfortunately in such a scattered miscellaneous disorder, very much that is admirable and valuable. There are acute and just discriminations, profound reflections, sagacious conjectures, and felicitous images, without number. In portions and passages no professed disciple can admire him more than we do. Take, for a single example, from the *Aids to Reflection*, (1st edit. p. 120) one of the grandest passages to be any where found :

‘ THE DEPTH OF CONSCIENCE.

‘ How deeply seated the conscience is in the human soul, is seen in the effect which sudden calamities produce on guilty men, even when unaided by any determinate notion or fears of punishment after death. The wretched criminal, as one rudely awakened from a long sleep, and half recollecting, half striving to recollect, a fearful something, he knows not what, but which he will recognize as soon as he hears the name, already interprets the calamities into *judgments*, executions of a sentence passed by an *invisible Judge* ; as if the vast pyre of the last judgment were already kindled in an unknown distance ; and some flashes of it, darting forth at intervals beyond the rest, were flying and lighting on the face of his soul. The calamity may consist in loss of fortune, or character, or reputation ; but you hear no *regrets* from him. Remorse extinguishes all regret, and remorse is the *implicit* creed of the guilty.’

It is cause for great regret, that a mind so powerful, original, and amply furnished, should have been withheld, by a combination of causes, including those of which we have attempted a slight indication, from taking that primary rank in philosophy and literature, for which nature seemed to have designed it. We have not the means to know what may have been the effect and extent of his influence in the secondary mode, of his personal communications with many able men. But as regarded solely in the capacity of an author, he is (hitherto) one of the most remarkable instances in history, of the disproportion between splendid talents and success, in the ordinary sense of success, with the cultivated portion of the public.

For Mr. Cottle's part, his conscientious fidelity to truth, at the cost, we fully believe him when he says, of no small reluctance

and pain, has secured the point of placing on permanent record, to the extent of a large portion of life, the plain reality of the character of a very extraordinary man. It is too late to suggest that, by the omission of some unnecessary pieces in the Appendix, and here and there some pages in the book, it might have been produced in the more easily attainable form of a single volume. Nor are the portraits a compensation for the difference. The two of Coleridge have no likeness to each other, and neither of them presents an interesting or agreeable countenance.

Art. III. *Sermons*. By SAMUEL SUMMERS. London: William Ball. 8vo. 1837.

A PROFESSIONAL critic is usually regarded as a morose and querulous being, from whose heart all the kinder and more generous impulses of our nature are banished. Yet we protest for ourselves that we never take up a volume like the present without feeling that we are utterly disqualified for doing justice to its merits. We cannot sit in cool and impartial judgment, dispensing with a severe and even-handed justice our praise or blame, when the publication under review brings with it a thousand endeared associations on which we love to dwell. It were easy and pleasant, in such circumstances, to moralize, but we leave this to the preacher, and pass on to our more appropriate business.

Mr. Summers was well known throughout an extensive circle as a man of strong intellect and of generous heart. The peculiarity of his temperament ordinarily produced, at first, an unfavourable impression. Those who saw him but once, or who met him only under the restraints of general society, were very likely to regard him as cold and reserved—a man of contracted sympathies and of repulsive habits. But this impression was speedily obliterated, and he became enshrined in the best affections of the heart. As soon as the formality of an introduction was over, and he felt himself at home, his character was seen in its true light, and its high and noble qualities insured permanent friendship. His religious profession began in early life. He joined the church in Devonshire Square, London, in 1811; and, had the bent of his own mind been followed, he would at once have devoted himself to the Christian ministry. But his youthful aspirations were not favoured by his friends. Other pursuits were enforced on his attention, and he reluctantly complied with parental advice. In relinquishing his purpose, however, he did not

wholly abandon the work of the ministry. The church to which he belonged encouraged him to 'stir up the gift that was in him;' and the success of his occasional labours strengthened the conviction of many that he was destined, sooner or later, to take rank amongst the stated ministers of the sanctuary. In 1829 he was elected by the unanimous suffrage of the church to the deacon's office, the duties of which he continued to discharge with exemplary diligence till his removal to Bristol. 'There is a feeling in my heart,' said his pastor, in the *charge* which he delivered to him at his ordination, 'which no words can express. I do not address you as an ordinary friend, or as a fellow-labourer simply in the ministry of the gospel. During ten years our intercourse has been of the most intimate and unreserved order. The confidence of friendship has been sanctified by the presence of religious principle. I have been accustomed to repair to you in all my perplexities, and my heart (so far at least as ministerial and pastoral engagements were concerned) has been habitually open to your inspection. During this period there has not occurred, to my knowledge, the misunderstanding of a moment. We have mutually confided in each other's integrity; and, when differences of opinion have arisen, we have sought, by calm, protracted, and friendly discussion, to ascertain where the truth lay. I now look back to this intercourse as one of the greatest blessings of my life, and am half disposed to wish that recent events had not transpired.' This was high, but not exaggerated praise. It was fully merited and heartily given. For some three or four years prior to his removal from London his religious character had rapidly matured, and the conviction of his most intimate friends became proportionably strong, that he was destined to occupy some important station in the church. His occasional labours were increasingly acceptable, and his own heart was growingly interested in them. The writer of this article had frequent opportunities of conversing with him on the subject, and uniformly found that he looked to the consecration of himself to the ministry as the highest point of his ambition. But there were obstacles in the way which appeared to be insurmountable. These, however, were suddenly removed, and in the most unexpected manner. He was invited to supply the pulpit of the Baptist church in Broadmead, Bristol, then suffering under a bereavement which those only can estimate who were acquainted with the personal excellencies and ministerial pre-eminence of their deceased pastor. An application from such a quarter was sufficiently flattering, and he trembled to comply with it. For some time he hesitated, but at length proceeded to the temporary occupation of their pulpit. The result was what might have been anticipated. All were delighted with

his ministry, and a cordial invitation was speedily given him to become their pastor. The fairest visions of his youthful days were thus embodied before him. The doors of the Christian sanctuary were opened for his entrance, and a united people welcomed him to its altars. Now, however, was the great struggle. He felt that the crisis of his life was come, and dreaded the taking a false step. On one hand the course of events spoke loudly, and his most judicious friends counselled his compliance; but, on the other hand, he thought of his age, the want of early training, and, above all, of the fearful responsibilities involved in the office to which he was invited. He remained for a time in suspense, commending himself in simple and importunate prayer to the guidance of that Divine Spirit, without whose inspiration 'books are senseless scrawls, studies are dreams, learning is a glow-worm, and wit is but wantonness, impertinence, and folly.'

He decided at length to accept the Bristol invitation, and tendered, in consequence, October 28, 1833, to the church in Devonshire Square, his resignation of the diaconal office. His brethren deeply felt his departure. He had rapidly grown for some previous years in their esteem and best affections, and was now followed by their solicitude and prayers. 'We cannot accept,' it was said in a resolution which they adopted on the occasion, 'the resignation of our brother Summers without expressing to him our grateful sense of the services he has rendered to us as a church, and our affectionate solicitude for his personal happiness in the important sphere he is about to labour.'

Of the character of his pulpit ministrations at Bristol, the following account is given by his intimate friend, the Rev. Edward Steane, in the sermon which he preached on occasion of his decease, and we need not say that it is accurate throughout.

'It could scarcely have occasioned surprise if, after the first extraordinary impulse which the occupancy of this pulpit, under such circumstances, must necessarily have given to his mind had subsided, he had failed to preserve that elevated rank as a preacher which he then so decidedly took. Without implying a reflection, it might have been supposed that he was putting forth a great effort, which, at a subsequent period, and under less excitement, he could not be expected to maintain. But if apprehensions of this kind were entertained, they were signally disappointed. His sermons lost none of their characteristic qualities. The same force of thought, stateliness of composition, and energetic appeal distinguished them to the last. They were acute, sensible, and vigorous, and rising in their more impassioned periods to the loftier elevations of genius. With in-

‘ tense application of mind he prepared them; every sentiment
 ‘ was weighed, every sentence elaborated; and their principal
 ‘ defect, arising from an excess of carefulness in their construction,
 ‘ was the want of simplicity and ease. He never indulged, I
 ‘ believe, when in the pulpit, in the practice of extemporaneous
 ‘ speaking. This circumstance naturally prevented his acquiring
 ‘ that flexibility and varied freedom of address which must be
 ‘ reckoned among the most valuable qualities in the style of a
 ‘ public instructor.

‘ But admirable as his discourses were, considered as specimens
 ‘ of sacred oratory, this was their smallest praise. They were
 ‘ ever pregnant with a sound theology, and enriched with the
 ‘ mellowed fruit of enlightened Christian experience. The views
 ‘ which your late beloved pastor entertained of divine truth were
 ‘ thoroughly evangelical; hence the grand fundamentals of
 ‘ Christianity, the distinctive peculiarities of the gospel as a re-
 ‘ medial economy, the doctrine of atonement, of justification by
 ‘ the righteousness of Christ through faith, and as necessary to
 ‘ both, of the supreme Godhead and sinless humanity of our
 ‘ Lord; of the new birth, and the subsequent progressive sancti-
 ‘ fication of believers by the Holy Spirit, were not merely never
 ‘ lost sight of, but occupied at all times a prominent place in his
 ‘ ministry. If he delighted by his eloquence, and convinced by
 ‘ his argument, it was only still with the ulterior purpose of cap-
 ‘ tivating the hearts of his hearers to the faith of the gospel. To
 ‘ the cross of Christ it was the tendency of his preaching to lead
 ‘ both the sinner and the believer; the one that he might find in
 ‘ it the source of repentance and the medium of pardon; and
 ‘ the other, to gather from it motives to the practice of universal
 ‘ holiness.

‘ He discovered much anxiety that those who constituted his
 ‘ pastoral charge should excel their fellow-disciples in the exhibi-
 ‘ tion of the various branches of the Christian temper. One of
 ‘ the last official engagements with which he was occupied, was
 ‘ indicative of his solicitude in relation to this particular and im-
 ‘ portant point. He would not have you come behind in bene-
 ‘ volence, or in any other gift; nor fail in the practical exempli-
 ‘ fication of any of the fruits of the Spirit. In your religious
 ‘ improvement he delighted to contemplate the legitimate and
 ‘ satisfactory result of his ministrations, and in the spirit, if not
 ‘ in the very language of the apostle John, exhorted you, ‘ Look
 ‘ to yourselves, that we lose not those things which we have
 ‘ wrought, but that we receive a full reward.’*
 ‘

* Sorrow for the Dead Regulated and Restrained: A Sermon preached at Broadmead, Bristol, occasioned by the death of the Rev. Samuel Summers.

The expectations of a large circle were bitterly disappointed by the rapid decay and early death of this estimable and talented man. It now appears that the disease which terminated his life had commenced before his removal from London. He carried with him to his new sphere of labour the malady which was to consign him so speedily to the grave. So short-sighted is man, so mysterious and inexplicable are the ways of God.

But it is time that we notice the sermons before us. They appear under great disadvantage, not having received the revision of their author. They are printed from his manuscripts, as we are informed in the *Advertisement* prefixed to them, 'without any other alteration than the correction of a few verbal inaccuracies which, in the hurry of composition, escaped the writer.' We think this is as it ought to be. It is the only plan on which the integrity of an author's style and the peculiarity of his modes of thought can be preserved. The finish of the composition may thus be sacrificed, but the intellect and the heart of a writer will be seen in their truest light. The volume contains twenty-five sermons, and is published for the benefit of the author's family. We can make room but for two extracts, the first of which is from the sermon on *The Nature and Folly of Religious Indecision*. We select it as a fair sample of the earnest and deep-toned appeals which the author was accustomed to make to his hearers.

'The awful condition of the undecided man declares the folly of his course.

'He knows much about religion, but is an entire stranger to its joys and blessings. He never allows it so to operate upon his mind as to produce its moral results, which are always accompanied with pure and unfading joys. He does not know enough of it to secure an interest in its blessings; so that it conducts him to no abiding good or substantial happiness. It does not screen him from the evils which follow a wrong decision. However his indecision may keep him from full association with the world, yet in the eye of omniscience his character is fixed. He is ungodly; he is acting in a manner highly offensive to the Deity. He is putting the claims of the world on a level with those of God; he is not making the divine glory the end of his being. He lives not to his praise. Every thing is made to centre on self; his own ease and comfort is the main-spring of his conduct. If he leans to religion, it is but to soothe his convictions; if he inclines to the world, it is but to stifle the pains of conscience. He aims to act in the way which shall give him the least mental friction. He not only mistakes his object, but he errs with respect to the means; for were he earnestly to seek the salvation of his soul, he might press through the pangs of remorse, he might shed the tears of godly sorrow, and find true peace in believing the humbling but saving truths of the gospel; but now he bears a larger amount of suffering with

almost a destitution of joy. His pains may indeed be spread over a longer period, and not at any one period be so acute as those of the true penitent; but they are symptomatic of disease, and not of returning health—they conduct to no happy issue—they are not the weeping of a night that ushers in a morning of joy, but they are pangs which bring no relief, unless indeed it be a morbid insensibility to the approach of death and eternal woe. And whilst his indecision of mind increases his amount of misery in this world, it subjects him to the heavier curse of that man who knew his Lord's will and yet did it not. I cannot imagine the mental sufferings of such a man at the day of judgment, with the realities of eternity clear before him, looking back upon the folly and madness of his earthly indecision. It is his turn to be tried. He is summoned to the bar. He comes with all his convictions of the truth and importance of religion strengthened by the clearer light of eternity. Inquisition is made for sin, but he answers not a word—he is dumb with the consciousness of guilt. The book is opened; the history of his life is recounted. This man, at the age of twenty, was under deep convictions of sin; he felt the value of his immortal soul—he was half persuaded to be a Christian, but the pleasures of youth kept him in a state of indecision. Up to the age of forty he alternated between God and the world; he attended the ministry of the gospel, his attention was frequently, powerfully arrested, but he could never be induced to become decided. At forty death entered into his family, and took away the desire of his eyes with a stroke; his heart was again softened; he trembled for his own soul; he saw the folly of longer delay; but time assuaged his grief, and the cares and anxieties of life brought him back to the same state of mental indecision. He continued to sixty, when calamities again overtook him, and made him the subject of pungent and bitter remorse. He had neither the pleasures of youth nor the pressure of business to keep him from God; but all his habits were formed, he could not make up his mind to a decided step; and at the period of his death he was no nearer to a religious profession than when at twenty his convictions were stifled and overcome. Oh! the agony which such a man must feel at the events of his past history. If memory could be destroyed, there would be a relief to his pangs. But memory will be faithful and retentive in a future world; and his most poignant sufferings will be associated with the indecision of his earthly career.' pp. 341—343.

Our other extract is from the sermon on *The Prospects of the Church of Christ*, founded on 2 Thess. ii. 7, 8, and will be read with interest by all who are taking part in the deeply agitating questions of the present day. Speaking of the corruptions of the church, our author says,

'The consumption of this iniquity will be gradual; it is not to be accomplished by a miracle; the mighty evil will not be at once overturned. This interpretation of the text exactly agrees with events.

We have seen her who deceived the nations by her sorceries, who seduced the servants of God to commit fornication, cast into a bed of languishing. The mother of harlots is the victim of internal fires, which waste her strength and destroy her frame—she is suffering a lingering death. Look where we will, we see the symptoms of her decay—there is a widely spread and deeply seated disease, which cannot be eradicated. France, and Spain, and Portugal are already paralyzed: Ireland, indeed, nerved by persecution, manifests an unnatural vigour. With this exception life is retiring from the extremities, and concentrating about the heart, where its feeble pulsations indicate the approach of the final, the expiring struggle. If we look to our own country we see the iniquity of which our text speaks in a milder and less obnoxious form. But even here existing superstitions are threatened; men are no longer to be deceived by an anomalous, an undefined, a mysterious power, called the church; they are no longer to be held in spiritual thralldom; the human mind is awake, it is inquiring into the reason of things; and there are evils in our ecclesiastical polity which, if Christianity be true, will not bear examination. The episcopal church may remain in a greatly modified condition, and may become a blessing to the world; but baronial dignities, in virtue of a spiritual office, are an unnatural excrescence on the Christian system. With our views of religion we think its established form and compulsory support cannot be permanent. The alliance between Church and State is an anomalous connexion, and in direct opposition to the spirit of Christianity. The church of Christ is a community of believers; the bond of union is fellowship in spiritual blessings, and a spiritual body will not admit of a secular head. The kingdom of Christ is not of this world, and every establishment is of this world, and must be founded on the civil power as its basis. We hesitate not to say, that every ecclesiastical system, which in its constitution is thus at variance with the religion of Jesus, will be consumed. Whether it be our own national establishment, or of any of our dissenting communities; whatever it be that unites the church to the world; that incloses in one promiscuous mass the godly and the ungodly; whether it be under the domination of pope or king, of bishops or pastors, it is destined to destruction. It is among the corruptible things which are mingled with those more precious; the precious will be separated from the vile; the wheat from the chaff; that which is in accordance with the divine will, will be freed from all unhallowed companionships, and our common Christianity will emerge from the cumbrous superstitions which for ages have restrained her native energies, and hindered her progress in every direction. This work will be accomplished by retracing the steps which mankind have taken in the path of error. We must revert to original Christianity, to what it was as delivered by the apostles; the Scripture must alone be our guide, and where it does not furnish the details, we must be scrupulously guided by its principles. It would be the greatest impiety to suppose that our Lord had established a kingdom in the world without making known the principles on which it is to be founded. Those principles are clearly laid down in the New Testament; and in the renovation of the church the bul-

wark of Protestantism must be her watch-word, The Bible—The Bible alone is the religion of Protestants.’ pp. 467—469.

In dismissing this volume, we commend it heartily to the favour of our readers. There is a freshness, and vigour, and vitality in it, a freedom from technicalities and professional forms, which cannot fail to gratify the intelligent reader, while its scriptural doctrines, enlightened expositions of duty, and earnest pleadings with the human heart, are adapted to delight and benefit every Christian mind.

Art. IV. *The History of the Assassins. Derived from Oriental Sources.* By the Chevalier Joseph Von Hammer, Author of the History of the Ottoman Empire, &c. Translated from the German, by OSWALD CHARLES WOOD, M.D., &c. &c. &c. London: 1835.

THE object of the learned Orientalist, in writing this history, has been two-fold: ‘in the first place, to present a lively picture of the pernicious influence of secret societies in weak governments, and of the dreadful prostitution of religion to the horrors of unbridled ambition;’ and ‘secondly, to give a view of the important, rare, and unused historical treasures which are contained in the rich magazine of oriental literature.’ How often does it happen that a very useful service is undertaken for a very arbitrary reason or an insufficient object! The historical treasures of oriental life and nature are sufficiently copious and curious. ‘Who, for example,’ exclaims Von Hammer, ‘could precisely and circumstantially describe the history of the Khalifat, the dominion of the families Ben Ommia and Abbas, and their capitals, so long as he had not read the history of Bagdad, by Ibn Khatib, and that of Damascus, by Ibn Assaker,—the former in sixty, the latter in eighty volumes?’ The proportion of alloy mixed with the more precious material is, however, so large as to render the laborious process of working these literary mines much less profitable than might be anticipated from the vague report of their extent. Annals of provincial dynasties, chronicles of sanguinary revolutions, histories half composed of tradition, and half of florid embellishment, may supply much interesting illustration of oriental manners and modes of thinking; but the accession to our stores of substantial knowledge derivable from such sources, is not likely to be very considerable.

A striking proof how little light is thrown upon general history by the oriental chroniclers, is afforded by Sir John Malcolm’s

History of Persia, compiled chiefly from the native annals, which, commencing with fable, omit to notice some of the most striking and important events; they refer very obscurely to Cyrus, and not at all to Cambyses, the conqueror of Egypt; are equally silent as to the younger Cyrus, and exhibit a blank of five centuries during the reign of the Arsacidan or Parthian dynasty. Between Ferdosi and Herodotus, there is nearly as wide a difference as between Tasso and Froissart. The Arabian historians furnish nothing better than legendary tales, founded, no doubt, on traditional fact, but disguised by embellishment; at least, so far as regards the times antecedent to the era of Mohammed. Turkish literature is almost entirely borrowed from Arabic and Persian sources. The autobiography of Sultan Baber, in one of the Turkish dialects, is, indeed, a splendid exception; and the history of his august house has been amply illustrated by the learned men who flourished under their munificent patronage. Ferishta has better pretensions to the character of an historian, than almost any other oriental writer. Of the value of the authorities cited by Von Hammer, we can judge only from the use he has made of them; but we must take leave to remark, that a critical estimate of their competency and credibility, as historians, would have been a very important and acceptable preliminary. The critical faculty is quite as indispensable a requisite in the editor of such documents, as philological acquisitions. It is quite evident that Von Hammer has not consulted his oriental authorities in the spirit of Niebuhr; and his scholarship appears far sounder than his judgment.

As to the political lesson of the history, which is somewhat too prominently dwelt upon, Von Hammer seems to us to fail altogether in making it out with any distinctness. Allowing him to make the most of his parallel between the Assassins, and the Templars, the Jesuits, and the *Illuminati*, we do not see that this bears very strongly upon the general position he aims to establish. Neither the Ismaelites nor the Romish orders were secret associations. The pernicious influence of such Societies we admit; nor is it confined to countries under 'weak governments:' they have proved sources of political danger to the strongest. Sometimes, however, they have been employed as the instruments of despotic governments; at other times, they have been defensive leagues against despotism. A complete history of such Societies would exhibit them under various aspects. Confederacies have not always been conspiracies; nor have all heresiarchs been actuated by political ambition. The manner in which our Author has treated his subject, affords a fresh illustration of the trite remark, that it is easy to trace analogies and apparent resemblances; the higher task is to discriminate differences. The following observations, however, are just and important:—

‘Religious fanaticism is continually accused by history as the fomentor of those sanguinary wars which have desolated kingdoms, and convulsed states; nevertheless, religion has scarcely ever been the end but merely the instrument, of ambitious policy and untameable lust of power. Usurpers and conquerors perverted the beneficent spirit of the founders of religion to their own pernicious ends. Religious systems have never operated so destructively on dynasties and governments, as in those cases where the insufficient separation of the spiritual from the temporal authorities has given the freest play to the alternation of hierarchy and tyranny. The nearer the altar is to the throne, the greater is the temptation to step from the former to the latter, and bind the diadem round the mitre: the closer the connexion of the political and ecclesiastical interests, the more numerous and prolific are the germs of tedious, civil, and religious wars.’—pp. 22, 23.

The histories of the ancient Persians and Romans, of the Egyptians and the Greeks, the Author proceeds to remark, ‘almost an immunity’—the Translator is of course responsible for the inappropriate expression—‘because religion, being merely considered as popular worship, could neither weaken nor support pretensions to the supreme authority.’ Von Hammer here betrays a very imperfect acquaintance with the ancient histories of these nations. Both Numa and Lycurgus availed themselves of the sanctions of the national religion for their enactments; and in Egypt, as in India, the struggle for ascendancy between the hierocracy and the royal or military power, produced repeated revolutions. In Persia, too, the ascendancy or depression of the Magian priesthood, has been a marked feature of the changes of dynasty; and religious struggles are evidently obscurely indicated by the fabulous conflicts between the *deers* and the monarchs of the old Assyrian race.* The founder of the Sassanian dynasty was the restorer of the religion of Zoroaster; and Ferdoosi has given us the dying charge of this monarch to his son Shahpoor, in which occur the following remarkable sentiments: ‘Never forget that, as a king, you are at once the protector of religion and your country. Consider the altar and throne as inseparable: they must always sustain each other. A sovereign without religion is a tyrant; and a people who have none, may be deemed the most monstrous of societies. Religion may exist without a state, but a state cannot exist without religion; and it is by its holy laws that a political association can alone be bound.† These, it must, however, be recollected, were the specious axioms of a

* Von Hammer cites from Macrisi a list of Magian sects. Of the seven enumerated, two seem identical with Magianism itself, and five opposed to it!

† Malcolm’s Persia, vol. i., p. 95.

persecutor. Not only were the temples of the Parthians, and the thrones of their deified monarchs, subverted with ignominy by the Sassanian conqueror, and the sword of Aristotle broken; but, says Gibbon, 'the flames of persecution soon reached the more stubborn Jews and Christians, nor did they spare the heretics of their own nation and religion. This spirit of persecution reflects dishonour on the religion of Zoroaster; but, as it was not productive of any civil commotion, it served to strengthen the new monarchy.' In fact, wherever the altar and the throne are inseparable, either the sword will be in the hands of the priesthood, who will use it against all who refuse to submit to their spiritual claims or dogmata,—or the priests will be the tools and creatures of the monarch. Had kings always contented themselves with being the protectors of religion, instead of claiming or affecting to be its arbiters and dispensers, and consequently its corrupters, the flames of martyrdom would never have been kindled. That religion may exist without even the countenance of the state, the history of the church sufficiently attests. That a state cannot exist without religion, is a truism in sound, but a detestable fallacy in meaning. Jeroboam was the first king that set up an ecclesiastical establishment upon this principle of strengthening the throne by means of the altar. The word religion, in such a connexion, does not mean the principle which unites man to his Maker, but the obedience to a prescribed ritual, and institutions which connects the subject with his prince. If a state cannot exist *without* a state religion, it can still less exist *against* a religion; and therefore, the suppression of Christianity itself becomes the justifiable policy, on this principle, of all monarchs who are not Christian, after the wise example of the great Artaxerxes! In like manner, the suppression of any form of religion not in alliance with the state, is the dictate of the same Machiavelian policy. Besides, to convert religion into a political bond, it is necessary, as Professor Heeren has remarked, that it should possess a *national*, that is, a political character; as the temple of the Tyrian Hercules was the centre of the Phœnician league, and that of Jupiter Latialis of the Latin confederacy.* But a national religion, in order to be a bond of internal union, must be common to the whole nation, and, to a certain degree, peculiar to it; while the nationality thus fostered will tend to become a source of international hostility and hatred, inflaming Greeks against Latins, Persians against Ottomans, Protestants against Papists, Episcopalians against Puritans and Covenanters. But the religion of Christ was never intended to be made a state engine or a political bond. The bonds of political society are law and commerce;

* Heeren on the Ancient Nations of Africa, vol. i., p. xviii.

and a religion which rejects the sanctions of either force or worldly profits, cannot be politically enforced without losing its genuine character. The faith of Christ cannot be a bond of national union: the union which it cements, is entirely based upon a common spiritual relation to a Divine Head. The spirituality of this tie, and its catholicity, as extending to the whole body of Christ, render it inapplicable to the designs of rulers and the politics of states.

Christianity, Von Hammer justly remarks, 'never deluged kingdoms with blood, until it was made use of by ambitious popes and princes, contrary to the original spirit of its institution; as, under Gregory VII. and his successors, the crosier overpowered the sceptre.'

'Entirely different was the case with Islamism, which, being founded as much on the sword as (on) the Koran, united in the person of the imam and khalif, both the dignity of pontiff and that of sovereign. Hence its history presents more numerous and more murderous wars than that of any other religion; hence, in almost all the sects, the chief ground of the schism is the contested succession to the throne; and hence, there is scarcely one of any importance which has not, at some period, proved dangerous to the reigning family as a political faction in the state.'—p. 23.

The Divine wisdom forbade the union of the sacerdotal and the regal office in the same tribe; partly, we may presume to infer, with a view to prevent the fatal combination of military and hieratic despotism. The policy of Mohammed was probably guided by a wish to concentrate all power in the supreme ruler, and to render him independent of any sacerdotal caste. It matters little, whether the sovereign style himself sheik or sultan, imam or khalif, so long as he is sole and supreme. But, in guarding against the struggles for ascendancy between different powers, the Arabian legislator was conscious that he had left the empire he bequeathed, open to all the danger of a contested succession. The view of Mohammedism which is here presented to us as so peculiarly fruitful in ecclesiastical schisms and murderous wars, will, however, be new to many readers; for the cant of infidelity has been employed in exalting the religion of the Koran, in these respects, above the Christian faith itself.

The Assassins can scarcely be called a Mohammedan sect, any more than the Manicheæans or the Gnostics were a Christian sect. They were, strictly speaking, a political body, devotedly and fanatically attached to their chief; 'a branch of the Ismaelites,' Von Hammer calls them; for they belonged ostensibly to that sect, which was itself a mongrel heresy, having little really in common with Mohammedan orthodoxy. Our readers are aware

that Islam, like Christendom in the Middle Ages, has its great eastern and western divisions. The Soonnite or orthodox division, according to the standard authorities, is that of which the Ottoman emperor is the khalif and spiritual head, and which exhibits at least a political unity throughout the Turkish pale. The four orthodox sects of the Soonnites differ only as the several orders of the papacy. The other, or eastern division, comprising the Persian nation, separated originally from the western khalifate upon the ground of the disputed right to the prophetic succession; and, as a natural consequence, in tracing the descent from the Prophet downwards from Ali, it has split again into endless subdivisions, each of which has felt at liberty to shape its own creed, so that, in many of these, scarcely a trace remains of the doctrines of the Koran. For instance, under the opprobrious appellation of the *Ghullat* or 'Exaggerating,' are confounded, we are told, several Sheiite sects, the extravagance of whose doctrines far exceed the bounds of reason, exhibiting traces of both the Gnostic metaphysics and the Indian mysticism.

They recognize but one Imam, as the Jews admit but one Messiah; and attribute to Ali divine qualities, as the Christians do to Jesus. Some distinguish in him two natures,—the human and the divine: others acknowledge only the latter. Others are of opinion, that the imams alone are gifted with metempsychosis, so that the same perfect nature of Ali has descended, and will to the end of the world descend, to his successors in the imamat—in their respective turns. According to others, this series was interrupted by Mohammed Bakir, the son of Seinolabidin (son of Hossein), and brother of Seid; who is believed by some to be still alive, wandering on earth, although concealed, like Khiser, the guardian of the spring of life. Others again affirm, that this is true only of Ali, who sits immortally enthroned in clouds, from whence his voice is heard in the thunder, and the brandished scourge of his wrath is viewed in the lightning's flash. These sects of the *Ghullat* are held to be damnable heretics, not merely by the Soonnites, but also by the rest of the Shiites; as the Arians and Nestorians were so estimated, not by the Roman Catholics only, but also by the Byzantine Jacobites.* They received the general name of *Mulhad*, or impious. The basis of their doctrine lies in their extravagant homage and *de facto* deification of the first imams; who, however, far from ad-

* Von Hammer is too fond of supposed parallels. In the present instance, there is little propriety or force in the comparison. Nor is he correct. The Jacobites were not Byzantine, but Anti-Byzantine, inasmuch as they rejected the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon. The Syrian Christians take their name of Jacobites from a Bishop of Edessa, in the reign of Justinian, who revived the moderate doctrines of the *Henoticon* of the Emperor Zeno; but his followers were stigmatized as heretics by the Byzantine and Latin Catholics, or rather Imperialists.

mitting it, condemned its supporters. Ali himself doomed some to the flames; Mohammed Ben-Hanfiye rejected with horror the faith of Muchtar, who ascribed god-like properties to him; and the Imam Jafir excommunicated all who hazarded the same tenet concerning himself. This, however, did not prevent its gaining both teachers and disciples. It is not difficult to perceive its tendency, nor how convenient an instrument of sedition and usurpation it must have been found in the hands of skilful impostors, or political competitors for the throne. It was easy to turn, in the name of one invisible and perfect imam, the obedience of the people from the visible and imperfect prince, or, by the ascription to an ambitious usurper, of the transmigration of the souls and the perfections of preceding imams, to achieve his investment with the sovereignty.

‘The *Ghullat*, however, notwithstanding the extravagance of their doctrines of deification and metempsychosis, were, on the whole, far from being so dangerous to the throne as the *Imamie*; who, indeed, adopted from them the idea of a vanished Imam, but who otherwise maintained a continued series of revealed imams prior to him, but posteriorly a natural descent of concealed ones. . . . The *Imamie* are divided into two classes; the *Esnaashrie* or *Twelvers*—so named because they make the series of revealed imams end with Mohammed Ben-Hassan-Askeri, who was the twelfth;’ and . . . ‘the *Sebiin*, or *Sevensers*, who only reckon seven imams, in the following order: 1. Ali; 2. Hassan; 3. Hossein; 4. Ali Seinolabidin, (i. e. Ornament of the Devout); 5. Mohammid Bakir, (i. e. the Dealer in Secrets); 6. Jafir Sadik, (i. e. the Just); and 7. his son Ismail. The latter, who died before his father, is deemed by them the last imam; and from him they are called Ismailites, as the Twelvers were named Imamites. The discrepancy between them commences at the seventh Imam.’

—pp. 18—20.

We must offer a few observations upon this not very luminous account of the Shei-ite sects. In the first place, its value, as information, is vitiated by the omission of specific reference to the primary authorities upon which it rests. The vague statement, that some hold this opinion, and others that opinion, unaccompanied with any notice of the leaders or doctors of these supposed schools, or of the time and place in which such tenets have been maintained, or of the writings in which they are to be found, is entitled to little attention. Every thing depends, as regards the credibility, or at least the trustworthiness of such representations, upon the character of the original authorities. No orthodox or Soonee Mussulman, for instance, can be depended upon for a fair account of the Persian sects; while the poetical romances of which Ali is the hero, are still more questionable data. Von Hammer professes to have derived his information respecting these subdivisions of the Persian faith, from Turkish translations of Ibn Khaledun and Lary. The latter name is quite new to us; and we should have been glad to know who he was. At all

events, if our author has followed these authorities in his classification of sects, they have misled him. The Abbassidan khalifs rested their title to the throne on their descent from Abbas, the uncle of the prophet; and an attempt, it seems, was made to strengthen their claim, by making the *imamat*, or true pontifical succession, pass from Ali to Mohammed-Ben-Hanfie, brother of Hassan and Hossein, and thence, by bequest, to the founder of the dynasty. To describe the sticklers for this genealogy as a sect, is absurd. In like manner, the Fatimite sultans of Egypt claimed, in virtue of their alleged descent from Ali and Fatima, through Ismail, the son of Sadik, the legitimate succession to all the honours of the pontificate. These rights were long and violently contested by the Abbassides, whose interest it was to annihilate at once the genealogical pedigree of their formidable rivals, and the validity of the pretensions founded on it. Macrisi and Ibn Khaledun decide in favour of the Fatimite line of descent, while various doctors and jurists, of course, are of an opposite opinion.* But it would be just as rational to enumerate the English and Scotch Jacobites of the last century, or the Carlists and Christinos of the present day, among Christian sects, as to give the denomination of Shei-ite sects to the political adherents of the several pretenders to the disputed *Inamat* or Khalifate of Islam. The *Seidiye* who acknowledge the legitimacy of the first three khalifs, ought to be ranked as Soonnees, rather than as Shei-ites; while it is evident that those who maintain, with the *Wakifye* doctors, that the *imamat* has remained in the person of Mohammed, 'he never having died, but being said to have appeared since on earth under other names,'—as well as the majority of the Imamites,—belong to the *Ghullat* or Exaggerating sectaries, as truly as any other sects that are comprehended under that appellation.

The Persians submitted with reluctance to the creed of the Arabian Prophet; and the Magian doctrines, blended with the Sefi mysticism, continued to be held in secret, or were revived under various modifications in the shape of Mohammedan heresies. Thus, we are told, the first khalifs of the Abbassidan house vainly endeavoured to eradicate with the sword the 'libertines,' who were probably followers of Zoroaster. In the reign of the Khalif Mansour, the *Rawendi* who maintained the doctrine of the

* The courtly jurists and doctors of Bagdad alleged that Obeidollah Mehdi, the founder of the Fatimite dynasty, was an impostor, and, instead of being the descendant of Ismail and Ali, was the grandson of the famous heresiarch Abdallah, son of Maimun Kaddah; and Von Hammer thinks the allegation probable, because the doctrines of his sect became prevalent in the court on the establishment of the Fatimite dynasty.

transmigration of souls, as taught by Abu Moslem, 'revolted;' which implies that they were persecuted. Twenty years after, (A.D. 778) arose Hakem Ben Hashem, surnamed Mokannaa, the Concealed, from his wearing a golden mask; who grafted on the doctrine of metempsychosis, as taught by Abu Moslem, that of incarnations of the Divine nature, or *avatars*, in the person of successive imams or prophets. Babek Khurremi, a licentious and sanguinary heresiarch, raised the standard of rebellion against the khalif about A.D. 820; and for twenty years 'filled the whole 'circuit of his dominions with carnage and ruin.' He was at length taken prisoner, and put to death in the khalif's presence. Twenty years after this, the Karmathites, issuing from Lachsa and Bahrein, on the eastern coast of the Arabian peninsula, like the Wahhabees of our own times, menaced the khalifate with utter destruction. Under commanders of military genius and courage, they took and pillaged successively, Baalbec, Kufah, and Bagdad. Nor did they spare the Holy City, Mecca, where, after committing cruel slaughter among the faithful, they set fire to the temple, and carried off the ærolite which formed its palladium. This took place A.D. 920. 'For a whole century, the pernicious 'doctrines of Karmath raged with fire and sword in the very bosom 'of Islamism, until the wide-spread conflagration was extinguished 'in blood.'

Karmath, whose real name is stated to have been Ahmed, the son of Eshaas, proclaimed himself a reformer of Mohammedism; denouncing the pomps and vanities of the court of Bagdad, yet relaxing the duties of ablution, fasting, and pilgrimage, and permitting the use of wine and pork. Von Hammer gives the following statement of his tenets:—

'His doctrine, in addition to the circumstance of its forbidding nothing, and declaring every thing allowable and indifferent, meriting neither reward nor punishment, undermined more particularly the basis of Mohammedanism, by declaring that all its commands were allegorical, and merely a disguise of political precepts and maxims. Moreover, all was to be referred to the blameless and irreproachable Imam Maassum, as the model of a prince, whom, although he had occupied no existing throne, they pretended to seek; and declared war against bad and good princes, without distinction, in order that, under the pretext of contending for a better, they might be able to unravel at once the thickly interwoven web of religion and government. The injunction of prayer meant nothing but obedience to the Imam Maassum; alms, the tithes to be given to him; fasting, the preservation of the political secret regarding the imam of the family of Ismail. Every thing depended on the interpretation (*Terwil*), without which the whole word of the Koran (*Tensil*) had neither meaning nor value. Religion did not consist in external observances (*Sahir*), but in the internal feeling (*Buthin*). According to the variations of this doc-

trine, which, in many points touches those mentioned above,' (those of the *Ghullat* and *Imamic*.) 'their asserters received various names in the different provinces of the khalifat.'—pp. 29, 30.

The accounts of the tenets of any sect, furnished by their opponents and enemies, must be received with suspicion and allowance. Taking this circumstance into consideration, one would be led to form no very unfavourable opinion of the doctrines of Karmath. His forbidding nothing and declaring every thing indifferent, may possibly be resolved into his allowing the use of wine and pork, and teaching the inefficacy of fasting, pilgrimage, and other ritual observances. The blameless Imam to whom obedience was enjoined, and who had occupied no existing throne, bears so close a resemblance to the Jewish notion of a Messiah yet to come, and even to the Christian faith, that we are led to conclude, either that Karmath borrowed the idea from Jewish or Christian sources, or that we have in this account a Mohammedan travestie of tenets approaching to a purer creed. The warlike character of the Karmathites remains, however, to be explained. A century is a long duration for a revolt; nay, it is a considerable period in the history of a sect. It is not to be supposed, that this protracted struggle between the Abbassidan khalifs and the followers of the Reformer of Kufah, was a mere religious feud. Other motives must have sustained the quarrel through successive generations. The turbulent Bedoween Sheikhs have at all times resisted the attempt to bring them under subjection to the dwellers in cities, and have been ever ready to take up arms in defence of their national independence. The whole of Irak Arabi and Irak Adjem was, on the overthrow of the Parthian monarchy, in possession of independent princes, called the *Mulook e Towâeif* and the *Mulook el Nazzer*. Ardesheir (Artaxerxes I.), the founder of the Sassanian line, after recovering the whole of the Persian Irak, succeeded in expelling the Arab tribes from the rich levels of Mesopotamia, and drove them back into Bahrein, Yemen, and Hedjaz. In the reign of Shapoor II., these tribes, crossing the Persian Gulf, entered the province of Fars, plundering the country in all directions, which drew down upon them a dreadful retaliation. These historical facts may serve to render it more than probable, that the inroads of the Karmathites, and their long struggle against the declining power of the khalifs of Bagdad, were prompted less by religious than by national animosity. Heresiarchs, reformers, prophets, and priests, have taken advantage of national antipathies, to effect the objects of their ambition; and a religious pretext has never been wanting for a political crusade. 'Kill, strangle, all the infidels who give companions to God,' exclaimed a Wahhabite doctor, in encouraging the slaughter of the Moslem, at Imaum Hossein, near Bagdad. 'No wars which ever deso-

‘lated the Christian world,’ Mr. Mills remarks, in his History of Mohammedism, ‘have caused half the bloodshed and woe, or ‘have been so strongly stamped with the character of implacable animosity, as have the political and religious controversies of the ‘Mohammedan sectaries. The history of every age of the ‘Hejira teems with details of horror; and the Turks and Persians, the representatives of the two sets of opinions, have, in ‘most ages, emulated each other in mutual detestation. In the ‘rancour of their feuds, not only were the Christians and Jews ‘held in comparative esteem, but the destruction of a single individual of the adverse party has been accounted a more meritorious action than the slaughter of seventy individuals of any other ‘description.’* Such is not, however, the spirit of Mohammedism; and the fact strongly confirms the conclusion, that the fanaticism has, in such cases, been made contributory and subservient to national jealousies and political animosities. The difference of religion is perpetuated by the original ground of mutual hatred. The Turk does not hate the Persian because he is a heretic, or the Persian the Turk or Arab because he is a Soonnee; but the Persian hates the Soonnee doctrine because it is held by the Turk, and the Turk abhors the Persian heresy, because it is Persian; and each finds an excuse for his national hatred in the alleged heresy of the other. The same bitter national hatred was the true source of the furious and sanguinary contests of the Middle Ages between Latin and Greek; and it has been an element in all religious wars.

Von Hammer can see nothing in the ‘revolt’ of the Karmathites, but the influence of the detestable doctrines of Abdallah, the son of Maimun Kassah; whom he makes the parent of the infidel brood of Ismailites. This Abdallah, a native of Ahwas, in Persia, had been ‘educated in the principles of the ancient empire and faith of the Persians;’ and it is supposed, that ‘a wish ‘to overthrow those of the Arabians,’ might stimulate him to attempt the insidious scheme of undermining all religions, which is attributed to him. The pretensions of the descendants of Mohammed, son of Ismail, to the imamate, served him as a political mask. Karmath is supposed to have been one of his disciples; and our author detects the same formidable sect, as existing in various parts of Persia, Syria, Arabia, and Africa, under the appellations of Seveners (*Sebiin*), the Red (*Mohammere*), the White (*Mobeivese*), the Veiled, the Esoteric (*Batheni*), the Allegorizers (*Mutewilin*), the Libertines (*Sindik*), and the Karmathi, Mobareki, Jenabi, and Saidi, or followers of Karmath, Mobarek, Jenab, and Said. He does not seem to be aware, that the identity of all these

* Mills’s History of Muhammedism, p. 374.

with the Ismailites of Abdallah's school, requires to be substantiated by historic evidence. To us, it appears extremely questionable. At all events, this doctrine is stated to have been first *publicly* taught at Mahadia, in Lower Egypt, the first capital of the Fatimite sovereigns. Under the fourth khalif of that dynasty, the chief of this new and equivocal sect was raised to the dignity of supreme judge, as well as *Daial-doat*, which is strangely interpreted, 'Supreme Missionary of the Crown.'

'Immediately after the establishment of the monarchy of the Fatimites, * history mentions assemblages which were convened twice a week, every Monday and Wednesday, by the *Daial-doat*, and were frequented in crowds both by men and women, who had separate seats. These assemblages were named *Mejalisol-hikmet*, or Societies of Wisdom. The candidates for initiation were dressed in white; the chief went on those two days to the khalif, and read something to him, if possible, but in every case received his signature on the cover of his manuscript. After the lecture, the pupils kissed his hands, and touched the signature of the khalif reverently with their foreheads. In the reign of the sixth Fatimite khalif, Hakem Biemvillah (the most stupid tyrant of which the history of Islamism makes mention, who desired to receive divine honours, and what is still more absurd, is to this day worshipped by the Druses as an incarnate god), these societies, the house in which their meetings were held, and the institutions for the maintenance of teachers and servants, were increased on a very large scale: an extensive building or lodge was erected, † called *Darol-hikmet*, or the House of Wisdom, and richly furnished with books, mathematical instruments, professors, and attendants; access, and the use of these literary treasures was free to all, and writing materials were afforded gratis. The khalifs frequently held learned disputations, at which the professors of this academy appeared, divided according to their different faculties—logicians, mathematicians, jurists, and physicians, were dressed in their gala costume, *khalaa*, or their doctoral mantles. The gowns of the English universities still have the original form of the Arabic *khalaa* or *kaftan*.

'Two hundred and fifty-seven thousand ducats, raised by the tenths and eighth of the tenth, was the amount of the annual revenue of this academy, for the salaries of the professors and officials, for the provision of the requisites for teaching, and other objects of public scientific instruction, as well as of the secret articles of faith: the former comprised all the branches of human knowledge—the latter inculcated, in nine successive degrees, the following principles: ‡ The first degree

* A. D. 977; A. H. 335.

† A. D. 1004; A. H. 395.

‡ Macrisi, art. *Mohawal* and *Darol-hikmet*.

was the longest and most difficult of all, as it was necessary to inspire the pupil with the most implicit confidence in the knowledge of his teacher, and to incline him to take that most solemn oath, by which he bound himself to the secret doctrine with blind faith and unconditional obedience. For this purpose, every possible expedient was adopted to perplex the mind by the many contradictions of positive religion and reason, to render the absurdities of the Koran still more involved by the most insidious questions and most subtle doubts, and to point from the apparent literal signification to a deeper sense, which was properly the kernel, as the former was but the husk. The more ardent the curiosity of the novice, the more resolute was the refusal of the master to afford the least solution to these difficulties, until he had taken the most unrestricted oath; on this, he was admitted to the second degree. This inculcated the recognition of divinely appointed imams, who were the source of all knowledge. As soon as the faith in them was well established, the third degree taught their number, which could not exceed the holy seven; for, as God had created seven heavens, seven earths, seven seas, seven planets, seven colours, seven musical sounds, and seven metals, so had he appointed seven of the most excellent of his creatures as revealed imams: these were, Ali, Hassan, Hossein, Ali Seinolabidin, Mohammed Albakir, Jafer Assadik, and Ismail, his son, as the last and seventh. This was the great leap or the proper schism from the Imamie, who, as we have seen, reckoned twelve, and considerably facilitated the passing into the fourth grade. This taught, that since the beginning of the world there have been seven divine law-givers, or speaking apostles of God, of whom each had always, by the command of heaven, altered the doctrine of his predecessors. That each of these had seven coadjutors, who succeeded each other in the epoch from one speaking law-giver to another, but who, as they did not appear manifestly, were called the Mutes (Samit).

‘The first of the Mutes was named Sus, the seat as it were of the ministers of the speaking prophet. These seven speaking prophets, with their seven seats, were Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, Mohammed, and Ismail, the son of Jafer, who, as the last, was called Sahibeseman (i.e. the Lord of Time). Their seven assistants were: Seth, Shem, Ismael, son of Abraham, Aaron, Simeon, Ali, and Mohammed, son of Ismail. It is evident from this dexterous arrangement, which gained the Ismailites the name of Seveners, that as they named only the first of the mute divine envoys in each prophetic period; and since Mohammed, the son of Ismail, the first of the last prophet’s coadjutors had been dead only a hundred years, the teachers were at full liberty to present to those whose progress stopped at this degree, whomsoever they pleased, as one of the mute prophets of the current age. The fifth degree must necessarily render the credibility of the doctrine more manifest to the minds of the learners; for this reason, it taught that each of the seven mute prophets had twelve apostles for the extension of the true faith; for the number twelve is the most excellent after seven: hence the twelve signs of the zodiac, the twelve months, the twelve tribes of Israel, the twelve bones of the fingers of each hand, the thumb excepted, and so on.

‘After these five degrees, the precepts of Islamism were examined ; and in the sixth it was shown, that all positive religious legislation must be subordinate to the general and philosophical. The dogmas of Plato, Aristotle, and Pythagoras were adduced as proofs, and laid down as axioms. This degree was very tedious, and only when the acolyte was fully penetrated with the wisdom of the philosophers, was admission granted him to the seventh, where he passed from philosophy to mysticisms. This was the doctrine of unity, which the Sosis have exhibited in their works. In the eighth, the positive precepts of religion were again brought forward, to fall to dust by all that preceded ; then was the pupil perfectly enlightened as to the superfluity of all prophets and apostles, the non-existence of heaven and hell, the indifference of all nations, for which there is neither reward nor punishment, either in this world or the next ; and thus was he matured for the ninth and last degree, to become the blind instrument of all the passions of unbridled thirst of power. To believe nothing and to dare all, was, in two words, the sum of this system, which annihilated every principle of religion and morality, and had no other object than to execute ambitious designs with suitable ministers, who, daring all and honouring nothing, since they consider every thing a cheat and nothing forbidden, are the best tools of an infernal policy. A system, which, with no other aim than the gratification of an insatiable lust of dominion, instead of seeking the highest of human objects, precipitates itself into the abyss, and mangling itself, is buried amidst the ruins of thrones and altars, the horrors of anarchy, the wreck of national happiness, and the universal execration of mankind.’—pp. 33—37.

How much of this is fact, and how much romance, we must profess ourselves unable to determine. Macrisi is the authority referred to ; but the account, how faithfully soever rendered by the Translator, is destitute of the requisite marks of credibility. According to Von Hammer, even the Hebrew legislator was so far ‘imbued with the Egyptian policy,’ [as to retain the plan ‘of not imparting to his people the doctrine of immortality,’ the knowledge of which, we are told, ‘probably remained the peculiar privilege of the priestly order !’ Recollecting the theory of Warburton, we must not too severely reprobate this specimen of neological flippancy. Scarcely less reprehensible is the strange assertion at p. 7, that, when Mohammed appeared, the Christians were looking for the advent of the Paraclete. These occasional observations will show that Von Hammer is not a safe authority. We cannot now follow him into his historical researches respecting the Assassins ; but shall probably resume the subject.

Art. V. *The Practical Evils of Dissent.* By a Clergyman. London: Seeley. 12mo.

THE more observant of our readers will know what to expect when they find the 'Practical Evils of Dissent' treated 'by a clergyman,' and especially, as in this case, by an evangelical clergyman—for really, (from what cause we know not, or, if we guess at it, we shall not now disclose our conjecture) gentlemen of this class are come of late to treat us with even less ceremony than their 'orthodox' brethren. But, to make good our charges. The following is a specimen of our author's knowledge of the New Testament and of ecclesiastical antiquity.

'It cannot be argued that the immediate successors of the apostles and their disciples, who had been taught the gospel by the lips of St. Paul or St. John, should not have known what kind of church government was most agreeable to the inspired wisdom which they possessed, and best adapted to fulfil the intentions of the great Shepherd himself. And yet we find all these men bishops, or superintendants (the name is immaterial) in their respective cities or provinces, having presbyters as their counsellors or chief ministers, and deacons as a lower order of clergymen. Did these companions of the apostles, the witnesses of their miracles, and first witnesses to the truth of Holy Scripture in the New Testament, act in conformity with the will of God as known to them through the apostles, by establishing bishops or presidents—presbyters or priests—and deacons or the clergy—or did they not? If they did know [do] it, then see the results—in every one of the cities, provinces, and nations of Europe, Africa, or Asia, where Christianity was planted, there they established these three orders of clergy. And for fifteen hundred years no such piebald government was known or admitted in any church, primitive or not, as the modern Dissenters (Methodists excepted) defend. Deacons with them are laymen—with the apostles and primitive church they were *clergymen*. Ministers are elected and called by the congregation with Dissenters; they were ordained presbyters by *the bishops and presbyters* in the early church. No bishops are in existence amongst Dissenters—no large church *was without* its bishop, presiding over several or many congregations, in the first Christian church.' pp. 78, 79.

With the apostles deacons were clergymen! So says, of course, the sixth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles; as also that they were *not* chosen by the voice of the people. 'For fifteen hundred years' no government was known '*in any church,*' without 'three orders of clergy'! Why this sage has never read (or he has forgotten) even the first verse of the epistle to the Philippians, among whom Paul greets a church constituted with 'bishops and deacons.' Primitive bishops, he tells us again, pre-

sided 'over several or many congregations.' Was this the case in the church at Philippi too?

The passage we have quoted is scarcely less instructive, as to the writer's acquaintance with 'modern Dissenters.' 'No bishops,' says he, 'are in existence among Dissenters.' If he means diocesan bishops, we grant it; but if he means apostolical bishops—bishops having the care of single churches—we deny it. Such bishops the pastors of Dissenting churches *are*, and their constitution and government ('Methodists excepted') is scripturally Episcopalian. We have sometimes thought that it would be better to call our pastors bishops, in order to put down the fallacy with which this ill-informed writer amuses himself and his readers; but we suppose such a measure is prevented by an invincible loathing to identify ourselves in any way with such monstrous things as 'modern' bishops. By the way, there is something very amusing in the *exception*, of which we have availed ourselves in the preceding sentence, and which runs through the whole of this book. The 'Methodists excepted'! when you speak of a church government unknown in the Scriptures! Of course there are 'bishops' among *them*, and 'deacons' likewise, and 'three orders of clergy,' after the very model of the apostles! But, gravely, how happens it that the rebuke of this evangelical clergyman is occasioned by deviations from the apostolic pattern, only when they are found among Dissenters *who are not Methodists*? It is, as he candidly tells us in another place, because he considers Methodism as 'the half-way house between the Church and Dissent,' p. 20: but whether he spares it for the accommodation of Dissenters in returning to the Church, or of Churchmen in leaving it, he does not inform us.

We are tempted to extract another passage, not less illustrative of our author's ignorance than the former; to show, at all events, that we are not grounding our censure on an insulated quotation.

'The claims of Dissent are now distinctly put forward; it is not toleration, but equality, that is demanded; an equal share in the endowments, in the universities, in the rank and power of the Church. . . . Again, a sentiment responded to by cheers, is,—an Established Church is not unscriptural, provided it is the church of the majority. . . . A third parallel now is opened against the Protestant citadel of Europe, by the utter determination to admit no other system of Church Rates but one on a voluntary principle, and that there *may be* Established Churches, but there *shall be no* provision by the state for their repair. So much for consistency!' pp. 94, 95.

We shall not quarrel with the Church of England being called 'the Protestant citadel of Europe' (!) or by any other high sounding titles, with which she may be harmlessly decked by the

numerous aspirants to her golden rewards. What we have to say respecting the paragraph is, that three grosser misstatements were never made. That Dissenters claim 'an equal share in the endowments, in the universities, in the rank and power of the Church,' is an assertion, not only destitute of any adequate foundation, but utterly at variance with the evidence by which an opinion on such a point could be justified. The equality they demand is, the abolition of legislative preference for any sect. And when and where, we ask, was the sentiment 'responded to by cheers,' that 'an established church is not unscriptural, provided it is the church of the majority'? If this writer were not among the most ill-informed of men, he must know that the great principle contended for by the Dissenters is, that there should be no Established Church at all. And this principle clearly saves their 'consistency,' when they plead that there should be 'no provision by the state' for the expenses of one.

The general character of the work before us does not differ from the specimens we have given. It is written by a man with his eyes shut. Or, if he opens them at all, it is to use them with a microscopic power, for the discovery of individual and local faults, which he immediately imputes to large bodies of men, and declares to be characteristic of their system. Our readers may take the following example. It is one of his worst.

'I have now before me a chapel, where the sacramental table of love was spread. A deacon entered, who was distasteful to the leading deacon in the connexion. The communicants were seated—the elements prepared—the spectators in the gallery numerous. But indecision appears in the minister. The deacon of wealth rises, and, leaving the table, enters the vestry. The minister followed him. The people waited; and, as one deputy after another goes from the communicants to the vestry, whispers arise, and soon it is plainly announced, that so long as this respectable deacon, and a preacher, should remain seated at the table, the rich deacon would not partake of the holy communion; and, *consequently*, the minister would not administer the sacred ordinance to the congregation. All entreaties were vain; the congregation has separated into violent factions, its hundreds of hearers have dwindled to some scores; but the deacon has carried his point, and has the Lord's table under *his* control. I draw a veil over such disgraceful scenes in other places.' pp. 75, 76.

This writer has shown too strong an inclination to tell what evil he knows of Dissenters, to allow us to believe ourselves much indebted to him for drawing 'a veil over such disgraceful scenes' as may unhappily occur among them. Here, and throughout his book, he professes to state facts; but even facts, we must tell

him, are not evidence *upon anonymous authority*. Let him give us his name; we might also challenge the places where the alleged facts occurred, if not the names of the parties implicated in them. But, allowing the statement to be a fact, what does it prove? Nothing, but the bad temper of one man, and the weakness of another. As against the dissenting system, and the thousands of dissenting churches, it proves absolutely nothing. Nor is it possible, by the allegation of particular instances, to prove a charge against any community or system; the whole question being one of the frequency with which evils occur, and their connexion with the system under which they arise. We may safely appeal to general observers, whether such a scene as this writer has described is familiar to them on our sacrament days.

The kind of warfare thus waged against us is at once easy and unfair. What could be more easy than for a writer on our side to depict 'the Practical Evils' of an Established Church after a similar manner; giving anecdotes of profane and over-reaching churchmen, dishonest churchwardens, and profligate clergymen, up to the unnameable offence committed by the Bishop of ———? No one, we imagine, would more quickly cry out against such a mode of attack than our reverend assailant; and perhaps he does not know that it is not in this way that the Church has been attacked by Dissenters. We speak, indeed, of its 'Practical Evils;' but we refer, not to individual cases, but to cases in the mass, and as arising out of the principles of the Establishment itself. We dwell upon the system of church patronage, the multiplied appeals to servility and ambition, the secularizing influence of political elevation, and other topics of a *general* character. We are open to similar arguments; but such a book as *this* is not argument, but abuse. An illustration of the wider views to which this writer's mode of generalization conducts him may be found in his portraiture of 'the Baptists,' which we select on account of its brevity. We are sure the likeness will not be recognized.

'The Baptists are a much smaller body than the Independents, and so they will ever be. But their members are complete exclusives. Spiritual pride, rancorous prejudice, a worse than bitter spirit against the church, and an utter disregard of St. James's epistle, form their prominent features. Their preaching denies the universality of the atonement; and one of their members assured me he never heard that any text could declare that Christ 'was the Saviour of all men, specially of those that believe.'

'The effects of such a system are seen in a formal profession of doctrine, as a preparation for baptism; a superstitious belief in its miraculous powers; and a sanctimonious exterior, which, alas! corresponds but little with the most violent demonstrations of pride and

worldly vanity, and a row of lamps from which light and oil have vanished.' pp. 17, 18.

We do not hesitate to avow our belief that not a congregation of Baptists exists in the three kingdoms, of which this is a true representation; that any man should apply it to that body *at large*, if not deliberate wickedness, is all but incredible ignorance. To advert only in passing to the extensive prevalence and rapid spread of free communion among the Baptist churches (of which, as of almost all things pertaining to his subject, this writer knows nothing), we need only ask, whether there is a Baptist in the world who believes in 'the miraculous powers' of that ordinance. And yet this is gravely imputed to the entire body; and by a man whose own church has a Baptist rubric, and ascribes to baptism an efficacy more nearly 'miraculous' than any thing ever imagined by those whom he reviles!

Although our readers may have had enough by this time, both of our author and his book, we cannot let them go without a few more samples. He complains of our habit of free prayer, and says,

'Such an extemporaneous method may be desirable in private; but for a whole congregation, whose wants are general, it is defective, and tends to encourage that *self-righteous, proud, dissatisfied spirit, which excluded Adam from Paradise, and is the sure accompaniment of national revolution.*' p. 41.

After admitting that he does not apply his remarks 'to any individual Dissenter,' (his charity is marvellous!) he adds,

'But I know again many, who are, *as I have described the SYSTEM*, contentious, despisers of dominion, speakers of evil of dignities, railers, disloyal; and the whole mass is leavened with principles, which, if carried out, would overturn all existing institutions.' p. 37.

With this pretended successor of the apostles, (for, however small the likeness, he does pretend to be so), a Roman Catholic is a 'foul-mouthed Papist'—church government by pastors and deacons is 'piebald'—making collections for religious objects, is carrying round 'the begging box'—brotherly love is 'vulgar equality,' in which, (horrid to relate!) 'men of education grasp in familiar dialogue the *horny palms* of the simple labourer'—'numbers become frequenters of a chapel *to ensure a business*' (they much oftener *lose* one)—'old parochial customs,' 'the chimes from the ivy-crowned tower,' 'the far-resounding bells on Sundays, or the full-toned voices of the parish peal on regal holidays,' 'all these, and more, are assailed by open hostility, or *sneering spite*, or *vulgar ridicule*, by the Dissenters.' But we

must give entire the following morceau, it is so truly pathetic and melancholy.

‘A man in business, to wit, a coach-maker, or cabinet-maker, or grocer, shall all at once desert the Church, and become a professedly reformed character. Joining himself to the meeting, he will turn preacher. Every Sabbath morning five or six individuals of similar attainments and character will start from their residences [how appalling!], and take charge of separate congregations in several newly-erected little chapels in the neighbourhood. Here they abide during the Sunday, preaching and praying [can any thing be more dreadful!]. . . . Is it treating Christianity with the common deference of outward respect, thus to place the keeping of the souls of the hearers of these persons in such hands? Can they give an account of the blood of these souls? . . . Were the epistles of St. Paul to Timothy, Bishop of Ephesus; and to Titus, Bishop or President of the Presbyters in Crete, an island containing a hundred cities, indited for the purpose of instructing these coach-makers, grocers, drapers, cabinet-makers, and petty clerks, how to conduct themselves in a hurried itinerancy from their town to their country congregations on the Sabbath of rest? I view such things . . . with a feeling so nearly allied to contempt, that I know not what other word to employ.’ pp. 89, 90.

Yet we can well believe this ‘Levite,’ when he tells us that he views them with ‘grief and anger’ too. Of course *he* would supersede, and even restrain by imprisonment, if needful, the pious and *disinterested* laymen, to place ‘the keeping of souls’ in the hands of young striplings from college, where four years of loose living have doubtless given them a far better preparation for their work than can be derived from the experimental study of the Bible! ‘Can they give an account of the blood of souls?’

But we are weary. Among Dissenters, and those who know Dissenters, this book can do no harm; and, if it can do any good, it is only by showing us how perverse and mischievous a use is made by our adversaries of our faults. It is written, however, no doubt, for church people; among whom it will circulate where it can be met by no corrective, and among whom it may aggravate a little the ignorant hatred to our body and our principles which is already well known to exist. From the education of a clergyman, and the piety of an evangelical clergyman, we might have expected a different treatment of such a subject; but all favourable influences have been defeated in the case of this writer, by inherent narrowness, vulgarity, and bitterness. We shall only remind him that, when the evangelical clergy were a persecuted party, the boldest and most eloquent defence

of them ever produced was written by a Dissenter, and a Baptist.*

This writer disavows (as well he may) the sentiments of Baptist Noel's tract on the Unity of the Church, and says that the Dissenters have given it a wide circulation, with an artful motive. Thus even our very efforts to cultivate Christian love are stigmatized as hypocrisy. We knew that Mr. Noel's sentiments would not be responded to by his evangelical brethren. This writer tells us plainly (what was evident enough before to those who could look a little under the surface) that the evangelical clergy do not look upon dissenting ministers, of whatever piety and endowments, as brethren, but as foes; not as co-operators in the great work of diffusing the gospel, but as destroyers of what they deem even more precious than the souls of men, ecclesiastical authority and subordination. Be it so. They give us then the superiority over themselves. However difficult the duty may be rendered by such a spirit, we still love them, and in every work of faith and labour of love we pray for their success. We are sorry only, that, in so doing, we should 'love our enemies, and pray for them that despitefully use us.'

Art. VI. *Visit to the Great Oasis of the Libyan Desert; with an Account, Ancient and Modern, of the Oasis of Amun, and the other Oases now under the dominion of the Pasha of Egypt.* By G. A. HOSKINS, Esq., Author of 'Travels in Ethiopia.' With a Map, and Twenty Plates, illustrating the Temples, Scenery, &c. 8vo. London: Longman & Co. 1837.

THE monumental remains of Egypt have recently received their due share of attention, and the result has been a large addition to our previous stock of knowledge. Numerous travellers, Continental and English, have devoted themselves with singular ability and diligence to the investigation of its ruins, and their reports have furnished materials for the speculations of philosophers, antiquarians, and historians. The labour to which they have submitted has been prodigious, and their sacrifices and dangers the most costly and fearful. Nothing short of the impulse of passion could have carried them across the deserts they have travelled, or sustained them in their wondrous, and to the majority of mankind, unattractive occupations. The author of the volume now before us, possesses all the enthusiasm of his

* Review of *Zeal without Innovation*, by the late Rev. Robert Hall. See his Works, vol. iv. p. 50.

class, and is entitled to a high place amongst them. His views are enlarged, his philosophy is sound, and his unwearied ardour in pursuit of his object, is happily combined with the power of exhibiting it in a nervous style and with graphic effect, to his countrymen. Mr. Hoskins examined the ruins of the Libyan Desert with the eye of a philosopher, and endeavours in consequence to render them subservient to the elucidation of ancient manners, and the correct reading of the institutions and history of past times. 'The monumental history of mankind,' he justly remarks in his Preface, 'is, to many, the most interesting of all investigations, because it is often the most certain. The ruins of Italy and Greece, convey to us as conclusive evidence of the civilization of those countries, at different epochs, as the pages of the most graphic historians. And the stupendous antiquities of Egypt not only exhibit to us the power and wealth of the Pharaohs, but also furnish us with most interesting details of the private life of their subjects.' This is the right point of view from which to look at these stupendous monuments of art, whose origin is lost in the obscurity of the past, but whose very ruins proclaim the science and civilization to which they owed their birth. The present condition of Egypt is abject and debased. Its population has wasted, and its cities have disappeared. The curse of the prophet has been literally fulfilled, for the land of opulence and wisdom, whose seers were the instructors of the world, and, to whose schools the youth of other nations repaired, has become 'the basest of the kingdoms,' 'desolate in the midst of the countries that are desolate,' and sold 'into the hands of the wicked.*' In the wretchedness which abounds throughout this once mighty and illustrious empire—its desolation and poverty, and stunted intellect—a devout mind will recognize the punitive inflictions of the moral Governor of the Universe. The luxury and pride, and contemptible idolatries of the Pharaohs, brought down upon their land the withering curse beneath which its inhabitants now groan and die. From such a picture as the present condition of Egypt supplies, it is pleasing to look—through the medium of its monumental remains—on its early but long lost glories. Its pyramids, and temples, and tombs speak of a state of civilization of which no vestige remains amongst its present inhabitants. The intellect which then adorned its surface, and polished its society, has disappeared, and all the ten-thousand comforts which it added to its inhabitants are in consequence lost. 'The Egyptians,' says Belzoni, one of the most adventurous and successful explorers of its remains, 'were certainly well acquainted with linen manufactures to a perfection equal to our own; for,

* Ezekiel xxix. 15, xxx. 7, 12.

‘in many of their figures, we observe their garments quite transparent; and, among the folding of the mummies, I observed some cloth quite as fine as our common muslin, very strong, and of an even texture. They had the art of tanning leather, with which they made shoes as well as we do, some of which I found of various shapes. They had also the art of staining the leather with various colours, as we do morocco, and actually knew the mode of embossing on it, for I found leather with figures impressed on it, quite elevated. Besides enamelling, the art of gilding was in great perfection among them, as I found several ornaments of the kind.’*

It were easy to multiply witnesses to these facts, but we must proceed to introduce our readers to the contents of Mr. Hoskins's very valuable volume. He spent some time, of course, amongst the ruins of Thebes, the magnificence of which has been commemorated by several travellers. ‘It appeared to me,’ says Belzoni, ‘like entering a city of giants, who, after a long conflict, were all destroyed, leaving the ruins of their various temples as the only proofs of their former existence.’ The following account of our author's mode of living in this celebrated city, will not be uninteresting to the reader.

‘Generally before sunrise, my Arab boy used to come into my bedroom. ‘e'Shams, Effende; e'Shams, Effende’—The sun, sir, the sun; as he was always reproved if he called me long after sunrise. Others soon followed with a cup of hot strong coffee and a pipe. To use the expression in the East, ‘having drunk’ both, and also taken a more substantial English breakfast, I mounted my ass, and rode to a tomb or temple. Having allowed my beard to grow, I had not the pain and labour of shaving; and as the donkeys in these regions are infinitely more sprightly than in Europe, and mine as active, though not so well taken care of, as Scheherazade's Sprightly, an hour after sunrise I was enabled to commence my labours, sometimes standing over the camera lucida table, otherwise squatted on a carpet, and finishing the outlines made with the instrument. The latter position was of course more agreeable, as standing is rather painful in a hot climate: besides, the pencil in my hand was no obstacle to having between my lips the amber mouth-piece of the shibouk; and really a pipe of high-flavoured mild Gible tobacco (disgusting as the habit of smoking may be in Europe), is in these regions an inexpressible comfort. As the Arabs say, it reconciles you to fate, soothes down the little asperities of life, and endows you with powers to build more castles and light airy structures, than even all the talent of our British architects.

‘At twelve I dined. For the information of those of my readers who may visit the burning shores of Africa, I will mention the rules

* Narrative of the Operations and Recent Discoveries, &c., p. 173.

for diet, which I have experienced it to be prudent to attend to. The traveller should pay great attention to the state of his pulse. If languid, he may indulge in a more generous diet; but generally great abstemiousness is necessary, if he wishes to preserve himself from the injurious effects of constant exposure to the excessive heat. I found it advisable to live almost entirely on fowls; and except a glass of light French wine, I drank no other beverage than water. Milk and eggs should be used with caution. Rice and Italian macaroni are well adapted to the climate; and if a traveller is fortunate in the choice of his cook, he will not say, that an Arab pillof is a bad dish.

‘The water of the Nile agrees with every person; and however hot the day may be, it is better to drink it cold and pure than to mix it with brandy. When cooled in the porous goolahs, no draught can be more wholesome or more delicious; nor have I ever heard of a single instance of the use of it producing any injurious effects. It is imprudent to make any excursion, or even to take a short walk, without being accompanied by a boy carrying two goollahs of water, one for his master and another for himself. The desire to drink is always produced by the slightest exertion; and there is perhaps no region where thirst is more insupportable, or so rapidly fatal to the sufferer.

‘It is the custom of the East to sleep at the least half an hour after dinner. I think this is a beneficial practice; but at all events it produces great discontent in the establishment if you deviate from this oriental observance, as your servants will be loth to relinquish the enjoyment of their usual siesta. After this repose of half an hour on the luxurious divan in my house or tent, or when I dined amongst the ruins on a Turkish carpet under the shade of a temple or grove of palm trees, I clapped my hands,* and at the well-known call my servants again brought me a cup of coffee and a pipe. Thus refreshed, I resumed my labours with the pencil.’—pp. 12—15.

Few readers probably will fail to sympathize with our traveller in the reluctance with which he conformed to some of the habits of the country. The following description of a dinner, given by the Katshef of Risigat, will be far from increasing the desire of our countrymen to partake of Turkish hospitalities.

‘The dinner,’ says Mr. Hoskins, ‘was served on the usual round Turkish copper tray, tinned by Arabs at about a tenth of the price which Europeans would charge. The first course consisted of a famous *piece de resistance*, a large and fat lamb roasted whole, and stuffed with rice well-seasoned and mixed with raisins. Each person was provided with a spoon to help himself to the stuffing; but we had no other instrument than our fingers, to tear the meat from the bones.

‘At first, I felt considerable reluctance to tuck up my sleeves and stick my nails into the skin, flesh, and fat of the dish before me; but

* ‘This manner of calling the servants is often mentioned in the Arabian Nights, and is still general among the Turks.’

it had not been long on the table, before the Turk set us the example: besides, hunger on such occasions is no bad prompter; and the dish looked, as it proved to be, most excellent.

‘The apprehension of every evil is worse than the reality. I had never eaten before with my fingers, but although I do not nor can I ever approve of the custom, still I confess, that hunger and example will reconcile a man to it: and there, as in Europe, he who has seen good society, may be distinguished even by his manner of eating. The Turk of high rank eats with the thumb and two fingers only, out of the corner nearest to him of the dish, and takes only a small piece at a time: the vulgar Oriental sticks his whole hand into the dish, tears off huge pieces, greases himself from ear to ear, and, what is still more disgusting, attempts to clean his filthy fingers with his tongue. The right hand only is used in eating. The Turk of the present day would consider it as great an insult and mark of contempt in his guest using the left hand, as the Coptic merchant did in the *Arabian Nights*: but it is necessary to have been in the East to understand, why the Bagdad merchant’s mistress, in the same tale, was offended at his taking the cup of wine with the left hand, and her being so afflicted as to sicken and die, when she found her lover had lost his right hand.

‘After the lamb, we had several stewed dishes, which I found more disagreeable to partake of; indeed, I scalded myself in making the attempt. A piece of bread in some degree protected our fingers, and enabled us to fish out the small morsels into which the meat was divided. A large bowl of very good custard was finally brought in, a spoon was given to each person, and we dipped and dipped again into the dish together’—pp. 42—44.

Our author and his companions left Risigat in the morning of the 15th of October, 1832, their camels having ‘filled their natural reservoirs with a supply of water for the four days’ desert.’ Nothing can be imagined more dreary than the region over which they now travelled. It was a ‘waterless, barren, trackless, dreary waste,’ the monotony of which was relieved only by the monuments of death which lined their path. Mr. Hoskins was once endangered by permitting his curiosity to separate him from his companions.

‘This morning,’ he says, ‘I deviated from the track, to examine some large masses of crystal among the rocks, when suddenly I found that the whole caravan had disappeared. I must confess that I felt rather alarmed, when I saw myself thus alone, as it were, in the wilderness; but a moment’s reflection convinced me, that the disappearance of my companions was only owing to their having passed over the hill, that lay before me.

‘It is, however, most imprudent to linger behind a caravan, nothing being more easy than to miss the track, particularly when a light wind has suddenly covered over with sand the traces of the camels, or when the hardness of the road does not admit of there being any. In difficult places of the latter description, the direction is often marked by

‘ This valley has, however, the appearance of having once been more cultivated ; for I observed several groups of trees now almost buried in the sand, and evidently deriving suction from some secret source ; and many of the banks of the streams present the appearance of having been only very recently overspread with the light sands which have drifted in like snow, from the adjoining plains of the great Libyan desert.’—pp. 62—65.

The following passage, while it shows the keen interest with which our author and his companions pursued their toil, records also an ingenious expedient by which that toil was diminished.

‘ The two sanctuaries,’ says Mr. H., referring to the ruins of a splendid temple at el Khargeh, ‘ originally formed one room, the division between them being evidently more recent, and breaking the connexion of the curious sculpture with which the walls are adorned. The roof of the sanctuary is formed of very large masses of stone. We found these sanctuaries, like the other rooms, filled with sand. I first noticed the sculpture in this place ; and perceiving at once, that it was exceedingly curious and uncommon, I proposed to Mr. Hay to clear out the sand, which we accomplished to a considerable extent, having without much difficulty, procured labourers from the village. As the rooms were quite dark, it was the same whether we worked there during the night or the day. The night before we left el Khargeh, I was there until three in the morning and Mr. Hay remained in the place until breakfast. It is necessary to have experienced how great is the toil of drawing all day under a tropical sun, to estimate duly what it cost us, to undergo the additional fatigue of drawing by night also ; and it is necessary to be an antiquarian, and feel a keen interest in the subject, to excuse our risking health and life in this deleterious climate by such exertions. We were not, however, I can say confidently, actuated by a mere selfish desire of possessing drawings, but by an earnest anxiety to convey to our country, what seemed to us an inestimable addition to the very many curious tablets, which the temples and tombs of Egypt have contributed towards our better knowledge of the manners and arts of the ancients. My servants made me casts in paper of the sculpture on the walls of these two rooms, that is, of all the sculpture in the three large plates, which I now publish. This method of obtaining fac-similes of sculpture in basso relievo, is very successful, and so easy that I had no difficulty in teaching it to my Arabs. I found stiff, unsized, common white paper to be best adapted for the purpose. It should be well damped ; and, when applied to sculpture still retaining its colour, not to injure the latter, care should be taken that the side of the paper placed on the figures be dry—that it be not the side which has been sponged. The paper, when applied to the sculpture, should be evenly patted with a napkin folded rather stiffly ; and, if any part of the fingers or hieroglyphics be in intaglio or elaborately worked, it is better to press the paper over that part with the fingers. Five minutes is quite sufficient time to make a cast of this

description: when taken off the wall, it should be laid on the ground or sand to dry. I possess many hundred casts, which my Arabs made for me at Thebes and in the Oasis. Indeed, I very rarely made any drawings of sculpture, without having a cast of the same: and as the latter are now quite as fresh as on the day they were taken, the engraver having not only my drawing, but also these indubitable fac-similes, is enabled to make my plates exactly like, and quite equal to, the original.'—pp. 108—110.

Here we must take our leave of Mr. Hoskins, our space forbidding us to proceed further in his company. His volume is enriched with numerous plates, illustrative of the ruins and scenery of the country through which he passed, and is characterized throughout by good sense, and a high but just appreciation of the researches which he prosecuted. In addition to the account which he gives of his own observation of the Great Oasis, he has collected the information supplied by other travellers, respecting the smaller Oases, now under the dominion of the Pasha of Egypt. His volume will interest the general reader, by the light which it throws on the habits, condition, and character of a people whom few have visited, while the antiquarian and philosopher will thankfully acknowledge its valuable contributions to the cause of true history and science.

Art. VII. 1. *An Exposition of the Prophet Ezekiel; with Useful Observations thereupon; delivered in several Lectures in London.* By WILLIAM GREENHILL, M. A. *Revised and Corrected.* By JAMES SHERMAN, Minister of Surrey Chapel. London: Holdsworth.

2. *The Condensed Commentary and Family Exposition of the Holy Bible. Containing the most valuable Criticisms of the best Biblical Writers; with Practical Reflections, and Marginal References, Chronology, Indexes, &c.* By the Rev. INGRAM COBBIN, M. A. London: Ward & Co.

THE vehicles selected for conveying and preserving among mankind a divine revelation, on a superficial glance seem but ill adapted to answer their design. Truths and doctrines of infinite importance, of universal interest, and intended for universal diffusion, are locked up in languages which have long ceased to be the vernacular tongue of any people, and which are understood, and that with difficulty, after intense labour and application, by only a few men of distinguished learning, whose lives are wholly devoted to their acquirement. It has therefore been sometimes confidently asked, can that book, which is comparatively a dead letter to them all, be fairly considered as designed by heaven

to be the only and the indispensable means of salvation to the human race? The sagacity that can form such an objection, we are persuaded is fully competent to answer it.

As an objection it lies merely on the surface; and, so far from militating against the pretensions of the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures, the very facts on which it is based furnish an argument of irresistible cogency in their favour. We can conceive but of two methods of imparting a divine revelation to the world, namely, oral and written; and, as inspiration is necessarily supposed in both cases, it will be obvious that after one has answered its specific purpose, it will be merged in the other; that the personal and transient will give place to the representative and permanent. We contend that a written language and a dead language is the most appropriate depository of inspired truths, and the best medium of their communication. A written language has its defined and characteristic elements, is fixed in its structure, and therefore conveys whatever it is intended to make known with clearness and precision; but, should it long continue to be a language spoken by any very considerable portion of mankind, after it has been constituted the written medium of divine revelation, it would be liable to innovations and admixtures, to changes and corruptions, which, if they did not endanger the integrity of the inspired pages, might yet involve them in an obscurity which would render them nearly unintelligible. A dead language, as the medium of plenary instruction, is greatly to be preferred to a living one. It is an incorruptible and immutable standard; and, disused among men, it becomes peculiarly and appropriately the language of God. Of course we take it for granted that the languages in which the Scriptures are written, though so long fallen into desuetude, were, at the time they were composed, familiar as their native tongue to the holy men who were inspired to indite them; nor do we mean to insinuate that, after the great purpose of evangelizing the world is accomplished by the translation of the Scriptures into all its varied dialects, the languages of Greece and Palestine may not again resume their rank among the nations, though we are far from thinking that their revival is at all probable.

What we maintain is, that in the present intellectual and moral condition of mankind, it is best for the world and best for the church that the one should receive and the other communicate, through the medium of infallible records, in languages made sacred by divine inspiration, the knowledge of the true God, and consequently the principles of pure and undefiled religion. Thus, from the commencement of the Christian dispensation, an imperative duty has devolved upon the church of translating these records into all the tongues of all the nations upon earth, to which it possessed the means of imparting the inestimable treasure.

How beneficially this has operated upon the mind and energies of the church, when zealously and faithfully performed; and how its partial or general neglect has almost obliterated every trace of its spiritual and distinctive character, all history attests. Christianity has triumphed or languished just in proportion as this great object has been pursued or abandoned; and it was at the dark and dismal period when the Christian church not only declined to circulate the Scriptures among the heathen, but actually withheld them from the members of her own communion, that she sunk into a state of unparalleled ignorance and barbarism, exhibiting a mere mass of foul corruption, which engendered all monstrous—all prodigious things; crimes and abominations which the heart sickens to think of, and the pen trembles to record.

The Reformation and the revival of learning were of simultaneous origin—the one felt the necessity, and the other furnished the means of renewing the long-neglected work of translating and diffusing the Holy Scriptures. Thus a new and bright era commenced, which invested religion with superlative glory, and gave an impulse to social improvement and human happiness such as the world had never experienced since the age of the apostles. Indeed it is the missionary character of the church taking this particular form, and carrying out by this means all the principles of a divine benevolence, that has employed her social energies, consecrated her richest treasures, and conferred upon her the highest moral dignity. What an amount of labour, what an expenditure of devotional thought and feeling, what a concentration of minds, and of all acquirements of the human intellect, is implied in the existence and multiplication of the sacred volume in so many languages and dialects, and accompanied with such an infinite variety of explanatory notes, learned expositions, and voluminous commentaries. That so much of the great work of translating the Scriptures was left to be performed in our own times, while it reflects disgrace upon preceding generations, is our most glorious distinction. We are not, however, to be unmindful of our obligations to the fathers of the Reformation, and their successors, during three centuries, for their mighty labours as critical, theological, and practical expounders of the sacred oracles. In treasures of this kind perhaps no language is so rich as our own. Not a single book of the Scriptures has escaped the minutest critical investigation. Translators, scholiasts, commentators, and paraphrasts have contributed largely, in their respective departments, to increase the stores of our biblical literature. In addition to these, there is a numerous class of lecturers, who have not only explained and illustrated the particular book they have taken in hand, but, in its elucidation, have ranged through the encyclopædia of knowledge, as it existed in their day, and laid the whole Bible under contribution to furnish ma-

terials for their stupendous theological structure. Thus, we have Caryl on Job, Owen on the Hebrews, Leighton on Peter, Greenhill on Ezekiel, *et multis aliis*. In the present day no greater service can be rendered to the thoughtful and inquiring portion of the Christian public, who are really anxious to search the Scriptures, and to obtain a general mastery of their varied contents than a judicious selection of the best productions of these several writers, and a critical expository and practical commentary, concentrating in one volume the rays of light scattered over so vast a surface, so that every particle that really sheds lustre upon a single passage or difficulty in the sacred text may occupy its proper place, and thus best accomplish the purpose of its original emanation.

This service, in their respective departments, has been well performed by Mr. Sherman and his spirited publishers of the Bungay press, in an elegant reprint of the scarce but valuable work of Greenhill upon Ezekiel; and by Mr. Cobbin and his liberal coadjutors, who have ventured so large an outlay on the publication of his ably-executed Commentary upon the entire Scriptures.

Of the Rev. William Greenhill little is personally known. Calamy says, 'He was a worthy man, and much valued for his great learning and unwearied labours;' Howe styles him, 'that eminent servant of God, Mr. Greenhill, whose praise is still in the churches.'

Mr. Sherman, in his Advertisement, observes :

'His Exposition of the Prophecy of Ezekiel was delivered in Lectures in the city of London, which were attended by many of the chief personages of his day, and have been long and deservedly valued. They were originally printed a volume at a time, as the lectures on a few chapters were concluded, till five small quarto volumes completed the exposition. Happy that biblical student thought himself who could obtain a perfect copy, although it has been sold at the enormous price of from seven to ten pounds. The last volume is rarely to be obtained, and is supposed to have been destroyed in the calamitous fire of London.'

That Mr. Greenhill well understood the nature of his undertaking, and the varied qualifications necessary for its execution, his Introduction satisfactorily proves; but the evidence is cumulative, and grows with every page of the work.

'All Scripture being the breath of God's Spirit,* (he observes,) none can be judge or expounder of it but the same Spirit. These are

* 2 Pet. i. 21 ; 2 Tim. iii. 16.

only *indices veritatis*; they cannot bring a sense but show you what is the sense of Scripture. Those who are called to be expositors must not fetch senses, *ab extra*, but take what is in the bowels of the text, and hold forth unto others; a work which requires ability, wisdom, diligence, and faithfulness; ability to inquire into the originals; wisdom to compare Scriptures, consider circumstances, and to discern the verity, spirituality, and propriety of texts and phrases; diligence to dig and search after truth, which lieth deep and hid; faithfulness to give out truths, being found with their own lustre, not human tincture. Whosoever doeth thus, shall purchase favour in heaven and esteem on earth.'

Thus he correctly describes himself as an expounder of God's holy word. The work is remarkable for the varied and extensive learning which it brings to the elucidation of what is dark and difficult. The theology is of the purest kind, and derived wholly from the Scriptures at large, while it throws all the light of the New Testament upon the obscurities of the hieroglyphical prophet. In its appeals, exhortations, and warnings, it is searching, yet tender, bold and fearless in reprehending what is worthy of condemnation, yet full of mercy, mingling, with the most cutting severity, the meltings of a persuasive compassion. It is in fact a volume of consecutive discourses, which exhibit some of the faults and all the excellencies which marked the preaching of the elder puritans. In the hope expressed by Mr. Sherman, in the concluding paragraph of his Advertisement, we perfectly concur.

'The reviser trusts that the future readers of Greenhill will reap the fruits of much anxiety and care, to prepare for them an edition of this valuable work, in which the sentiments of the author should be faithfully retained, and the peculiar spirit of his style be uniformly manifest; while the translation of the Greek and Latin words and phrases—the beautiful typography—the condensation of five volumes into one of moderate size—one complete index and table of texts, instead of one to each volume, and the correctness, portability, and cheapness of this edition, he hopes will be considered real improvements to the exposition.'

The Condensed Commentary by Mr. Cobbin is, in our estimation, the most valuable work of the kind that has yet appeared, and so seasonable that it comes as a desideratum to relieve Christian families from their perplexity in choosing an exposition which, without being too long, should be sufficiently copious, and, without being too critical, should be sufficiently explanatory and practical. Without hesitation they may adopt it as their daily companion at the domestic altar. This, as it appears to us, is its special use, while it may be profitably consulted both by students and general readers. Since it has been in our possession we have constantly made it the text book for the study and the closet, for

the purpose of instruction and devotion, and have been surprised at the multitude of passages from larger and more expensive commentaries which ever and anon it has brought to our remembrance.

No human production, however, can be pronounced faultless. In some obvious particulars the present volume may be greatly improved by careful revision; while we highly commend the editor of the Condensed Commentary for adhering to his 'rule of passing over nothing that appeared difficult throughout the whole of the sacred pages,' we should have been glad if the passage in 1 John v. 7, 8, had received more of his attention. The critical remarks of Dr. Pye Smith on this portion of the work we transcribe as deserving a permanent record in our pages.

'The French divine, David Martin, is cited, affirming that the disputed portion of 1 John v. 7, 8, is found 'in a great number of manuscripts, even the most ancient, and in the most pure and venerable works of ecclesiastical antiquity.' From Dr. Gill, also, a large note is derived, in which he says, with regard to the same passage, 'As to its being wanting in some Greek manuscripts, it is certain it is to be found in many others; and out of sixteen ancient copies of Robert Stephens's, nine of them had it.' All this is *the reverse* of truth. Martin's ignorance, united with astonishing presumption, led him to make the most extravagant and rash assertions in reference to Robert Stephens, and in many other respects; and Dr. Gill evidently reposed implicit faith upon those assertions. It might have been proper to add, that the investigation of manuscripts, versions, and fathers, has been made since the death of Dr. Gill, with a care and diligence unknown before, and that the results are placed in the clearest light of evidence. The following facts might also have been mentioned as a corrective of the bold, but erroneous, assertions which have unhappily been made; that of all the Greek manuscripts which contain this epistle (above 170), it is found in only three, and those so recent as to be of little or no value; that it was found in no ancient version, till it began to be intruded into the Latin Vulgate in about the eighth century; that the alleged citations of Tertullian and Cyprian are merely coincidences of two or three words, not touching the chief parts of the passage, and bearing no evidence of being citations of the passage at all; that the Preface to the Canonical Epistles, attributed to Jerome, is well known to be a production of a much later age; and that no Greek father has quoted or referred to the passage, nor any Latin, till Vigilius, of Tapsus, near the close of the fifth century. It is also to be regretted that in not one of the accumulated notes is stated precisely what the passage is to which the remarks apply: but it is apparently assumed to be the seventh verse; yet, if the reader were to think so, he

‘ would fall into a serious mistake. The passage so fully proved to be spurious, is a part of the seventh and a part of the eighth verse ;— viz. ‘ In heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost ; and these three are one. And there are three that bear witness in earth.’ ”

Having thus far quoted Dr. Smith on a point implying something like censure, we shall conclude our notice by adopting as our own, with the additional weight of the Doctor’s authority, his clear, just, and manly commendation of the work as a whole.

‘ The explanatory notes comprehend a vast amount of historical, antiquarian, and critical illustrations, which are not to be found in many excellent expositions, though far more voluminous. The respected editor has taken a large scope in collecting those illustrations from authors, ancient and modern, Heathen, Jewish, and Christian, common and sacred, travellers, naturalists, historians, poets, antiquaries, critics, and divines. By these laborious compilations, a welcome light is cast upon obscure passages ; many and serious difficulties are obviated, facts and minute circumstances, which are faintly alluded to, or tacitly implied, in the Scripture text, are brought forward to advantageous application ; the connexion of history, both sacred and profane, and the fulfilments of prophecy, are presented to the increase of our knowledge and the confirmation of our faith ; and I cannot doubt but that by the use of this work the reading of the word of God will be rendered much more beneficial to all classes in the present active and inquiring age. The maps, and other pictorial elucidations, appear to have been selected with good judgment, and to be well executed.’

Art. VIII. *Address of ‘ The United Committee appointed to consider the Grievances under which Dissenters labour, with a view to their redress,’ to the Protestant Dissenters of Great Britain. 1837.*

IT is no common-place extravagance of phrase to affirm that we have arrived at a great crisis in the history of our country. The affirmation is on every person’s lips, and the conviction of its truth has sunk deeply into the national mind. All classes of society—the aristocratic and the plebeian—the advocates of ancient usages and of modern reforms—the Churchman and the Dissenter—every shade and variety of political and of religious party, all unite in the belief that the present times are fraught with the seeds of future change, and form the connecting link between two dispensations, differing in their character, design, and tendency. It is far from uncommon to attach a mysterious

significancy and importance to one's own day, and we wish to guard against the tendency. The alarmist and the selfish have frequently converted this predisposition of our nature into an instrument of mischief; and it therefore becomes every wise and patriotic man to weigh well the signs of the times, before he commits himself to the faith which so extensively prevails. Our own conviction is not founded on light or insufficient grounds. It has been slowly formed, and is now deliberately invested with all the force of an acknowledged fact. Various circumstances have contributed to produce it, to two or three of which we will briefly advert.

There is no gainsaying the fact that the science of politics is rapidly becoming the study of the nation. Instead of being confined to economists and legislators, it has diffused itself through the several grades of society, and is occupying the attention of tradesmen and mechanics, as well as of those whose vocation it constitutes. In many cases its nature is, no doubt, greatly misapprehended. The errors which time has sanctioned, or which the interests of particular classes have generated, are mingled up with its speculations. A one-sided view is frequently taken of the questions which are in debate, and all the heat and violence of popular zeal are in consequence temporarily arrayed on behalf of unsound and pernicious measures. But the mischief resulting from this state of things is limited and brief, while the mental activity which it denotes betokens the approach of a better era than has yet been realized. The public mind is aroused, and, ashamed of its past lethargy, is beginning to prepare itself for action. This is as it should be, and we rejoice to witness it. So far from being alarmed at the diffusion of political information, we regard the fact with entire satisfaction, and anticipate from it an improvement of our institutions, and the advancement of society in virtue and happiness. No class of men can be safely trusted with the interests of others. The wisest and the best intentioned require to be narrowly watched—much more those on whom the affairs of government are ordinarily devolved. What all are interested in all should examine and endeavour to understand. Instead of negligently entrusting to others what belongs to themselves, every member of the community should feel that there is something which he must do, and, on the doing of which, his title to the privileges of the community may be righteously suspended. The diffusion of political knowledge is necessary to the production of this state of things, and we rejoice to believe that the earlier steps towards it have been taken. Much, undoubtedly, remains to be done; but, in our solicitude to compass what is yet unattained, we must not despise or undervalue what has been achieved.

Another feature of the present times, which strongly impresses

us with the conviction we have avowed, is the astonishing progress recently made by the popular branch of our legislature. Up to the close of 1830, Toryism was in undisturbed possession of power. A talented party was indeed arrayed against it, but its long monopoly of office, and its profligate administration of government patronage, had greatly succeeded in corrupting the virtue of public men, and had enabled it to fill all departments of the State with its unscrupulous adherents. The Duke of Wellington was then Premier, and Sir Robert Peel the ministerial leader of the Lower House. Every thing appeared calm and promising. No change in the administration followed the accession of a new monarch, and parliament was prorogued on the 23d of July, without any indication of coming events. In the interval between July and November, a mighty revolution was effected, or rather, the dissatisfaction which had long been growing up and gathering strength in the heart of the nation, burst forth with irresistible power, and swept away the imbecile and besotted administration of the Duke. It was as though the nation, aroused by the decease of a Tory monarch—whose character will be depicted in history as a compound of many vices, unredeemed by a solitary virtue—had determined on a demonstration of feeling which should preserve his successor from falling into the hands of the same advisers. William the Fourth was greeted in his passage to the House, on the second of November, with the warmest acclamations of an attached and loyal people; but his minister met with a far different reception. The hero of Waterloo was forgotten in the hatred which was borne to the Tory minister. Every Englishman knows what followed. A miserable attempt was made to alarm the monarch by slandering his people, which ultimately recoiled with terrible effect on the ministers, who, being outvoted on a question connected with the civil list, were compelled to tender their resignation. That resignation was accepted; and Earl Grey, whose youth had been devoted to the advocacy of reform, was called in his advanced years to realize his brightest and most sanguine expectations. From that moment to the present the severest struggle has been pending which our country has known since the restoration of the Stuarts. Overwhelmed for a moment by the combined force of the monarchical and democratical branches of our constitution, the aristocracy permitted the Reform Bill to pass, though not till they had enfeebled and clogged it by some most objectionable provisions. But they gave way for an instant, only to rally their forces with increased determination, and to ply with unscrupulous vigour every mode of corruption, intimidation, and intrigue, by which they could hope to regain their forfeited supremacy. Every inch of ground has been subsequently debated. Not a vote in favour of any popular measure has been given in the Commons, but as

the result of a hard-fought contest, and with a determination, on the part of the minority, to render it as unproductive as possible. Still the popular cause has progressed—borne onward by the fervent aspirations and concentrated energy of a great people. One concession after another has been wrested from a selfish faction, and, though we are still far from a complete and final triumph, we are in circumstances to defy both the power and the chicanery of the enemies of popular rights. Defeated in the days of their strength, we shall be the laughing-stock of Europe, and the contempt of posterity, if we suffer them to prevent the fruition of our hopes. The first-fruits of the Reform Bill have already been gathered; and, if it be not followed up to its ultimate consequences, it will only be because the people are unfaithful to themselves. The Reform and Municipal Bills have placed in our hands a degree of power at which our enemies tremble, and to which we may safely trust for the working out of our political salvation. No violence is needed—no unconstitutional methods must be resorted to. We must be calm, but determined—uniting a sagacious observation of the present with a high-toned consecration of ourselves to the hopes of the future. A new reign opens to us a new scene, in which the visions of coming good serve to inspire our hopes and purify our zeal.

The only other feature of the present times, which we can stay to notice, and which contributes greatly to the conviction we have expressed, is the public contest into which the antagonist principles of coercion and of voluntariness in the matters of religion have entered. It is to this feature of our Society, that we, as Dissenters, look with especial interest, assured as we are—on a calm and protracted consideration of the subject—that there are suspended on it consequences of the greatest moment to our national welfare and religious profession. The Church of England is the strong hold of Toryism. It has been so from its origin, and it will continue to be so till the last moment of its existence. It has uniformly lagged behind the public mind, has shrunk from the reforming mind of an advancing intellect, and sought, as the means of self-preservation, to destroy the balance of our constitution by sacrificing the popular to the monarchical branch of it. With this gigantic power, whose ramifications are so extensive and endless, the Dissenters of Great Britain have at length entered into conflict. The discussion has been commenced in quarters where formerly it would have been treason to whisper it, and some noble trophies have already been won. The Test and Corporation Acts have been repealed, the vestry cess has been abolished, a national system of registration established, dissenting marriages allowed, and, as the last and noblest triumph of all, a majority of the Lower House, at the instigation of the Ministers of the Crown, have pronounced the doom of Church Rates. On

the issue of this struggle depend the peace of the nation and the honour of religion. Every thing that is dear to us as Britons and as Christians is involved in the contest. The question carries with it the most momentous and the most absorbing interests. It is sanctified by the religious character of the convictions out of which it has grown, and will be sustained by the exercises of an enlightened and fervent piety. We have no contest with Episcopalians as such. They are as much entitled to their own forms of worship and polity as ourselves. If they venerate a threefold order of clergy, and prefer a form of prayer, there is no power on earth to dispute their right to have them. The first principles of religious liberty would be violated by any attempt to restrain them from carrying out their views. It is against the Church, as established by parliamentary ordinances—as drawing its support from the *forced* contributions of the people—as constituted by politicians for secular purposes, and supported by an avaricious aristocracy for the enriching of its needy relatives and dependents, that we protest. It is in vain that our enemies assail us with ridicule and banter, that they heap upon us opprobrious epithets, or exhaust the vocabulary of Billingsgate in slandering our characters and views. All this they have done, and more than this, if possible, they will yet do. We calculated on it from the commencement of our labours, and shall never permit it to divert us, even for a moment, from the vigorous prosecution of our object. Believing a State Church to be a monstrous departure from the institutions of Christ, and a fearful engine of spiritual delusion and death, our consistency, as Christians, is involved in our endeavouring by all righteous methods to disabuse the public mind, and thus to prepare the way for that peaceful severance of religion from politics—of Christianity from Court factions—without which our holy faith can never command the respect and confidence of mankind.

Such being our convictions, we cannot fail to regard the present times with deep interest; nor do we wish to conceal our solicitude respecting the course that may be pursued by Dissenters in the approaching elections. The parliament of Sir Robert Peel has been dissolved by our youthful Queen, and an appeal is to be made to the nation. Before these remarks meet the eye of our readers most of the elections will probably have taken place. We hope to be able, at the close of this article, to state the *general result*, but shall necessarily be compelled to defer to a future number any minute and extended investigation of the facts which will have transpired. In the mean time we are desirous of calling attention to a few remarks on the position of parties and the prospects of the new reign, and to give expression to our own views on the course that should be pursued by her Majesty's government in the future conduct of our affairs. A new era has

dawned upon the empire, and we are deeply anxious that full advantage should be taken of it.

The balance of political parties was totally destroyed, for a season, by the excitement which originated the Reform Bill, and accompanied its transit through parliament. Though the Tory party had never recovered the division of its forces which grew out of the premiership of Mr. Canning, it was undoubtedly, up to the death of George IV., the most numerous and powerful party in the country. It included nearly all the junior branches of the aristocracy—a motley crew, whose political subserviency had been rewarded by a dishonoured peerage. The whole strength of the Hierarchy—body, soul, and spirit—was at its service; all judicial appointments were in the hands of its abettors; the corporate bodies of the kingdom were its strong holds; and a large portion of the rural gentry were its sworn and senseless zealots. The strength of the national will, roused by the strong excitement of the moment, overwhelmed the combined forces of these advocates of Toryism, and carried to a successful issue the patriotic exertions of Earl Grey and his associates. A fictitious magnitude was thus given to the reform party, and many sanguine speculators predicted the unobstructed and rapid progress of improvement. But the public mind gradually sank to its ordinary level. Those who had been carried along by the fervour of others merely, seceded from the popular party; and many who had honestly indulged in Utopian expectations, permitted their disappointment to drive them in an opposite direction. Having failed to realize their hopes, they cast contempt on what had been achieved. To add to the mischief, some of the members of the administration threw down the seals of office, and went over to the camp of the enemy. No permanent injury was effected by the secession of Lord Stanley and his associates. The popular cause rather gained than otherwise by their passing over to the opposition benches. But at the moment it produced its effect, and the leaders of the Tory party hoped to profit by the divisions of the Cabinet. Subsequently the father of reform retired from office, and Lord Melbourne was commissioned to re-construct the Government. This took place in July, 1834, contrary to the expectations and purposes of the Tories. The mind of the King was not yet bowed to their pleasure, and their return to office was consequently deferred. But, in the following November, the nation was astounded by the intelligence that the monarch had summarily dismissed the reform ministers, and called the enemies of his people to his councils.

We shall never forget the sensation which was produced. The division of reformers instantly ceased. The whigs and radicals, the members of the dismissed administration, and the Irish representatives, became instantly one. Their differences were forgotten,

their enmities were renounced, and in the name of their country, and in the cause of good government, they confederated against the common foe. Sir Robert Peel was hastily recalled from the continent, and—despite of his usual prudence—was induced to accept the premiership. The faction of which he was the nominal leader, now determined on a desperate game. The House of Commons was dissolved, and a new election took place. The fidelity of the constituency was assailed by Tory gold beyond all former precedents, and every expedient which an unprincipled, exasperated, and remorseless faction could devise, was employed to compass their end. For a time the scale trembled in the balance, but thanks to the Reform Bill, the nation was saved from ruin. The new parliament met in February, 1835, and never was an opposition conducted with more consummate skill than that which now arrayed itself under the guidance of Lord John Russell, in defence of popular government. The Tories struggled with the difficulties of their position for a few weeks, but, having been left for the third time in a minority, the Duke and Sir Robert Peel announced their resignations on the 9th of April. This mad and abortive attempt of a miserable faction, reduced the monarch to the humiliating alternative of recalling the men who had been so unceremoniously dismissed in the previous November. The nation regretted the indecision, and pitied the condition of the king. William the Fourth lost ground in the affections of an attached and enthusiastic people, who now began to separate between the interests of the court and of the nation.

It was soon found, that the restored ministers did not possess the good will of the monarch, and that his court was a scene of disgraceful intrigue against them. To this fact it is necessary to advert, in order rightly to estimate the conduct of Lord Melbourne and his colleagues. There were marks of indecision and hesitancy about some points of their policy—a mistrust of popular support—a shrinking from popular claims—which excited the regret of their best friends, and emboldened the tactics of their enemies. But it must, in fairness, be borne in mind, that the difficulties of their position were unparalleled. They had to manage a House of Commons purchased by Tory bribes, in the teeth of a hostile court, and with a positive refusal on the part of their royal master to permit their appealing to the nation for whom they ruled. The House of Lords—in perfect keeping with its character—was inveterately opposed to their liberal policy, and the whole strength of the church, roused into embittered warfare, was placed at the disposal of their most inveterate foes. The patronage of the army was committed to their enemies, and the more special marks of royal favour graced their brow. It would have been well had the ministers of the crown broken through the restraints of official decorum, and thrown themselves un-

hesitatingly upon the support of the people. The heart of a great nation would have responded to their call, and the insolence and tyranny of Tory peers and of Tory commoners, would have quailed before them. But this they did not do; nor is it much to be wondered at. We may regret, but we can scarcely blame their moderation.

The course, however, which they did adopt respecting some popular measures introduced to the House, was not merely more questionable, but was more positively pernicious to their own policy. Opposition to the ballot, to the ejection of the bishops from the Upper House, to the abolishing of flogging in the Army, and to other wise and just measures, placed them in a questionable position, and shook the confidence of their best friends. On these questions their majority was obtained from the Tory benches—a circumstance in itself most suspicious, and which ought to have led them to review and alter their policy. Had Sir Robert Peel commanded his troops to refrain from assisting ministers on these occasions, they would have been left in a miserable minority, and the cause of reform would have triumphed. It must have been a tempting opportunity to the wily baronet, but he was too long-sighted to purchase a momentary gratification by giving to the popular cause the aid it would have derived from a vote of the Commons. Yet the eulogists of the Tamworth baronet and his party, now laud his moderation and high-mindedness in having saved the ministry from defeat. We hope they will never again place themselves in circumstances to permit this bitterest reproach of all.

The Providence of God has at length opened up to us a new scene, and we trust that the ministers of the crown will address themselves faithfully to the discharge of its high duties. William the Fourth has been gathered to his fathers, and his royal niece reigns in his stead. Never was an accession more rapturously hailed by the mass of the community. The heart of a great nation, which previously quailed, has bounded forth with an elasticity and joyfulness rarely equalled, and never surpassed. Many circumstances have contributed to this. The youth, and sex, and loveliness of the monarch, have had their share in producing the national enthusiasm. The chivalry of the nation—a high-born and noble passion—purified from the false-heartedness and fantastic fopperies of a former age, is burning with intense desire of guarding the dwelling and the heart of the youthful sovereign from every form and degree of evil. But the confidence of the people is mainly derived from the confidence which is felt in the education and character of the monarch. Blest with the wisest and best of mothers, whose unexampled prudence and untarnished reputation, have commanded the admiration and respect of all virtuous minds, the youthful queen has emerged from the thick mists of a

Tory court, to sympathize with all that is great, enlightened, and Christian-like in the elements of our national character. Her first and solemn declaration, 'That it will be her unceasing study 'to secure to all the full enjoyment of religious liberty,—and 'steadily protect the rights, and promote to the utmost of her 'power, the happiness and welfare of all classes of her subjects,' affords a pledge on which a nation's confidence securely rests. In ordinary times it is becoming to refrain from the personal views and predilections of the monarch. But when the enemies of English freedom seek to entrap the loyalty of the people by a disingenuous and insulting use of the monarch's name, it is due to the cause of freedom, to proclaim, as with a trumpet's voice, that the heart of the monarch is with the cause of the people, and beats high with generous and noble purposes for their welfare. Many words are not needed to prove that this is happily the case at present. We need not descend to particulars. We need not specify the appointments which have taken place. They are sufficiently numerous and sufficiently marked to speak for themselves. It is enough to say, that the scene of Tory intrigue is undergoing a rapid purification, and that the liberal ministers are afforded the earliest possible opportunity of making that appeal to the country which was forbidden in the former reign. Of the result of that appeal we entertain no doubt. The fears of our enemies are disclosed, in the prodigious efforts they are making. From the highest to the lowest member of the party they are straining every nerve. The common decencies of society are violated, the foulest slanders are put in circulation, wealth is prodigally lavished, and intimidation fearlessly resorted to. The lordly aristocratic and the corrupt freeman are banded together in unholy alliance, and no means, whether of intrigue or of violence, by which they may hope to control the throne and to enslave the nation, will be unemploy'd. Yet we wait the issue with confidence. There is enough of manly independence and of moral principle in Old England to achieve a victory. The ministerial majority will be increased, sufficiently increased, to enable the ministers of the queen to carry into effect her benign and righteous purposes.

We trust that on the assembling of parliament, ministers will see the propriety of adopting a somewhat different policy on those leading questions, respecting which differences of opinion obtain amongst their supporters. One hundred and fifty-three members of the late house recorded their vote in favour of the Ballot, and the number of its advocates will probably be increased in the ensuing parliament. Now it is too much to expect, that so large a section of the reform party—containing, beyond doubt, many of the most tried and distinguished of the national representatives—should be satisfied unless the cabinet be thrown open upon this

and analogous points. It is perfectly reasonable that the more decided and fearless advocates of reform should demand—as the condition of their alliance with government—that its members be left free to vote on such questions according to their individual judgments. The defects of the Reform Bill must be remedied—the suffrage must be extended—the duration of parliament be reduced,—protection be afforded to the honest voter, by the introduction of the ballot—and some measures be adopted to bring the Upper House into harmony with the Commons. We do not ask that the members of government should vote on these questions in opposition to their convictions, but we do ask—and the reasonableness of the request enforces it—that they should be at liberty honestly to record their sentiments by their vote. Let this course be pursued, and Lord Melbourne may laugh to scorn the power and the intrigues of his enemies. He will gather around his administration the strong confidence of an enlightened people, and lay the foundation of improvements which will associate his name with the best benefactors of his country. We shall wait with anxiety to see whether his lordship is prepared to take full advantage of his position. If he refuse to do so, he may retain office for a time through the abhorrence in which his Tory opponents are held by the country; but his power will be enfeebled, the confidence of his own party will be shaken, and some more fearless politician will ultimately be substituted in his place.

The general tenour of his lordship's ecclesiastical measures may be gathered from those which have already been proposed. It is idle for Dissenters to expect that the administration should commit itself to the advocacy of their principles. Lord Melbourne and his colleagues are members of the dominant church, and their propositions will doubtless respect its welfare, and be designed to strengthen its hold on the popular mind. We have no right to censure them on this account. With their principles and views such a procedure is perfectly befitting. It is honest in them to make the attempt, though we are satisfied that it will prove an utter failure. They must already have been visited by some misgivings, and we are greatly mistaken if they will not find, throughout the ensuing elections, these misgivings to be confirmed. The church itself, by the short-sighted selfishness of its policy, will gradually estrange from its service every honest advocate of reform. Its clergy are now up in arms from one end of the empire to the other, and the whole weight of their influence—honestly and dishonestly employed—will be directed against the liberal administration of our queen. It is in vain that the ministers of the crown protest their churchmanship—it is in vain that the Chancellor of the Exchequer caricatures our principles, in bringing forward a measure for our relief—it is in vain that they increase the number of bishoprics, or indulge the

prelates with the spoils of the prebends and canons—all these things will avail them nothing with the members of a monopolizing corporation, whose exclusive privileges are incompatible with the self-respect and just rights of the community. Successive administrations will cling to the hierarchy, in the hope of moulding it to their wishes, but in the meantime the conviction will be gathering strength, and be working its way into the national mind that, while Christianity is eminently conducive to the welfare of a people, an endowed and secular church is a formidable obstacle to the progress of reform, and the legitimate results of good government. As the papacy was abandoned by several princes, from the conviction that it was unfriendly to the civil power, so the Church of England will ultimately be thrown from them by our rulers, as a useless incumbrance unfriendly to their measures, and inveterately hostile to an enlightened policy.

The conduct of Dissenters, on the other hand, will be such as to increase the respect and confidence in which they are already held by the advocates of civil freedom. There is no class of her majesty's subjects more firmly attached to the British constitution, or more thoroughly fixed in their hatred of tory principles and tactics. They are sufficiently read in the history of their country to know that Toryism and persecution have ever gone hand-in-hand. They have traced its character in the imprisonment and poverty, the exile and murder of their fathers, and will continue through evil report, and through good report, its unflinching, but high-minded and christian foes. Their conduct in the pending elections will correspond with the advice of the spirited and noble address which we have placed at the head of this article—an address worthy of the body from which it proceeds, and adapted to move the deepest feelings of those whom it counsels. The following passage awakens historical associations fatal to the cause of Toryism :

‘ Protestant Dissenters—friends of truth and freedom ! be not deceived by fair promises and time-serving professions ! judge the men by their measures, interpret the future by the past. Who are the men that would have perpetuated to this day the desecration of the sacrament as a penalty on conscience and a premium to hypocrisy ? Who are the men that refused to listen to the millions of Ireland till petitions were exchanged for resistance ? Who are the men that so lately withstood an enlightened government in their efforts to abolish the obnoxious impost of church-rates, and whose note of triumph rose so high when they vainly imagined that the just and healing measure was defeated ? Who are the men that have ever met the claims of the people with proud defiance and disdain, till resistance proved in vain, till the boon ceased to be a grace, and the loss of place and power was the only alternative of concession to a just demand ?

‘ In contrast with such claimants for your suffrages, you will have

faithful friends and tried patriots—men who pleaded your cause when such advocacy was proscription of honour and emolument—men who, when called to the counsels of their king, forgot not their principles, but resolved to do you justice, though at the loss of faithless and inconsistent friends, though obstructed by the insidious influence of court intrigue and the open violence of bigotry.

‘To whom are you indebted for your just proportion both of national and local influence, for municipal and parliamentary reform? Who have sought to elevate the people by the general diffusion of education and intelligence—to ameliorate the legislation of a barbarous age by the influence of wisdom and of mercy, to govern by conviction and conciliation rather than by force, and, by rendering justice to all, making order and obedience the interest of all?—these are the men whom bigots and despots throughout the world both fear and hate. Elect them as your future legislators, and our country will be peaceful and happy, the reign of our queen will be prosperous, and liberty in every land will lift up her voice in joy and triumph.’

Individual exceptions may no doubt be found. Men of weak intellect or of inveterate selfishness may be discovered in our ranks, and these will probably lend a dishonourable support to the cause of our opponents. But their numbers are so diminutive, and their standing so low, that they may well be left to the derision and contempt of the country. A more strange and anomalous conjunction, than that of toryism and dissent, cannot be found in the whole history of religious or political parties.

In the meanwhile, it is the duty of Dissenters to keep their principles distinctly and forcibly before the public mind. Avoiding all coarseness and violence, all vituperation and personality, they must stand forth the open and fearless advocates of a purer Christianity than yet passes current amongst their countrymen. Divine providence entrusts them with the defence of principles long misunderstood and defamed. They are the conservators of the kingdom of Christ;—the appointed guardians of those rights which constitute the glory of our nature and the hope of the world. We are deeply anxious that their conduct should be worthy of their position. Hitherto it has won them much respect, but we should ill prove our title to their confidence, if we affirmed that it had been all which might be desired. Their movements are too erratic and isolated; their internal divisions are too much fostered; their views are too limited, their education is too confined, their patriotism too silent and inactive. They must bestir themselves to meet the claims of the period in which they live, and, coming forth from their privacy, must exhibit in happy and religious combination the Christian and the patriot which shone so conspicuously in the Brooks, and Hampdens, and Vanes, of a former age. There is enough of talent, and property,

and piety amongst them to furnish the national councils with adequate expounders of their principles; while the intellect and scholarship, which they possess in no mean abundance, should be layed under tribute for the enlightenment of the public mind. Let these things be vigorously done—and done they may be—and a triumph will be won of no mean and sectarian order. Christianity will be redeemed from reproach, and the means of injustice be wrested from the hands of an insolent and unscrupulous faction. Differences of opinion may at first prevail respecting the revolution which will be effected; but when the collisions of party have ceased, and the animosities which they engender have died away, men of all classes and shades of opinion will exult, in the superintending providence by which the change has been accomplished.

The attempt of our opponents to brand us as political intermeddlers, is amongst the weakest and most contemptible of their manoeuvres. The charge comes with a bad grace from a party which claims the patronage of the state, and demands for its ministers a seat amongst the peers of the realm. As directed against us the charge is pointless, and cannot influence any sane person. We have rights in common with our fellow-countrymen, which it becomes us to understand and protect; and whatever our foes may say we shall always be found at our post in the hour of trial. If any fault is to be found with our ministers, it is that they have shrunk too sensitively from the discharge of their political duties. But this error—if error it be—will speedily be rectified by the taunts and false charges of their defamers. The most moderate will be quickened, and the more decided be confirmed in the propriety of their course, by the proof they are daily obtaining of the hopelessness of looking for justice to their character and conduct, from their implacable enemies. These are not times in which any virtuous member of society may feel exonerated from the discharge of his public duties. A squeamish delicacy may formerly have been comparatively innocent, but it can be so no longer. An unscrupulous faction, rendered desperate by successive defeats, is threatening the safety of the throne and the welfare of the nation; and we must rouse into confederated and determined action, all the moral principle and political knowledge of the land. Fortunately for the empire we have recently had an exhibition of Toryism unmasked. After vainly struggling for supremacy at home, it has found a continental theatre on which it could propound its dogmas, and act its natural part. The lesson will not be lost;—the warning will not be unheeded. To the king of Hanover we are indebted for an exposition of the principles of British Tories in their undisguised and naked deformity. We thank him for the favour—the only one he has ever

done his country, and shall wait to see whether a British parliament will not preclude the possibility of his playing a similar game on a nobler theatre, and amid interests a thousand-fold more important. The doom of Toryism must surely be pronounced when its leaders can play such pranks.

Quem Deus vult perdere
Prius dementat.

Art. IX. *Menzel on German Literature. Die deutsche Literatur. Von Wolfgang Menzel. 1836. Stuttgart.*

No. IV.—Religion in Germany.

THE chapter on "Religion" is, in some respects, one of the most interesting in Menzel's work; in others, the least so. It contains a rapid, yet comprehensive view, of the past history and present state of religious literature in Germany, as well as of the causes which have led to the late deplorable follies of the Rationalist school. That Menzel's views are comprehensive, and often profound, we need hardly state; it is to be regretted, however, that it is not always possible to ascertain precisely what his own religious opinions are; that he is now and then a little mystical, a fault from which no German, not even Menzel, can be expected to be quite exempt, when he gets upon this topic; and lastly, that he expresses himself, here and there, in a style too *latitudinarian*. This state of feeling is the natural result, first, of that ecclesiastical tyranny by which Germany has been so long oppressed and from which it is not yet emancipated, but which, as the history of other countries manifests, is sure to lead to a most mischievous re-action; and, secondly, of that wild and lawless spirit of speculation,—or rather, *day-dreaming*, for many of their theories have so slender a basis of fact to support them, that they do not deserve to be called by a name so dignified as 'speculations,'—by which her neologistic theologians have been distinguished. It is the natural tendency of such a state of things to encourage the persuasion that even the widest differences of religious opinion are comparatively of little moment; that they are quite compatible with the reception of all essential truth, and that they are to be regarded as the inevitable result of the different aspects under which differently constituted and differently educated minds, regard the same object. The following points, however, with regard to Menzel's religious opinions, are clearly determined, and we feel the utmost pleasure in stating them. First, he is no *Rationalist*. Indeed, nowhere, even amongst the writers of our own country, have we seen the shallow style of

theology adopted by those who preposterously call themselves by that name, so ably exposed. His sarcasm is really terrible. From that part of the chapter which treats of this subjects we shall make copious extracts in the present article.—Secondly, he is the bold advocate of the most ample religious freedom. This might be expected from the eloquent manner in which he has denounced the censorship.* —Thirdly. He is no Catholic; although very liberal towards the less corrupt forms of Catholicism, and not exactly contented with any form of Protestantism. He of course abhors all the worst features of Catholicism, and, particularly, denounces the whole system of the Jesuits with all that force of invective by which he is so eminently distinguished, and with all that warmth which might be expected, from his enlarged and tolerant mind, and his ardent love of freedom. Yet his views on the subject of Catholicism generally are tinged with considerable mysticism. He seems to think that the ‘*original idea*’ of that religion, had it been adhered to, and not so fearfully corrupted, is better adapted to the religious nature of men than any of the present forms of Protestantism. That religion he tells us, according to its ‘*original idea*,’ addresses itself equally to all the constituent principles of man; to his sensitive and intellectual nature, to his feelings, his imagination, and his reason, while every form of Protestantism he seems to think too exclusively addresses some part of our nature; it is either too much the religion of feeling, or too much the religion of fancy, or too much the religion of reason. Now, if to recover this ‘*original idea*’ of Catholicism, he would in fact go so far back as to strip that form of religion of all its corruptions, and give us a fair representation of *primitive* Christianity,—which it is acknowledged is adapted to all the constituent principles of human nature,—few would be disinclined to dispute with him. But Catholicism, as it has always existed *in fact*, is, it must be confessed, something very different from this ‘*original idea*.’ With the milder forms of Catholicism, Menzel deals very tenderly. His moderation on this subject may be partly explained and excused by the consideration that Catholicism exists in some parts of Germany in a far less obnoxious form than we are accustomed to see it put on in any part of the British empire.—Fourthly, That his own religious opinions, so far as they can be gathered from this chapter, approximate more nearly to those of the moderate Pietists, of whom the excellent Spener was the founder, than to those of any other party. As an English critic has well observed, “Himself a poet, it is no wonder that he should prefer the deep earnestness of the Pietists and the mystics, to the cold calculation of the self-styled Rationalists.”

* See the passages in the Article in our June Number.

Menzel introduces the chapter by a plea for universal toleration. But as we have already intimated, he carries his notions, if we rightly understand him, to a much greater extent than we should be disposed to go. There is, in fact, something very latitudinarian in his views. We trust, that we have not to learn from Germany, or from any other country, a veneration for the amplest religious freedom; we hold the perfect liberty of every man to form and express his own religious opinions; yet all this is something very different from the notion, that the widest differences of religious opinion may equally consist with the Gospel, or equally comprehend the essence of religion. To this extent, however, Menzel seems to go, when he hints, that "the sensitive Italian, who, prompted by his æsthetic tendencies, has realized the sublimest religious ideal in his architecture, painting, and church-music," "the intellectual theosophist," "the severe moralist," "the enthusiastic pietist," should all dwell together in happy harmony, and regard each other's forms of religion as merely modifications of the same thing; as, in fact, equally good in their several ways!

Menzel defends his views by a long exposition, (in many parts eloquent, and in many others mystical,) of those differences of mental constitution, those idiosyncrasies of the individual mind, which naturally lead men to view the same object under different aspects: one man to give a preference to this form of religion, and another to that. These original peculiarities of mind he denominates 'temperaments,' which, according to the ancient and well-known classification, he divides into *four*. These, he tells us, are again capable of being modified and mingled in all sorts of proportion in different characters. In every case, however, the predominant temperament leads to the fuller development of certain peculiarities, which constitute the *character*. These *temperaments* he designates by the names of the '*sanguine, the choleric, the melancholic, and the phlegmatic.*' The character of that religion which is formed under the predominant influence of the first, is, he says, principally marked by the activity of the senses and of the fancy; that formed under the influence of the second, by energy of will, and severity of morals; that formed under the influence of the third, by intensity of feeling; and that formed under the influence of the last, by the predominance of reason. The varieties of religious character, however, he contends, will be as numerous as are the combinations of the primary elements. Now, without pretending to approve the whole of Menzel's enumeration and classification of these elemental peculiarities of character, we are far from denying that such varieties exist, and that they will give a different form and aspect to the religious character of the individual, according as this or that quality of mind is predominant. But it by no means follows, as our author appears to suppose, that this should

bespeak our indulgence towards those vast differences of religious opinion to which he would extend it; or that the Rationalist, the Pietist, and the Roman Catholic, may all look with tolerance upon each other's creeds, as the natural, if not necessary consequence of the idiosyncrasy of the individual mind. In our opinion, the theory can only be applied within narrower limits: as we believe, there are doctrines which constitute the *essence* of Christianity; which characterizes it as *a system, and make it what it is*. Those doctrines are such as have been received by the vast majority of the Christian church in all ages, and are plainly inscribed on the pages of the record itself. We further think, that every man may discern, and ought to receive them; and that, consequently, all the *pardonable* differences of opinion to which the constitutional varieties of individual minds may lead, will still be within that all-embracing circle, and perfectly compatible with the reception of such essential truths. After all, those varieties of mind on which our author dwells, will not so much determine or modify the *opinions* of men, as the character their opinions assume, and the mode in which they develop and manifest themselves. In our view, therefore, Menzel's theory, though conveying important truth, is only applicable within certain limits, much narrower than those to which he would extend it. It may be, that Menzel himself would seriously wish us only to apply his principles within those limits; but, if so, his language is undoubtedly exceedingly unguarded. The error on which we have been commenting is one of vast importance, and this must be our apology for insisting on it so strongly. Between the latitudinarianism we have condemned, and that toleration which would allow every man fairly to form and express his own religious opinions, we trust we need not point out the obvious difference. In the latter case, we should still contend that there are essential truths in Christianity which all are capable of perceiving, and which they are bound to receive, and for the neglect of which they are amenable to the tribunal of God, though not to that of man; in other words, that such neglect is never unconnected with crime, although it is not crime of which men can take cognizance.

But we must now hasten to give our readers some extracts from this, upon the whole, very interesting chapter. The following is the beautiful manner in which he illustrates the different forms which religion assumes from the various character of human nature, and they furnish as he observes, a strong argument for the consequent necessity of *toleration*.

‘ Religion is a principle implanted in human nature which leads us to acknowledge a Supreme Being. The idea of a Supreme Being is in itself one and the same in all men,—of heavenly origin, and independent of the modifications which earth produces in it. Nevertheless, the forms and modes in

‘ which men recognize, cherish, and exhibit this idea, are as
 ‘ various as are men themselves. It falls under the condition of
 ‘ all things earthly; it is subjected to opposition, and a law of
 ‘ gradual development.

‘ We are apt to speak almost exclusively of the influence which
 ‘ religion should exercise upon men, and think too little of the
 ‘ influence which, on the other hand, men *really* exert on religion.
 ‘ Religion, like the light of the sun, is in itself something perfectly
 ‘ simple and homogeneous; yet, from the very various and cha-
 ‘ racteristically peculiar modes in which men conceive it, religion
 ‘ will be manifold, just as the simple light, when absorbed by
 ‘ earthly objects, is broken into various colors. If we only turn
 ‘ away for a moment, from the great religious luminary, and cast
 ‘ a glance back upon the landscape which is illuminated by it,
 ‘ upon the great panorama of nations spread out before us in all
 ‘ the gorgeous hues of their variously-colored religions, this may,
 ‘ perhaps, serve to impart a true and vivid conception of *universal*
 ‘ *toleration*.

‘ When we consider the doom to which men mutually consigned
 ‘ each other in ancient times, and the imperfect toleration of the
 ‘ present; when we see how each religious party, openly or se-
 ‘ cretly, grudges at every other, and holds itself to be exclusively
 ‘ in the right, we surely cannot complain that the scoffers at reli-
 ‘ gion, should make themselves merry with these contradictions.
 ‘ Religious intolerance is always ridiculous, even when it is not
 ‘ something worse. In what else can it end, than either an inter-
 ‘ minable religious war, or the victory of some one party? And
 ‘ of the two, the latter would be more to be lamented than the
 ‘ former, inasmuch as an exclusive system always founds its do-
 ‘ minion on power and unnatural violence. What form of religion
 ‘ is so perfect that it is alike adapted to every climate, to every
 ‘ nation, to all degrees of cultivation, and to every temperament?
 ‘ It is true, indeed, that we justly consider the Christian religion
 ‘ to be this *ideal*; but the attempts to realize it, it is notorious,
 ‘ contradict one another, in as many different ways as there are
 ‘ different religious sects; these sects reciprocally curse each
 ‘ other more than did the ancient religionists, and carry the maxim
 ‘ of intolerance to the extremest severity—a severity unknown in
 ‘ earlier times. Now, what could be more lamentable than that
 ‘ either a strife between these Christian sects should rage on for
 ‘ ever, or that one of them should obtain a victory over the rest?’

The following is his very correct and philosophical account of
 the *power* of Catholicism, which, as he very properly affirms, re-
 sides, not in books, in decrees, in statutes, as some suppose; but,
 after all, is derived from the manner in which it addresses itself
 to human nature; Catholicism as he says has always been more
 powerful *out of* literature than *in it*.

‘ We first speak of Catholicism. The force of whatever is said, either for or against it, principally depends on the conceptions which one forms of what constitutes its *essence*. The majority see in it only a dead letter; comparatively few, a living soul. Even its defenders attribute the strength which bears and sustains it to a system of *statutes* and *prescriptions*; and its adversaries, when they cite the letter against the letter, or endeavour to annul one statute by another, and this interpretation by that, confine themselves to the same limited views. But the essence of Catholicism is to be sought in no book; it is built, not upon the *letter*, but upon *men*. Let all its books be burnt, and there will still be Catholics as before. These books are as of little significance to it, as the *name* is to the *thing*. * * * * *

‘ Catholicism is more powerful *out of* literature than *in* it. It disdains investigation, it is contented with tradition, and in truth, it feels itself compelled to oppose the deluge of writings which would render that tradition insignificant. Tradition and the written word have always been in opposition. When Omar conquered Alexandria, he permitted the prodigious library of that city, in which all the treasures of knowledge at that period were deposited, to be burnt, and gave this reason for it; “if these books contain what the Koran contains, we need them not, for we have the Koran itself; but, if they contain any thing at variance with it, they must, for that very reason, be destroyed; for God is God, and Mahomet is His prophet, and the Koran is His word; what is beyond that ‘cometh of evil’.” In a similar manner thought those monks who designated the art of printing the black art; and, in fact, the only difference between the fire of Omar and “a catalogus librorum prohibitorum,” is, that the former is more efficacious, and attended with greater consequences than the latter; the principle of both is one and the same.

‘ When, after the Reformation, in spite of modern philosophy, and the secular tendency of the whole age, Catholicism still continued to assert its ancient power, Catholic literature contributed, in truth, little or nothing to that result.’

These observations were strikingly exemplified by the alternate overthrow and resuscitation of Catholicism, nay even of Jesuitism, in the last, and early part of the present century, in various parts of the Continent, especially Austria and Bavaria. But we must not follow Menzel through his long and able detail of the past history and present state of Catholicism. The whole of our little space will be requisite to give his sentiments with regard to the present condition of Protestantism, more especially of Rationalism,—to Englishmen by far the most interesting topic of any connected with German theology. The following passages well describe the principal characteristics of Protestantism as distin-

guished from Catholicism ; nor are the remarks in the second and third paragraphs, on the abuses to which its predominant characteristics may give rise, altogether without instruction to us, although more strikingly applicable to Germany than to our own country.

‘ In turning to Protestant literature, we cannot fail to observe, that it is of far greater significance to our systems of religious belief, and exerts a far greater influence upon the relations of those systems, than Catholic literature. The Catholics propagate their system by simple tradition and outward symbols. They aim at a blind faith, and an absolutely unreflecting obedience. Protestants, on the contrary, would convince, and be convinced ; they desire to subject their system to a continually renewed examination. *Terms and documents*, therefore, are fundamental things, with which it cannot dispense. Instruction, sermons, and books, are inseparable from the doctrine of Protestants. This circumstance necessarily gives to Protestant literature an incalculable preponderance, in point of bulk and erudition, over that of the Catholics ; but, at the same time exposes it to all the pernicious consequences of *Scribblomania*.

‘ In Protestantism, every thing has reference, not simply to an *idea*, but to a *book*,—to the Bible. The study of the Bible, the restoration of the text and the interpretation of it, the comparison of the doctrines it contains with those of reason ; the adjustment of the claims of theology and philosophy ; the instituting of a scrupulous inquiry into every possible doubt, as well as the solution of those doubts ; the refutation of all possible errors, and (in order to accomplish these purposes) a profound investigation of ecclesiastical history,—all these are the problems of Protestantism. Hence our younger clergy are, from their youth up, chained down to their books, and acquire a knowledge of God and their calling, only in black and white. Their consecration to an office, the object of which is the cure of souls, and which implies a knowledge of human nature and the feelings of philanthropy, characteristics which every true priest ought to possess,—depends upon a formidable, pedantic, school examination ; and he will be esteemed the most deserving who has *studied* himself into the palest and most sunken visage, and who has seen nothing of the world but what has been seen by his study-lamp.

‘ The reproach which has been so often cast upon the cloister-trained priests of Catholicism,—that, merely accustomed to a series of external mechanical formalities, and destitute of a knowledge of life and of men, they are not properly prepared for the cure of souls,—might, with equal reason, be applied to many Protestant preachers who enter their parishes with a knowledge, not of men, but exclusively of books. Unquestionably, however,

‘the excessive influence of philology and dialectics is attended with pernicious consequences to faith itself. Under the oppressive load of learning, the heart is easily narrowed; criticism chills it, and the limits of the Bible,* like those of the symbolical books, necessarily lead to a mechanism of forms, which with stereotyped phrases, and the lumber of the *dead letter*, often expel the *spirit* as effectually as ever it was expelled by the busy external observances of the Catholics.’

‘This theological *caste*, brought up exclusively among books, persists in adhering to its early habits, and instead of giving the world new saints, gives it only new books. When we consider that more than a thousand theological works are now printed in Germany every year, and that at least nine hundred of them make claims to which only the apostles were entitled, we must either laugh or feel offended at the folly or falsehood of this world. In truth, it is madness to expect any new benefit from so many thousand books; indeed, for this very reason because there *are* so many thousands.

‘Apart from this abuse of letters, who would deny that the mighty revolution both in intellectual capacity and in language, which has raised literature to that height of cultivation in which we now exult, was immediately connected with the rise of protestantism? Like that giant hero of old, who intercepted in his powerful hand the lightning, which would have smitten the capitol, and hurled it back upon the ancient deities, it has assumed the entire mastery of all the powers of language, and in the German Bible (of Luther) laid that foundation of rock on which the modern church is founded. In the same manner has that spirit of which he was sent as the messenger, continually cherished, together with the freedom of thought, the cultivation of thought also, and from protestant schools and universities has gone forth almost all the erudition of science, of language, and literature.’

The grand defect in all German protestantism is in Menzel’s estimation its equivocal position, its indecisive character, or as he

* That is, of the Bible as thus studied. The passage may be illustrated by the following sentence from Dr. Pusey’s work. Speaking of Baumgarten, he says, “The Scriptural freshness which doctrinal theology and Scriptural interpretation had recovered in the school of the Pietists, was, in that same school, in a different mode destroyed. The tabular method, the dialectic precision, the abstract language, which he employed, humanized and straitened the divine truth; the fulness of the Christian ideas admits not of being compressed into narrow logical formulæ, the free and living spirit which animated its language, evaporated in the minute dissection of his dialectic anatomy.” —p. 131.

terms it, "die kirchliche halbeit;" more especially as manifested in its disgraceful dependence on the civil power. On this subject he often uses language so strong that it would seem to imply that he is almost, if not quite, a "voluntary." Can any reader wonder at it after reading the last paragraph of the following statement?

'The dark side of protestantism, the source of all its disadvantages, infirmities, and errors, is the undecided, ambiguous character of the church. This belongs as much to its outward government as to its inward doctrine. Protestantism has been left standing half way; it is the *juste milieu* which subsequently to the Reformation was introduced into church affairs; just like that system which since the Revolution we have lived to see introduced into politics. It has thrown off the fetters of the ancient church, but still has not achieved its entire freedom. Luther, when he had emancipated the *spirit* from its ecclesiastical captivity, again set bounds around it, and left it in fact only in the fore-court of the prison, but not beyond the walls.

* * * *

'It is notorious that the protestant church was at its very origin a tool of worldly politics, and was left dependent on worldly power. Protestantism prostrated itself as deeply before the thrones of princes as the Romish church had raised itself above them. At first, and while religious enthusiasm was still glowing hot, even the protestant clergy in the character of royal chaplains, court preachers, and diplomatists, naturally played an important part. But with the age of Louis XIV. all this ceased. The black frock gave way to the green; in the place of fat confessors, entered mistresses, and merry companions of the chase; and the protestant clergy again sunk back into the category of the lower officers. * * *

'When the Jesuits of Dillengen, a century ago, attempted to establish the position that to absolute monarchy the Catholic faith was more advantageous than the Protestant, the prelate Pfaff, of Tübingen, drove him victoriously out of the field with the counterproof that no church was so servile as the Lutheran. When a court parson at Copenhagen, Dr. Masius, ventured openly to affirm that princes ought to be of the Lutheran religion, not so much from the fear of God, as for the sake of securing their worldly advantage, because none but the Lutheran faith directly asserted the divine origin of the kingly power without the intervention of a still higher *spiritual* power; and because among none but Lutherans was the secular monarch at the same time a bishop, consequently, emperor and pope both together;—when Masius asserted this, and the chivalrous champion for truth and right, the never to be sufficiently praised

‘ Thomasius, was the only one amongst all his contemporaries who had sufficient courage to censure such an impious publication, all fell upon that worthy man: they designated his opinion that religion should be of use for something else than fortifying absolute monarchy as high treason; he was compelled to fly from Leipsic (where they confiscated all his property) to escape a prison, and perhaps death, while in Copenhagen his reply to his adversary was triumphantly burnt by the hands of the common hangman.

‘ Such was the state of things at that time; in the main point, however, there has been no alteration since. The episcopal dignity is still inseparable from worldly monarchs, and the church is ruled by the orders of the cabinet. The consistories, it is true, *appear* to possess a sort of aristocratic power, but it is in appearance only; they are in reality merely the organ of the ministry. From the cabinet they receive the liturgy, the priestly vestments, the texts of their sermons, and directions as to how they are to apply the word of God to the circumstances of the times. The subaltern clergy are drilled just like the inferior officers of an army. In a word, there are priests no longer, but merely state-servants in black uniforms.’

To these causes principally, though not wholly, he attributes that painful state of religious *indifferentism* which, till within these few years, has so extensively characterized Germany. He adds the following circumstances which in his opinion have also tended to produce the same result.

‘ Hence the characteristic symptom of the Protestant world—*religious indifferentism*.

‘ To this state of things, two circumstances appear to have especially contributed, to which less attention is paid than they deserve. In the protestant worship, everything depends upon the *personal qualities* of the officiating clergyman. To the Catholic all churches are alike; he performs his devotions in them, even without a clergyman, or it makes very little difference upon whom the duty devolves. But with Protestants everything depends upon the personal character of the preacher; they come merely on his account, and only when he is there; their eyes are directed to him alone; he is the only subject of their thoughts; for besides him there is in Protestant churches nothing else to attract attention. The senses and the thoughts of those who are present are designedly withdrawn from everything else, and turned to the preacher. He has it now in his power either to elevate or degrade devotion and religious feeling. If he is himself pious, animated by a holy zeal, possessed of distinguished eloquence, he will probably be able to produce a much greater effect than a Catholic priest (who is in his church more a thing than a

‘ parson) is able to produce. But if the preacher is without true
 ‘ piety, without gifts and talents, one of the drowsy race of for-
 ‘ malists, or it may be a vain child of the world, tricked out in
 ‘ priestly raiment, he will surely be far less capable of nourishing
 ‘ a sense of religion than a Catholic priest who is aided by so
 ‘ many extraneous circumstances. Distinguished success or igno-
 ‘ minious failure attends the Protestant clergyman; he can both
 ‘ make the church the favorite resort of his charge, and inspire
 ‘ them all with disgust for it. And alas! there are but too many
 ‘ ungifted preachers, and that without any *higher* consecration.
 ‘ It is these who scare away the educated classes from the
 ‘ church, retaining in it only the ignorant herds whose devo-
 ‘ tion they degrade into a worthless routine of Sunday for-
 ‘ malities, which are no whit better than that repugnance to the
 ‘ church which is felt by the more educated. Indifferentism is the
 ‘ characteristic of both. The one are content with poor wishy-
 ‘ washy sermons just because it is the fashion to occupy their
 ‘ pews in their Sunday finery. The other become cool towards
 ‘ religion, because they find it impossible to listen to such mise-
 ‘ rable preaching.—The *second* circumstance is the system of
 ‘ catechetical instruction. The honest old Meister, in his little
 ‘ work on the imagination, says very properly, ‘ Cornelius Nepos
 ‘ and the catechism are the objects of our abhorrence for life, simply
 ‘ because we have learned them under the rod.’ He expresses
 ‘ himself perhaps somewhat too strongly, but the observation is
 ‘ in substance very correct and striking. Many men cannot even
 ‘ in age, and under the conviction that they were necessary for
 ‘ them, look upon those catechetical books which have cost them
 ‘ so many tears, and such weariness, without secret aversion.
 ‘ This play of fancy which conjoins with the most hallowed and
 ‘ the worthiest objects, associations of the pedagogue and his rod,
 ‘ has promoted religious indifferentism far more than one would
 ‘ suppose.’

That stupendous revolution of theology which issued in all the desolation of modern rationalism, our author concurs with Pusey (see his work on theology in Germany) in attributing mainly to the absurd and straightlaced orthodoxy* which succeeded the Reformation, when the genuine spirit of religion had become almost extinct, and a mechanical adherence to technical and frivolously minute confessions was substituted for it; when the “spirit” was driven out, and the “letter,” as Menzel and other writers on German theology are fond of terming it, supplied its place. This

* Menzel calls it *der Buchstabenglaube*, and the orthodox party, *die Buchstabenglaubigen*.

system gradually became more and more rigid, and drew straiter and straiter the bonds about the spirit; it imposed the most minute and frivolous matters in the symbolical books with the same strictness as those of the greatest moment, allowed not the slightest latitude in interpreting those books and insisted upon the uniform and implicit reception of the one interpretation which ecclesiastical authority determined on. Is it any wonder that the spirit of religion should almost utterly vanish amidst the ceaseless contention about the most insignificant forms? Of the almost incredible extent to which this system was carried out, several instances are given in the work of Pusey.*

“The history of Christian controversy (says Pusey) scarcely exhibits more unhappy, more unpractical, and frequently presumptuous polemics, than many of those which distracted the German church after the death of Luther, unless perhaps in the eastern controversies on the person of the Redeemer, or the endless straw-splittings of the schoolmen.
* * * * * Abounding in technical formulæ (whether from the aristotelic scholastic philosophy, or from the scholastic theology) in straw-splitting distinctions, in endless problems and deductions, the systems of the age were rather a massive repertorium of all which might be accumulated on doctrinal theology, than a clear exposition of the Christian doctrine itself.”

This system necessarily led to a strong reaction; indeed it did so at a comparatively early date, though a reaction of a very different character from that which issued in rationalism. It led to the *reforming* efforts of the excellent and truly evangelical Spener and Arndt, of whose characters and labours Menzel always speaks in language of the highest respect. According to Menzel this “dead orthodoxy,” as he calls it, “lay in the seventeenth century, like an Alp on all North Germany,” and is calculated to inspire the reader of the “frivolous controversies” to which it gave rise “with horror.” But we must now proceed to give his masterly sketch of those monstrous and still more mischievous perversions of modern rationalism, of which this “dead orthodoxy” in his estimation was a very principal cause.

“Whilst a multitude of sceptics, atheists, deists, and materialists, since the time of Voltaire and Hume, or since the appearance of the Wolfenbittel fragments, were audaciously renouncing the church, or openly manifesting their open hostility to it, or at the farthest acquiesced in it with indif-

* Even the collocation of the first two words of the Lord's prayer formed matter of controversy. It was disputed whether it should be “*unser Vater*” or “*Vater unser!*”

ference; there was forming *within* the church a peculiar kind of *miners*, who under the mask of attachment to it and to the true faith, lived in precisely the same unbelief. These gentlemen laughingly teach their *dear* theological youth that unbelief is the true apostolical original faith—the system proved both by reason and scripture. Christ—they deny him not—he is with them a truly *delightful* man; they make him talk, however, all their insipidities, and by a little exegetical juggling turn him now into a Kantian, now into a Hegélian, and now into some other *an*, just as master professor pleases. In our learned age everything depends simply upon the art of *interpretation*; a man might in truth be a Bonze and swear upon the symbolical books of Fo, and yet by means of a dexterous exegesis invest the stupid books with as reasonable a meaning as a man would desire to see. The *words* they suffer to stand as they are; but then they attach to them a totally different meaning. Ought mental reservation to be considered the entailed estate of the Catholic clergy? Ought it to be given only to the sly Jesuits—the only party even among the Catholics who practised it? Are not *we* also a cunning people? Yet I will not be unjust; something base there is in the matter undoubtedly; but perhaps it lies not in the end, but simply in the means! The people *will* not play the hypocrite; and these persons believe that they must do it, only with a good design, that of furthering by this pious fraud the true interests of humanity. They desire, in this regular, legitimate, and ecclesiastical manner, gradually and imperceptibly and simply by the artifices of translation, to metamorphose the old stupid faith into the modern wisdom of rationalism. In the life-long attempts to convert, by their exegetical rooting, and grubbing, and clipping, the mighty forest of the Scriptures—reposing in its deep-rooted strength, towering in majestic growth to heaven, and interlaced with innumerable creeping plants, tendrils, and luxuriant flowers,—into a little bald, barren rationalistic system of some semi-Kantian or semi-Hegélian, crossed with a couple of mathematically-clipped yew-hedges in the French style of gardening, and just kept alive by some nice little philosophical streamlet;—in such life-long attempts, I say, there may be, if we will, something exciting; but it will be at least lamentable, if when the labour is finished some fifty years hence, and the vigorous workman wishes to rejoice in his work, he should behold another generation arising, who see the forest still standing; that “ancient sacred wood” on which never axe was lifted up; who maintain that all that the workman had done was mere illusion; that he had hewn down the wood only in his own imagination, and that the pretty little barren yew-clipped garden existed nowhere but in his own rationalist brains!

‘The absurdity of wishing, by any subtlety, to extract *their* reason out of the Bible would perhaps be inexplicable if these gentlemen did not attach to such a derivation of their principle great practical importance. The Bible and their reason are incompatible; why should they not suffer them to remain asunder? Why should they attempt violently to harmonize things which are and ever will be discordant?—Answer: Although they may be convinced of the infallibility of their reason, yet a certain instinct tells them that this reason wants something to make it *efficacious*; and so they do not disdain to make even the Bible, by duly disciplining and interpreting it, play the part of a witness in their favour,—that very Bible which they themselves despise, which is so sore a stumbling-block in their way, which indeed they often hate, but which by the people is still accounted *holy*. The Bible is already in unquestioned possession of authority; they well know how much that authority is worth, and they endeavour therefore to establish themselves in that possession. If the Bible was not, by its spirit and its letter, of supreme authority in our parishes, there is not a rationalist who would trouble himself about the burdensome book.

‘The manner in which the Bible is now mal-treated, for the purpose of torturing out of it the modern reason of the rationalists, is as edifying as it is various. One party, at the head of which stands Paulus of Heidelberg, tell us, that the Scripture narratives must be acknowledged as records of matters of fact, but that they are only *in appearance* miracles, and may always be explained in a *natural* manner. That Christ was at the marriage-feast is true; that wine instead of water was offered to the guests, is equally certain; but that Christ did not change the water into wine by a miracle, but merely substituted the one for the other by a pretty little piece of jugglery! Lazarus was not awakened from death, but only from suspended animation, for Christ was no worker of miracles, but it may be an excellent physician, &c. Another party reject the truth of the *facts*, and explain the Scripture narratives as myths and parables, in which the philosophy and the mythical wisdom of earlier times concealed itself. To this purpose has Strauss recently written a very acute book. Steffens has very wittily pointed out the contradiction in this two-fold exegesis of the rationalists, and has asked, “Whether men would explain poetical prodigies on the principles of physical science?”

‘Neither of these modes of interpretation however go the length of shaking the veneration due to the *person* of Christ. In spite of all *physical* interpretations, we behold in him the **SUBLIME IDEAL OF THE MORAL WORLD**, and that remains *an eternal miracle*. In spite of all *mythical* interpretations, we

‘ behold in Him the destroyer of the ancient heathenism, the founder of a new and entirely different era, the new Adam, the first-begotten of the Spirit of God, the Father of a new and spiritual race.’

It is gratifying to reflect that a man of Menzel’s fine genius, whose influence over German literature must be great, and will be greater and greater, has thus denounced these shallow and superficial systems of theology. It is still more gratifying to think that there is other and more decisive evidence that Rationalism has already received its death-blow. The experiment has been made and has been found unsuccessful, of substituting any form of deism for the religion of the New Testament, as it is plainly and clearly inscribed on the pages of that book itself. A new class of theologians has lately sprung up, and a spirit of simple and truly evangelical piety is beginning to diffuse itself amongst large masses of the people. Of these theologians Tholuck (of whom by the by Menzel speaks in terms of unqualified respect) will deserve to be had in everlasting remembrance, for the intrepidity and perseverance with which he pleaded for evangelical truth when Rationalism was paramount, and amidst the scoffs and opposition of men whose impudent monopoly of *reason* tends to inspire them with self-conceit and arrogance, and that insolent disdain of their opponents, which to some tempers is as hard to bear as the fiercest persecution.

ART. X. BRIEF NOTICES.

Detached Pieces, including Critiques on various Publications, Historical Sketches, Biographical Notices, Correspondence, &c. &c. By ADAM CLARKE, LL.D. Vol. I. London: Tegg & Son. 1837.

This volume constitutes the tenth of Dr. Clarke’s Works now in the course of publication, and the first of three to be devoted to his detached writings. Its contents are of course very miscellaneous, but they will not on this account be less interesting to a large class of readers. Many of the papers are reprinted from the first series of our own journal, to which Dr. Clarke was a frequent and very valuable contributor; and their intrinsic excellence and permanent interest fully entitle them to such a distinction. If we are not greatly mistaken, the three volumes, of which the one before us constitutes the first, will be more extensively read than any other of the series to which they belong.

Poems. By WILLIAM COWPER. *To which is prefixed, a Memoir of the Author.* By JOHN M’DIARMID. Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd. 24mo. 1837.

The Poetical Works of Thomas Campbell. Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd. 24mo. 1837.

These neat pocket editions of two popular poets will be an acceptable present to a large circle of readers. The authors of ‘The Task,’ and of ‘The Pleasures of Hope,’ though belonging to different classes, are held in similar regard by all admirers of unsophisticated nature and of pure poetry. They very deservedly rank high, and the circulation of their writings, while it contributes to the gratification of the intelligent, will also be found to strengthen the virtuous emotions of the human heart. Few lovers of poetry can now complain of their inability to procure these favourite productions of the Muse.

Discourses on the Application of Christianity to the Commercial and Ordinary Affairs of Life. By THOMAS CHALMERS, D. D. and LL. D. Glasgow: William Collins. 1837.

This volume constitutes the sixth of Dr. Chalmers's Works. The discourses which it contains have been too long before the public, and have been too extensively read to call for any other notice from us than an announcement of their re-appearance in a cheaper and more portable form. Seven new discourses have been added in the present edition, respect-

ing which the author says, 'In the selection of these we have been guided by the consideration, that the duty of citizens, and the duty of Christian philanthropists, and more especially the duty of those who belong to the humbler classes of society, are at all times topics of pressing and peculiar interest in those places where commerce has assembled together its masses of large and contiguous population. The Christianity, which is all things to all men, can adapt its lessons to all the possible varieties of human life.'

ART. XI. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Just Published.

A Narrative of the Adventures and Escape of Moses Roper, from American Slavery. With a Preface, by the Rev. Thomas Price, D.D.

Colonial Laws, as examined by a Committee of the House of Commons, in the year 1836. Exhibiting some of the principal discrepances between those laws and the Imperial Act of Abolition.

The Mauritius; an exemplification of Colonial policy; addressed to the Electors of Cambridge and Devonport.

A Narrative of Events since the First of August, 1834. By James Williams, an apprenticed labourer in Jamaica. Third Edition.

A Statement of Facts, illustrating the administration of the Abolition Law, and the sufferings of the negro apprentices, in the island of Jamaica.

A Complete Latin and English Dictionary, for the use of Colleges and Schools. Chiefly from the German. By the Rev. J. E. Riddle, M.A.

New and Conclusive Physical Demonstrations, both of the Fact and Period of the Mosaic Deluge, and of its having been the only event of the kind that has ever occurred upon the earth. By George Fairholme, Esq.

Sketches from Life; Lyrics from the Pentateuch; and other Poems. By Thomas Ragg.

Dr. Adam Clarke's Works, Vol. XI., being the second volume of Detached Pieces: including Critiques on Various Publications, Historical Sketches, Biographical Notices, Correspondence, &c.

In the Press.

A Memoir of Mrs. Harriet Wadsworth Winslow, combining a sketch of the Ceylon Mission, by Miron Winslow, one of the Missionaries; with an Introductory Essay, by the Rev. James Harrington Evans.

Notes on Nets, and other Matters. By the Hon. and Rev. Charles Bathurst, LL.D., late Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford.

Elisha. By F. W. Krummacher, D.D., Author of 'Elijah the Tishbite.'

On the 1st. of Aug. will be published, in 1 vol. 8vo., A History of British Quadrupeds. By Thomas Bell, F.R.S., Professor of Zoology in King's College. This work will be illustrated by figures, engraved in the very best manner, on Wood, of every British animal, together with many illustrative vignettes.

Sir John Barrow, is preparing the Life of Admiral the Earl Howe, K.G., from authentic MSS. never before published, consisting of 400 to 500 Letters in the Earl's own hand-writing; his Private Journal while at Sea with his Flag, &c. &c.

The Poetical Works (now first collected) of the late Thomas Pringle, Secretary to the Anti-Slavery Society, are about to be published for the benefit of his Widow, to which will be prefixed, a Memoir and Portrait of the Author.

THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR SEPTEMBER, 1837.

Art. I. *Speech of John Poynder, Esq., at a General Court of Proprietors of the East India Company, on the 21st of December, 1836, upon a motion for carrying into effect the Letter of the Court of Directors of the 20th of February, 1833, which ordered the withdrawal of British patronage and support from the worship and service of Idolatry, and the extinction of all Taxation arising from the Superstitions of Heathenism.* Hatchard, 1837.

IT is among the most gratifying circumstances of the times in which we live—after making the fullest deductions which can be claimed by opponents—that the spiritual and eternal interests of our fellow men are more than ever considered—and that in proportion as the honour of God is thus promoted in the growth and advancement of a kingdom which is not of this world, a progressive amelioration in the comfort of all about us, both at home and abroad, is sensibly advancing in an equal degree. That holiness and happiness are indissolubly connected, under a system of which the declared author and head is ‘LOVE,’ can never be doubted by any believer in divine revelation; but it is grateful to a well ordered mind to be enabled to trace the increasing evidences of this great truth, and we esteem it no small privilege to record our own conviction, derived from all recent, as well as ancient testimony, that the godliness which is profitable for all things has eminently the promise of both worlds—of the life that now is as well as of that which is to come. Perhaps there is hardly a better demonstration of this fact than is

offered in the history of British India—as developed in our own days, and passing under our own eyes. We may advert in the first instance to the recent abolition of the cruel and sanguinary practice of suttee—or the burning of widows—so long continued throughout India as a religious rite. It will not be disputed, we presume, that—as a mere question of human policy, having reference only to the deserted children of these unhappy women—it was highly desirable that some step should be taken to rescue the 666 widows, who, according to our parliamentary returns, were annually offered in sacrifice to Moloch. Yet strange as it may appear, this is only a recent triumph of our common Christianity; and this fact will appear yet stranger when it is remembered that even antecedently to the introduction of Christianity, some of the heathens were enabled by the mere light of nature to discern the evil of similar practices, and actually to abolish them. It is very remarkable that the Romans (though heathens themselves) put an end to human sacrifices in this country, nearly two centuries before the introduction of Christianity among us. The Romans conceived such an aversion to the Druids—the then high priests of these abominations, whose inhumanities are minutely described by Diodorus Siculus (Lib. 5)—that contrary to the ordinary policy observed by that people in their conquests, of invariably tolerating the religion of the country, they resolved upon an utter extirpation of these priests and their cruelties. It appears from Pliny (Lib. 30, c. 1), that human sacrifices were first forbidden at Rome by a decree of the senate [ab urbe condita 657] when Lentulus and Crassus were Consuls, but that some still continuing them privately, the emperor Augustus renewed the prohibition with effect. The emperor Tiberius then suppressed them in Gaul, and Claudius, as appears from Suetonius (in Claud. 25), extirpated the Druids, as well as their sanguinary worship in that country. Such sacrifices, however, subsisted in our own land, as appears from Pomponius Mela (de situ Orbis Lib. 3, c. 2), until about the 60th year of the Christian era, when the Roman general, Paulinus Suetonius, having reduced the island of Anglesea, overthrew the Druids and their inhuman rites, so completely, that they never afterwards revived. From all this it appears that our heathen conquerors, the Romans, did more for us than we were willing, until recently, to do for ourselves. The first individual, perhaps, who effectually opened the eyes of some few among us to our solemn duty in this particular, was the late Dr. Buchanan, whose sermon before the Church Missionary Society soon after his return from India, the writer of this article will never forget. It was next to impossible to hear unmoved his heart-stirring appeal to the proprietors of East India stock, on their deep

responsibility, in reference to the direct encouragement afforded by them to the wretched devotees of a false and cruel superstition, among whom they were bound not merely to have diffused a system of truth and purity opposed to such abominations, but at the same time to have prohibited the commission of murder, under any pretext, but above all, upon the score of religion.

It was not, however, until several years after this public protest, that any one of the many proprietors of East India stock (among whom we deeply regret to say that there were—as there now are—many of the clergy of the National Establishment, duly receiving their annual dividends,) felt it to be his duty to bring the subject before the Court of the East India Company. But at length, on the 28th of March, 1827, the gentleman whose recent speech in the same Court forms the heading of the present article, made a motion, having for its object a recommendation to the Court of Directors to transmit such instructions to India as might hereafter prevent all ‘such rites and ceremonies as should involve the destruction of human life.’ In advocating this object, Mr. Poynder went into elaborate proofs, for several hours, of the character and extent of the flagitious immolations of the females of India, conducted with the concurrence of the priests under the open permission or silent connivance of the government authorities. He proved abundantly that the cases were comparatively few in which these sacrifices were voluntary, by far the greater part of them having been submitted to under the sanction of the priesthood—while the victims themselves were always subjected to the influence of intoxicating or narcotic drugs, and were very frequently sacrificed with open violence;—the property of the widow becoming the subject of sacerdotal plunder, and her offspring being of course forsaken and left to perish. Our limits preclude all attempts to give any idea of the arguments adduced by Mr. Poynder in support of his motion. His speech was published by Messrs. Hatchard, and may be consulted by such of our readers as are interested in the history of this question. It will hardly be believed, that the then chairman, Sir G. A. Robinson, and one of the present directors the Hon. Hugh Lindsay (then deputy chairman), openly opposed this attempt; but so it was—for they brought forward an Amendment declaratory of the confidence reposed by the proprietors in their executive body, and intended to overthrow, *in limine*, the motion which, sought only in the most respectful terms to refer to the executive body, the gradual abolition of these inhuman sacrifices ‘consistently with all practicable attention to the feelings of the natives.’ In spite of this attempted Amendment, supported as it was by the whole influence of the Court,

such was the irresistible force of truth, and such the manly eloquence, and the strong common sense which were brought to bear upon the subject by the late Mr. Randal Jackson, and by Mr. Rob. Humphrey Martin (a Protestant Dissenter), who yet survives, that, for once, a motion made and supported by the chairman and his deputy, and advocated by the whole directors, was reluctantly withdrawn, and (a thing almost unprecedented and unknown in the debates of that Court) the motion for relief was eventually carried. Under the instructions which afterwards went out to India—though far from conclusive or positive—the then Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, acting in a manner worthy of the representative of the British sovereign, with a single stroke of his pen decreed the abolition of those foul and inhuman murders which had been for so long a series of years inflicted by sons on their own mothers. Undeterred by a formal appeal, purporting to be from the native idolaters of Calcutta, but in reality got up by certain interested merchants and agents of our own company, his lordship chose to interpret the irresolute and half-hearted directions which he received from home, into a prohibition of scenes at once dishonourable to the great Creator of the Universe, and injurious to the most unprotected and helpless of his creatures.

It is hardly necessary to state that this Appeal was forwarded by his lordship to this country, or to add, that the British sovereign, with the advice of his privy council, confirmed the righteous adjudication of his viceroy,—holding that the destruction of human life was not the less, but rather the greater murder, when perpetrated under the abused name of religion. However much had been thus effected, it was still evident that much remained to be done. If so many hundred women, chiefly of early age, and the mothers of families, were no longer delivered up every year to the flames, it was too evident that, while the British power, in addition to the toleration of the grossest idolatry (for which toleration there might be much to urge), was content to receive the profits of a large taxation upon the whole temple-worship—on every pilgrimage—every procession—and every penance—it was a partaker in all the crimes of idolatry; nay, that while it kept up the entire system by paying a large and laborious band of pilgrim hunters (as they are termed), whose duty it was to feed the temples with visitants of both sexes and of all ages, from all parts of India, it was clear that the government mixed up with the whole heathen idolatry. By paying the priests, and the prostitutes attached to the several temples—by providing the food of the gods—by furnishing the idols—by decorating the shrines—by repairing the roads leading to the temples—by building and maintaining the idolatrous cars, the

government furnished the natives with a ready answer to all who sought to teach them the gospel, and which they never failed to advance; namely, that it was obvious the British government itself saw no difference, and made no distinction between heathenism and Christianity. There appeared this further aggravation in the large revenue derived by us from the open taxation of the whole idolatrous worship; namely, that while in the case of the widow burning, only the Brahmins were the better for the sacrifices, and no European shared in the traffic of iniquity; the entire system of heathen worship, from the highest offering made at the principal temple, down to the lowest act of worship at a sacred stream (including every penance of whatever nature), was the subject of a larger or smaller payment, the produce of which, after deducting the charges of our own collectors and agents, finally found its way into the treasury at home, and enabled the Company, in addition to its profits of trade, to pay $10\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to its several proprietors! It is indeed manifest that this was the secret reason of all the difficulty that has occurred in our withdrawing from the general taxation of idolatry, while, as no such obstacle presented itself in the particular case of the suttees, the task of securing the abolition of widow burning became comparatively easy. Of this taxation the *net produce* in seventeen years (after payment of every possible outgoing), from only four of the principal temples (namely, Gya, Juggernaut, Allahabad, and Tripetty), was proved to be a sum very little short of one million of pounds sterling! all which, together with much other important matter bearing upon the general question of British participation in idolatry, was further brought by Mr. Poynder before the India Court, on the 22nd of September, 1830.

On this occasion he proved, from incontestable documents received from all parts of India, the extent of the evil in question, and the impossibility (humanly speaking) of ever effectually diffusing the light of the gospel while we were openly deriving large pecuniary advantages from idolatry. All this, it will be observed, was thirteen years after the public protest of Dr. Buchanan, not merely against the murderous rite of the suttee, but against the encouragement extended by the Company with one hand to the foulest vice, and the grossest ignorance, while with the other it was affecting to set up Christianity. Adverting to this delay, in the Preface to his second speech, printed in 1830, Mr. Poynder asks, ‘Why, when their own chaplain had so long since detailed as an eye witness the abominations of Juggernaut, and our participation in the spoil, was that disgraceful triumph of idolatry permitted to receive our continued encouragement, and why was it still supported with increasing attractions. Whoever,’ adds Mr. P., ‘may administer or control the affairs of the Company, they are evidently mere trustees for the British public, and not for that

‘portion of it alone which may charge itself with the political or pecuniary relation in which that great corporation stands to the state, but for the whole of that public as openly professing the Christian faith, in virtue of which, the Company is connected immediately with the National Church of England, and virtually with the whole church of Christ throughout the world. We are amenable, as a Company, far more for the support and extension of our common Christianity, operating as in that case, it cannot but do to the gradual and peaceable extermination of idolatry, than we are for the preservation of the national prosperity, and the aggrandizement of the public revenue; and if the Company can be shown to be openly and unnecessarily promoting the extension of idolatry to the injury and depreciation of true religion, she has forfeited her trust more signally and emphatically than she could have done by negligence or malversation in her pecuniary or commercial relations, precisely in the proportion that morals are of more importance than politics, and the interests of eternity superior to those of time.’

To this printed speech were appended the authentic accounts of receipt and expenditure, already referred to, but it must be remembered that far from comprising the numerous temples of India, they embrace only four of the chief.

The motion on this occasion had for its object a recommendation to the directors to call the attention of the government abroad to the subject, with a view to the removal of such a reproach from our empire; but, notwithstanding the fresh mass of evidence which had been collected on the moral pollutions and sanguinary character of Indian idolatry, and the open complaints from the whole of our foreign empire, of all who called themselves Christians, the Court of Directors divided against this temperate motion; nor did they indicate any intention of dealing with the mighty evil, until the House of Commons instituted a Committee, and examined witnesses on the question. The investigation, thus originated, aroused at length the attention of the president of the Board of Control, and of the Company, and the final result was the transmission of a Dispatch from the directors, dated the 20th of February, 1833, the secret history of which might perhaps be found interesting in no common degree, but to which we abstain from adverting, observing only that this document (signed as it eventually was by fourteen directors) was perhaps one of the most important state papers which has ever gone out to India since her connexion with the British empire. Without attempting to detail the masterly arguments by which its writer (whoever he was) demolishes the reasoning both of the ignorant and of the interested in favour of a revenue derived by a Christian empire from idolatry, we shall only notice the final decision and decree of the directors, namely: 1st. ‘That the in-

‘terference of British functionaries in the interior management of native temples—in the customs, habits, and religious proceedings of their priests and attendants—in the arrangement of their ceremonies, rites, and festivals, and in the conduct of their interior economy, SHALL CEASE. 2. That the Pilgrim Tax shall every where be abolished. 3. That fines and offerings shall no longer be considered as sources of revenue by the British government, and they shall no longer be collected or received by the servants of the Company. 4. That no servant of the Company shall hereafter be engaged in the collection, or management, or custody of moneys, in the nature of fines or offerings, however obtained, or whether furnished in cash or in kind. 5. That no servant of the Company shall hereafter derive any emolument from the above-mentioned, or any similar sources. 6. That in all matters relating to their temples, their worship, their festivals, their religious practices, and their ceremonial observances, OUR NATIVE SUBJECTS BE LEFT ENTIRELY TO THEMSELVES. 7. That in every case in which it has been found necessary to form and keep up a police force, especially with a view to the security of the pilgrims, or the worshippers, such police shall hereafter be maintained out of the general revenues of the country.’ Accounts are then called for, by the dispatch, of ten years’ receipts and expenses in the three presidencies. This dispatch was read in council at Calcutta, on July 13, 1833, when the Accountant-General of Bengal, and the governments of Madras and Bombay, were directed to furnish receipts and disbursements of the pilgrim and other taxes; and on the 9th of December, 1833, the council again ordered such returns. Of course no undue precipitance can be imputed to those Christians, whether abroad or at home, who, finding that the several years of 1834, 1835, and 1836, passed over without these returns, began very naturally to suspect that the authority of the Court at home was deliberately set at nought. Repeated inquiries, whether such a state of things was to be continued, accompanied by the loudest complaints as to the delay which had taken place, now poured in from India. On the 21st of Dec. last, Mr. Poynder deemed it his duty to bring the subject again before the General Body, and his speech on this third occasion of a public appeal to the Company has just been printed.

In proof that, notwithstanding the express orders of the Company, things continue precisely as they were, we can only give extracts from two of the letters which he read to the Court.

The first is from an individual of high rank and authority, (whom we understand to be the Bishop of Calcutta,) written from Juggernaut, and dated the 4th of June, 1835 (two years after the above dispatch had been received): ‘I have visited the

‘ valley of death—I have seen the den of darkness—Juggernaut
 ‘ has been trodden by these feet, and seen with these eyes, after
 ‘ thirty or forty years hearing and reading about it. Oh,
 ‘ Buchanan! How well do I remember your pious indignation
 ‘ when, nearly thirty years since, you visited this foul and horrible
 ‘ scene. My soul is moved within me even to trembling. The
 ‘ dread pagoda is situated in the vicinity of this village, called
 ‘ Boree, of which the narrow streets and wretched abodes are only
 ‘ emblems of the moral ruin and misery it diffuses. A town of
 ‘ 50,000 souls is held together by the direst superstition—no
 ‘ trade but sin, no art but delusion and lies, no bond of union but
 ‘ communion in idolatry. Nothing has yet been done to
 ‘ abolish these atrocities. The pilgrim tax is still collected about
 ‘ a mile from the town, and a ticket given to each wretched in-
 ‘ dividual to warrant his approach. The three cars of Juggernaut
 ‘ are built anew every year. The tributary villages furnish
 ‘ the quota of wood. The clothes and mantles are still furnished
 ‘ for the idle pageantry by British servants. The horrors are un-
 ‘ utterable. About 50,000 pilgrims pay the tax yearly, and
 ‘ 100,000 are let through as unable to do so; 150,000 altogether,
 ‘ of whom about one-third, or 50,000, perish by hunger, fatigue,
 ‘ and sickness, yearly. They are collected from all parts of
 ‘ India, and I stopped to ask some persons at one of the tanks
 ‘ How they were collected? By regular bodies of men, termed
 ‘ pilgrim-hunters, who travel over all India for the purpose, and
 ‘ when they have gathered a troop, drive them like sheep before
 ‘ them, till they reach the scene of plunder, cruelty, and lust.
 ‘ The larger number are women, who concert the plan for under-
 ‘ taking the pilgrimage unknown to their husbands and families,
 ‘ and start off at a moment. The abominations consequent may
 ‘ be judged of by this trait. When the caravans arrive, a per-
 ‘ petual fight takes place amongst the Pooree inhabitants, who
 ‘ shall receive them, so eager are the people to lodge, in other
 ‘ words, plunder the helpless wretches; and plundered they are,
 ‘ not only of all they possess or can procure, but of all they can
 ‘ borrow at immense interest. About five days finish the pro-
 ‘ cess; the stripped multitude then proceed on their return. The
 ‘ sick are uniformly left behind to whiten with their bones the
 ‘ accursed plains. Those plains are barren sands thrown up from
 ‘ the beach by the south-east monsoon. The seasons of festival
 ‘ are chosen, as it were, to heighten the misery, for instance,
 ‘ June, when the extreme heat is suddenly succeeded by the rains,
 ‘ and the cholera amongst the undefended crowds. The sick still
 ‘ sometimes throw themselves under the wheels of the Belial car,
 ‘ bands of music, troops of dancers, or prostitutes of the vilest
 ‘ order, noisy intemperate debauchery, with the most filthy and

‘unutterable pollutions in figures, exhibitions, and songs, make up the religious rites of Juggernaut.’

In another letter of the same date, the same writer says: ‘The horrors of the pilgrim tax still linger in existence, though condemned from home, and impose yearly upon 200,000 travellers the risk of death to one-third of the aggregate pilgrims.’ The same excellent and estimable informant, in a letter to a friend, only just received, writes: ‘You may tell Mr. Poynder that nothing has yet been done that I know of, about the pilgrim tax; the rupees are so much thought of!’

Letter from the Rev. ———, dated Cuttack, July 8, 1830, (two years from the receipt of the directors’ dispatch): ‘The return of the Rutt Jatra, or Car Festival of Juggernaut, which will be celebrated three days hence, reminds us that all the shame and guilt of a Christian government, supporting and cherishing idolatrous rites, continue to be persisted in, notwithstanding the noble expression which the Court of Directors gave of their abhorrence of such a course in their dispatch of the 20th of February, 1833. They justly argued.’ (He here re-capitulates the reasoning and result of the dispatch.) ‘The Indian government has left the whole business just where it was. It might have been supposed its members would be glad of the permission to wash their hands of the pollutions of heathenism; but no! they are content to remain providers for the gods. When we have looked on, as hundreds of thousands of our fellow-men were bowing down before the shapeless trunk of Juggernaut, and rending the air with their shouts, we have been oppressed with shame. It has been next to impossible to believe the fact that was before our eyes, that such multitudes were capable of the deep degradation we were looking on. But the shame has increased when we consider the part that is borne by our countrymen, at the head quarters of this abomination. Next Sabbath, on the first day of the week, the day on which a finished salvation was wrought for men, by the resurrection of the Lord Jesus Christ from the dead, on which he is exhibited throughout the world, for the healing of all its wretchedness, perhaps a hundred thousand pilgrims will be drawn together from all India, by a heathen missionary agency, paid by British hands, to worship an image, new made every year, of which, every board and daub of paint is furnished out of British coffers, to admire the pageantry of those new built cars which have just been constructed and ornamented under British superintendence and pay, and in part with British fabrics, furnished from the stores of government. The roads and fields of Orissa will be strewed with multitudes dying of starvation and disease, whose bones will remain to bleach there, because British patronage of

‘their superstitions allured them from their homes, where their wives and children will look for them again in vain. The sin and delusion of idolatry will be perpetuated, because it is upheld by those who know that it is sin and delusion, an offence to God, and a bane to man. It is sorrow enough that idolatry and its concomitant evils should exist; but it is more than sorrow, it is iniquity that they should be prolonged, and increased by men, who themselves profess to know God, and to serve him.’

‘I am bound to believe,’ says Mr. Poynder, after having defined the terms of his motion, and clearly established the facts on which it was based, ‘that no proprietors of India stock can possibly desire the present amount of dividend to be continued, if this would stand in the way of the directors’ righteous resolution, to abandon such an unhallowed source of profit. If any proprietors can dare to indulge such a wish, let him now rise in his place, and avow it in the face of this Christian country, and he will stand in no enviable minority.

‘I am equally bound to believe, that no collector, pilgrim-hunter, toll-gatherer, farmer of taxes, or any other agent or servant of the Company abroad, will any longer dare, for his own miserable advantage, to stand in the way of all the good that is decreed at home, as he tenders his present peace and his eternal interests.

‘It is impossible, in the utmost exercise of Christian charity, not to apprehend, that somehow, or somewhere, ‘the mammon of unrighteousness’ has had an operation; or, assuredly, long before this, the voice of this Court, and of this country, would not have been uttered in vain. I mention no names, and designate no places where an influence behind the throne, but greater than the throne itself, may have been in silent exercise. All I ask is, let it only have an end as soon as this Court shall have authoritatively declared that its hour is now decreed beyond the power of revocation.

‘But, anxious as I am, to press no harder at home than I am justified from facts, I do not disguise my impression that, if the directors now hesitate to act with a greater degree of vigour than they have ever yet displayed, they are from henceforth, the patrons and abettors of idolatry, because, ‘Qui non prohibet cum prohibere possit, jussit.’ ‘He that is not with me is against me,’ was the declaration of unerring authority.

‘It might, indeed, suit the infidel Gibbon, and our modern infidels after him, to eulogize the gay and elegant mythology of Greece and Rome, because he never read, or never believed, the first chapter of St. Paul’s Epistle to the Romans; but had he ever understood the wretched condition of the heathen world as it is there most faithfully and affectingly depicted, he would at once have admitted, that under such a system of darkness, the grossest uncleanness abounded, in spite of the highest intellectual cultivation, precisely as it now does in heathen India; he would have seen that as the lettered, and unlettered world alike, ‘by wisdom knew not God,’ so it pleased God by what that world esteemed, and still esteems, ‘the foolishness of preaching,

to save them that believe.' Without this gracious revelation of His will, we never could have known Him ourselves, for we were once 'carried about to these dumb idols,' and in the persons of our pagan ancestors, sacrificed our widows and children, suspended over the fire in wicker baskets to these deities of wood and stone.

'The duty thence resulting, of communicating the light we have received, is obvious; and either to withhold this divine revelation of His will from the ignorant and vicious, or to pull down with one hand (as we have too long done in India) that edifice of eternal truth which we profess to be erecting with the other, is alike inconsistent and criminal.

'It is not true, as certain infidel philosophers of all times have asserted, that it is the same thing whether men are Christians or pagans, and that they are no more responsible for their religious creed, than for the height of their stature, or the colour of their hair. To my own mind, one of the strongest collateral testimonies to the authenticity of divine revelation is, the actual condition, at this very hour, of all countries abandoned to no better instruction than the light and guidance of their own natural reason, and either not possessing, or rejecting the Word of God.

'For what purpose, I would ask, have the many millions of the East been subjected to British rule; and how is it that, when mighty thrones (and especially of late years) have been crumbling about us, and when powerful nations have been made the instruments of their mutual subjugation and destruction, Great Britain still sits as a queen, and gives laws to distant empires?

'Why has she been spared amidst the wreck of surrounding kingdoms, but to promote the glory of God in the diffusion of the everlasting gospel?

'What are any or all of the base and subordinate interests which are occasionally disputed and adjusted in this Court, or any of the pecuniary, and therefore perishing advantages which can be obtained by us from India, either collectively or individually, when brought into competition with the interests of the immortal soul, and the eternal destinies of man? 'In considering,' says the illustrious Charles Grant, 'the affairs of the world as under the control of the Supreme Disposer, and those distant territories as by strange events providentially placed in our hands, is it not reasonable, is it not necessary, to conclude, that they were given to us, not merely that we might draw an annual profit from them, but that we might diffuse among their inhabitants, long sunk in darkness, vice, and misery, the benign light and influence of truth, and the blessings of well-ordered society? and that in prudently and sincerely endeavouring to answer these ends, we may not only hope for some measure of the same success, which has usually attended all serious and rational attempts for the propagation of that pure and sublime religion, which comes from God, but best secure the protection of this providential government, of which we now see such awful marks in the events of the world.'

'It is surely high time that those Anglo-Indians, whose authority is estimated at so high a rate by many, should be informed by the Chris-

tian public, that, if *they* cannot appreciate the high designs for which it has pleased Almighty God to commit to our enlightened and highly-favoured country, the present and future destinies of above a hundred millions of people, there are those among us who better understand their own responsibility, as believing that pecuniary profit and secular patronage are objects of a very secondary character—legitimate, indeed, so long as they keep their place, and are used to higher and more honourable ends; but base and unworthy, to the last degree, when they deviate from their proper purpose, and become the chief, or only end of action, either in corporate bodies or private individuals.

‘It is because proprietors of this class are insensible to their own duties, that such as feel their responsibility are consigned to the loss of caste, and treated as ‘enthusiasts’ and ‘zealots,’ who would throw all India into confusion by propounding crude and ill-digested schemes of reform, in an empire where all the hold we possess is declared to depend upon the mere opinion of the natives; as if we could formerly have alienated that opinion by forbidding the murder of widows, or forfeit it now, by abandoning the taxation of idolatry!

‘Could it, however, be supposed for an instant, that the opinion of a nation were to be preferred to the judgment and favour of the Almighty, or even that empire itself might be retained upon any other principles than those which are in accordance with the declared will of the righteous Governor of the Universe, it might justly be feared that we should subject ourselves to the rebuke which was once pronounced: ‘Behold, ye despisers, and wonder and perish; for I work a work in your days—a work which ye shall in no wise believe, though a man declare it unto you.’

‘It is certain that this great work of emancipating the world from bondage like this will be accomplished, and if not by your instrumentality, still it must be effected; in order to which, it will be as easy to the same Almighty hand which has placed England on her present pinnacle of power, to hurl her into the gulf of empires now only known to history, as it was to raise her from nothing to her present dignity. As was once said of another great national deliverance, ‘Think not with thyself that thou shalt escape; for if thou altogether holdest thy peace at this time, then shall enlargement and deliverance arise from another place, but thou and thy father’s house shall be destroyed.’ I trust, however, that both England and her greatest commercial Company will better discern the day of their visitation.’—pp. 47—52.

We shall only add, that Mr. Poynder successfully examines the entire evidence got up (we will not say in what quarter) before the House of Commons Committee, in favour of continuing the revenue from idolatry, but our limits forbid its insertion. We cannot, however, keep back from our readers the following extract, respecting Dr. Carey, the earliest and most eminent of British missionaries in India:

‘Perhaps the Court will permit a short narrative here. It is now above forty years since, that an individual, obscure and indigent, pro-

ceeded to India for the purpose of introducing to its perishing millions, that gospel which he knew and loved. Such was, at that time, the indifference and jealousy of this great Company, that he and his companions were obliged to embark in a Danish vessel, and smuggle themselves to Bengal. This man laboured for years, with his own hands, in order to obtain the common necessaries of life for himself and his family; but, with every possible disadvantage, he acquired such a knowledge of the Bengalee and other dialects, as in seven years to present to India, and the world, the first complete version of the Bengalee New Testament, which was printed at Serampore, in the Danish territory, where the translator and his friends were obliged to fix, because the Company forbade their residence in its own jurisdiction. In the year 1804, when the college was founded in Calcutta, for the instruction of the Company's servants and officers in the oriental tongues, this once despised individual was besought to undertake the principal burden of tuition, and was appointed the Professor of the Bengalee, Maharratta, and Sanscrit languages. When he commenced his lectures (says his biographer, Dr. Wilson), there were scarcely any but *viva voce* means of communicating instruction; but he left not only the students of the language well provided with elementary books, but supplied standard compositions to the natives of Bengal, and laid the foundation of a cultivated tongue and flourishing literature throughout the country. He compiled a variety of philological works in several Eastern languages, for facilitating the progress of all future students. His zeal in the prosecution of natural science, (this Christian was surely no 'weak-minded zealot,') led him to form the best and rarest collection of botanical plants in the East. The unspotted integrity, warm benevolence, and dignified simplicity of his manners, won the esteem and confidence of the highest authority in the country. He lived to see the little missionary plant, which he had first introduced, amidst shouts of scorn and derision, shooting forth on every side, and extending its branches from Cape Comorin to the Himalayan mountains, and from the Indus to the borders of China, and then slept in peace, full of years and honour, in hope of a joyful resurrection. He was the pioneer and exemplar of most of the modern Missionary Societies, and enjoyed the testimony of the ancient Christian Knowledge Society to the value of his labours. Upwards of 213,000 copies of the Holy Scriptures have been issued in India, in whole or in part, in no fewer than forty languages and dialects, in a great measure, as a result of these modern exertions. I am unwilling to weary the meeting by enumerating the list of these several languages; but they will be found in the tenth Memoir of the Baptist Society respecting the translation of the Holy Scriptures into the Oriental languages by the Serampore Missionaries, published by Parbury and Allen, in 1834. I would here unroll an accurate and beautiful map, parcelling out the different districts of India in which these versions are circulated; but as it could hardly receive the consideration of so large an assembly, I should be unwilling to refer to it, for the sake of mere effect. I can, however, assure the Court that, while its merchants have been arguing about public or private trade, and been considering what were the best

spots for the growth of indigo or the culture of sugar ; how they might best escape the duties, or obtain the drawbacks ; in short, while monied men have been calculating (to use the strong and impressive figure of Mr. Burke) how India would 'cut up, and how she would tallow in the caul and on the kidneys'—there have been persons, men if you please, 'of whom the world was not worthy,' who (as the same writer has beautifully said) have 'trod an open but unfrequented path to immortality,' have looked far above the base and sordid things of time and sense, and tendered the eternal interests of their fellow-creatures, rather than the perishing concerns of an hour.'—p. 13.

The patient and profound attention with which this address was received throughout, by a large assemblage, was characteristic of a very altered and most improved state of feeling from that which we understand attended Mr. Poynder's earlier labours in this Court, and afford no small encouragement to those who embark in similar attempts to 'do the work of the Lord.' The motion referring the whole subject back to the Court of Directors, was unanimously carried ; but it is painful to be obliged to record, that the fresh dispatch which, in consequence, has gone out, is any thing but satisfactory, nay, we must add, is even worse than nugatory ; inasmuch as, instead of remonstrating upon the disgraceful delay of four years in executing a single direction of the dispatch of the 20th of February, 1833, it almost entirely consigns the great question at issue to a contemptuous oblivion, and merely calls for the unimportant returns of accounts already mentioned, upon which comparatively nothing was ever really made to turn. The withdrawal of the Company from the traffic of iniquity and the price of blood, had been positively—not contingently—decreed ; nor did it in any sense, or in any degree depend upon the transmission or refusal of such financial returns, whether our encouragement of the worship of idolatry, and our participation in its profits, should cease or continue. The accounts required four years ago were merely secondary and subordinate ; but the new dispatch has given to them an unnatural prominence, which is calculated to sink and suppress all notice of the great subject which is really before us, and threatens, at this advanced period of so momentous an inquiry, to throw the most unworthy and vexatious obstacles in the way of every servant of God, and every lover of his kind. 'An enemy hath done this ;' nor would it, as we are informed, be difficult to designate 'the wicked Haman' to whom so insidious an attempt may be referred. The directors, however (whether from want of consideration or otherwise), have made this letter their own by adding to it the sanction of their signatures ; and upon them must therefore rest its responsibility, so far as a human tribunal is concerned.

In the meantime, it seems of the utmost importance that parliament should no longer hesitate to speak out in the name of the

country; but yet, amidst the really important work which solicits their incessant attention, and is well entitled to it, we doubt if this particular subject, however overwhelming in itself, and momentous in its bearings, will be likely to attract the attention it demands, except as petitions shall pour in upon the legislature from all quarters, and which we therefore invite and recommend.

It is somewhat remarkable, as tending to show a consentaneous determination on the part of the authorities abroad, to cling to the sweets of idolatry, that since the East India proprietors have thus called the attention of the directors to their own dispatch to the supreme government in India, of the 20th of February, 1833, a very important document has arrived in this country, from the Presidency of Madras, in the form of a Memorial to the Governor in Council of Fort George, seriously complaining of the adverse influence exercised by a professedly Christian government, as affecting its Christian subjects. This memorial has been printed in Madras, and is signed by thirteen chaplains, thirty-seven missionaries, and one hundred and fifty-two European civil and military residents, of all ranks and stations. It was transmitted to the government of Fort St. George by the bishop, who, in his letter to Sir Frederick Adam (the Governor in council) accompanying it, and dated August 6, 1836, observes, that it ‘enumerates instances in which the memorialists feel aggrieved by practices and orders which seem to them contrary to the command of God, thereby subjecting them to the painful alternative of violating the dictates of their consciences, or incurring the displeasure of the government, and praying that the same toleration and exemptions which have long been granted to their heathen and mahomedan fellow-subjects, may be extended to the Christian members of that presidency.’ To which the bishop adds, ‘I FULLY CONCUR IN EVERY PART OF THE MEMORIAL, and I earnestly hope that it may be thought fitting to concede the full measure of relief prayed.’

The grievances complained of are—

1. That the Christian, civil, and military servants of the government, are required to attend heathen and mahomedan religious festivals, for purposes of respect.

2. That they are required to present offerings, and do homage to idols.

3. That the impure and degrading services of the pagoda are carried on under the supervision and control of the principal European, and therefore Christian, officers of the government, and the management and regulation of the revenues and endowments, both of the pagodas and mosques, are vested in them; that no important idolatrous ceremony can be performed, no at-

tendant of the various idols, not even the prostitutes of the temple be entertained or discharged, nor the least expense incurred, without the official concurrence and orders of the Christian functionary.

4. That British officers, with the troops of the government, are also employed in firing salutes, and doing other honours to mahomedan and idolatrous ceremonies, even on the Sabbath-day, and that Christians are thus often compelled, by the authority of government, to desecrate their own most sacred institutions, and to take part in unholy and degrading superstitions.

5. The Protestant soldiers, members of the Church of England, have also been required, contrary to the king's regulation, 'that every soldier shall be at liberty to worship God according to the forms prescribed by his religion,' to be present at, and participate in, the worship of the Church of Rome.

6. The last point noticed is the forcing of the poorer classes to draw the idol car, mostly without the slightest compensation, but which complaint appears to have been subsequently remedied.

They add, that by the requisition of these and similar duties, the memorialists sensibly feel that not only are Christian servants of the state constrained to perform services incompatible with their most sacred obligations, and that their just rights and privileges as Christians are infringed; but that our holy religion is also dishonoured in the eyes of the people, and public and official sanction and support are given to idolatry and superstitions destructive to the soul, and involving apostacy from the only true and living God.

This memorial is further supported by a long and ably reasoned Appendix, proving, from official documents, and the evidence of numerous facts, not only the horrors and abominations of the idolatrous worship in India, but the compulsory attendance of the servants of the state at the religious ceremonies of heathens, mahomedans, and papists.

It thus appears not merely that the Indian government is neglecting the employment of those legitimate means which the providence of God has placed at its disposal, for the instruction and illumination of a heathen empire, but that, in contravention of the most express orders from the parent government, it is actively engaging in imposing duties upon its own officers and servants of the most onerous and revolting character; that, forgetful of the first and most obvious principles of every well-ordered government, it is virtually renouncing its own allegiance to the revealed will of God, and is extending, even at this late period of the Christian era, the most direct encouragement to the grossest idolatry and crime, at the expense of the best and most honourable feelings of its own Christian population. It is evident

that such a state of things cannot expect to secure the blessing of God; that it has only existed too long already, and that it cannot be too speedily terminated.

It is painful to be compelled to add, that in spite of a memorial so largely signed, so ably reasoned, and so incontestably true, the Governor-General, Sir Frederick Adam, has returned to the bishop and the petitioners an answer, not merely cold and repulsive, but as we have good reason to believe nothing less than offensive and uncourteous—thus evincing the same determination to retain the unhallowed profits of all unrighteousness, as is now unequivocally demonstrated by the heads of the Company at home.

All this unenlightened and impolitic conduct, must, however, we are fully assured, give way the instant that this mighty empire shall speak out—as it has never yet done—and decree, with a power which none shall dare to resist, the fall of idolatry.

Let us not, however, be misunderstood. Neither have we, nor has Mr. Poynder, nor has any other friend of Christianity and India, been so weak and so blind, to the best interests of those whom we desire to serve, as to contemplate for a moment the employment of any hostile, coercive, or compulsory measures for the extension of our faith, or the overthrow of falsehood. Let not a hair of the head of any worshipper, however ignorant, be hurt while found in the exercise of his own worship—however erroneous—except indeed, as in the case of the suttees, where human life is in question, and the magistrate is bound to interpose. Only let us withdraw (as the Company has already decreed to do) from all taxation of the idolatrous worship, and all participation in its profits. Let us honestly leave these idolaters to support their own system, endeavouring at the same time to inculcate by all peaceable and practicable means the knowledge of divine revelation, and we cannot fail (however gradually) to overcome prejudice, and to establish truth. Once determining no longer to uphold by our own cupidity those false deities of wood and stone which are the work of men's hands—we shall soon see them fall of themselves before the ark. There has been no assertion employed from the beginning of 'this great argument' more untrue in itself, and better known to be so by those who have employed it, than the insinuation of a secret intention on the part of the friends of Christianity to employ the unhallowed weapons of constraint and force. The duty of leaving the blessed truths of the gospel to their own quiet and natural operation, while at the same time we keep our own hands from all pollution of bribes and imposts—is fully admitted and felt by every advocate of the truth. It is a steady adherence to this system which will eventually, in virtue of the divine promise, ensure the complete conversion of the whole empire of

mahomedanism and hindooism. We need, and ask, no other 'weapons of our warfare,' which is eminently 'spiritual.' But to suppose for a moment (with many inconsiderate persons) that any effectual work can be achieved for religion in the East, while the officers and servants of the government are suffered to pay themselves and their employers from the various abominations of idolatry, would be a folly of no ordinary character. It is a result which the agents of the Company neither propose nor expect, but it is our duty to tell them that they have too long, for the basest purposes, resisted the progress of divine truth, to be permitted any longer to stand between us and the sun. We repeat our strong conviction that, the nation has only now to speak out through its legitimate channels of appeal to the British legislature, and the work is done.

Art. II. *The Life of King Henry the Eighth, founded on Authentic and Original Documents, including an Historical View of his Reign, with Biographical Sketches of Wolsey, More, Erasmus, Cromwell, Cranmer, and other Eminent Contemporaries.* By PATRICK FRASER TYTLER, Esq., F.S.A. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd. 1837.

THE reign of Henry the Eighth constitutes one of the most remarkable periods of English history. Though the facts which it includes are generally known, its real character is but very partially understood. It is a debateable ground on which contending parties have constructed hostile theories. The seeds of mighty revolutions were then sown, which rapidly vegetated, and brought forth in succeeding reigns a strange mixture of good and evil. The momentous changes of which Henry's policy laid the foundation, have constituted his reign a point of deep interest to every student of constitutional history and of ecclesiastical reform. On his accession to the English throne, a feeling of high exultation pervaded the kingdom. The cautious policy of his father, which had reduced the feudal power of the nobles, had failed, from its parsimony and heartlessness, to conciliate the good feeling of the people. Henry the Seventh was one of the most wary and calculating politicians of his day. Cold-hearted, and of a subtle intellect, he sought at once to cripple the aristocracy, and to supersede the necessity for frequent parliaments,—and to a great extent he succeeded in both. The ancient nobility, who had long retained a monopoly of political offices, were supplanted by men chosen from the second class of gentry, while the parsimonious habits, and unconstitutional levies of the king, relieved

him from the necessity of appealing to the legislature for supplies. His decease was consequently regarded with exultation rather than sorrow. 'As for the disposition of his subjects towards 'him,' says Lord Bacon, in his too favourable history, 'it stood 'thus with him; that of the three affections, which naturally tie 'the hearts of the subjects to their sovereigns, love, fear, and reverence; he had the last in height, the second in good measure, 'and so little of the first, as he was beholden to the other two.'* Neither the nobility nor the people regretted the termination of his reign; but all turned to his successor—then in the bloom of youth, and distinguished by many showy and attractive qualities—with one strong feeling of exultation and hope. Knowing as we do what subsequently occurred, we may be disposed to censure the credulity and extravagant expectations of our fathers; but it must be acknowledged there was much to awaken joyous anticipations in the dullest and least sanguine mind. The young monarch was well educated, his disposition—so far as it had yet been exhibited—was frank, ingenuous, and noble; and his earliest measures betokened a love of literature and a desire for popularity. Henry had been designed for the church, and his education was accordingly theological. Thomas Aquinas was his favourite doctor, and the reputation of the papacy his early passion. But the death of his brother Arthur, opening his way to the throne, his prospects were entirely changed, without his early predilections being eradicated.

The court of the youthful monarch was the resort of many of the most eminent scholars of the day. Henry sought their society and encouraged their labours; and became, in consequence, the subject of their flattering panegyrics. England had already produced some distinguished scholars. The names of Linacre, Grocyn, Lille, Colet, and Sir Thomas More, deserve a high rank among the restorers of classical learning. They were the pioneers of that noble army which was speedily to enfranchise the intellect of their country, and to enlarge the bounds of human knowledge. Dean Colet was the founder of St. Paul's school, the first public seminary in which Greek was taught in England.

'It was this impulse of Christian charity,' Mr. Tytler justly remarks, 'in the founding of schools where the learned languages might be taught, which proved one of the means employed by Providence for bringing about the Reformation. We learn from Dr. Knight, that in the thirty years immediately before this great revolution, there were

* History of Henry VII. Bacon's Works. Montague's Edition, vol. iii. p. 413.

more grammar schools erected in the country, than had been endowed during three hundred years preceding.'—p. 33.

One of Henry's first acts was to invite Erasmus to England. That celebrated scholar took up his abode with Sir Thomas More, who was then living in comparative privacy, and shedding a mild lustre over the circle of which he constituted the glory. There were many points of resemblance in the characters of More and Erasmus. Both had caught the inspiration of the age, and had enriched their fine intellects with the treasures of ancient lore. Both prepared the way of the Reformation, by bringing contempt on the schools, and by lashing the vices of the clergy. They were theoretic advocates of human freedom, who luxuriated in their early works in the anticipation of a period, when a mild and tolerant policy would harmonize individual liberty with the general good. Yet both failed to justify the expectations they awakened. The timid and supple heart of Erasmus disqualified him for following the track to which his speculations pointed; while the theological prepossessions of More clouded his intellect and hardened his heart, against the perception of truth and the claims of humanity. The one became the opponent of Luther, his former correspondent and friend,—the other shaded his glory, by a heartless execution of a sanguinary code. No Englishman can rejoice in the dishonour of such a man as More. His calm dignity and domestic virtues, the freedom of his philosophical speculations, and the natural generosity of his heart,—all concur in making him the glory of his age, and only serve to exhibit in yet darker colours the atrocity of a system which could change him from a philanthropist to a persecutor,—from the herald of freedom to the dishonoured agent of priestly intolerance and cruelty.

Such were the men whom Henry in his better days gathered round him, and it is therefore no marvel that much was expected from his reign. The liberators of the human mind hailed his accession as an intellectual Millennium, and repaired to his court as their most appropriate dwelling. 'I wish often,' says Erasmus in a letter to the Archduke Ferdinand, 'that our court would imitate Britain, which is full of men most learned in all kinds of studies. They stand round the royal table, where literary and philosophical subjects are discussed relative to the education of a prince, or to some question of good morals. In short, the company of the palace is such, there is no academy you would not undervalue in comparison with it.*'

The events which followed fell lamentably short of so bright

* Turner's *Henry the Eighth*, i. 43.

a promise. Henry was the creature of caprice, the slave of impetuous passions, and he became in consequence the terror of his subjects and the dupe of his enemies. His foreign administration was as inglorious as any which England had seen. Without foresight, sagacity, or steadiness of purpose, he was tossed upon the ocean of European politics, where his fickleness and want of principle rendered him the derision and contempt both of friends and foes. Under a calm and sagacious statesman, England might have held the balance between France and Spain, and won more solid advantages than Agincourt or Cressy had yielded. But Henry, and his minister Wolsey, were incapable of any systematic and statesman-like plan of operations, and the power and treasury of England were, in consequence, idly wasted in continental struggles. The contemporary monarchs, Francis and Charles, were talented and ambitious,—equally unscrupulous in their pursuit of power, yet strikingly distinguished from each other in the general features of their character. The former was frank, impetuous, and chivalric; bold in his enterprises, uncalculating as to his means, and only intent on carrying out the system of aggrandizement, which his predecessor, Louis the Twelfth, had formed. Charles, on the other hand, was equally ambitious, but more cool and politic. He was a sagacious statesman, who rarely permitted his passions to master his reason, or suffered an opportunity to escape of laying the foundations of an extensive and splendid empire. Both were in the bloom of youth, and flushed with the hope of European ascendancy. Between such monarchs, at the head of two such empires, and inheriting the rivalry and hatred of their fathers, it was not to be expected that peaceful relations would long be maintained. Each regarded the other as his natural foe, and both calculated from the commencement of their reign on the deadly hostilities which ensued. Henry was speedily involved in their struggles, and vacillated from side to side, according to the whim of the moment, and the interested suggestion of his sordid and revengeful favourite. The passions of Wolsey determined the policy of his master, and these inclined to Francis or to Charles, according to the liberality of their flattery and presents. It was known throughout Europe that the English cardinal was the creature of the monarch who would bid highest for his favour; and the measures of his court was calculated accordingly.

The domestic policy of Henry is open to equal censure. Had his sagacity been equal to his opportunities, he might have inflicted a permanent injury on the liberties of his country. On his accession he inherited an immense treasure, which his father had accumulated; and in the latter part of his reign a large portion of the property of the nation was thrown into his hands by

the suppression of the monasteries. Had this wealth been husbanded, he would have been to a considerable extent independent of parliamentary supplies, and might have consolidated a power destructive of the growing influence of the Commons. But his thoughtless generosity and profuse expenditure kept him perpetually dependent. The wealth which might have gone far to render the monarchy despotic, was scattered amongst his minions with a heedless prodigality which won him no regard, and lent but a temporary influence to the crown. He was consequently compelled from time to time to appeal to the people; and though his parliaments were for the most part sufficiently servile, there were not wanting on some occasions indubitable evidence of the dissatisfaction which his exactions engendered. He submitted to the indignity of receiving a pension from Francis, and when this was withheld he resorted to the most illegal methods to supply his necessities. In the year 1523, Wolsey appeared in the House of Commons, and in defiance of parliamentary privileges, demanded, in an imperious and haughty manner, a fifth part of every man's goods. The scene acted on this occasion was worthy of a great council, and stands out in beautiful contrast with the obsequiousness by which the parliaments of this reign are usually characterized. Mr. Tytler well describes it in the following passage :

‘This extravagant demand was followed by a profound silence, as it had been already agreed amongst the members that, although Wolsey should be admitted, they should not so far compromise their privileges as to enter into any debate in his presence. Surprised at such a reception, the minister waited for some moments expecting a reply, but all was still; he then addressed himself to a particular member, who rose from his seat, and without a word resumed it; he turned impatiently to another, and the same dumb-show was repeated. Incensed at such contemptuous treatment, he lost his temper, and broke out into reproaches: ‘Gentlemen,’ said he, ‘as I am sent here immediately from the king, it is not unreasonable to expect an answer; yet here is without doubt a surprising and most obstinate silence, unless, indeed, it may be the manner of your House to express your mind by your speaker only.’ Saying this, Wolsey turned to More and required an explanation,—‘Who first,’ says Roper, ‘reverently falling on his knees, excused the silence of the members. They were abashed, he insinuated, at the sight of so noble a personage, his presence being sufficient to overwhelm the wisest and most learned men in the realm; but his coming thither, he observed, was far from expedient, and contrary to the ancient liberties of the House; and as to requiring a reply from him, individually, the thing was simply impossible. The members had indeed trusted him with their voices, but unless each could infuse the essence of their several wits into his head, he alone, in so

weighty a matter, was unable to make his grace an answer.* The cardinal probably detected the satire, and certainly understood the equivocation of this reply; and, rising up in a rage, suddenly left the House.—pp. 162, 163.

The cardinal's proposition gave rise to a protracted discussion, in the course of which he repaired again to the House, and peremptorily demanded their reasons for refusing the grant. The Commons, however, were, on this occasion, faithful to themselves, and the haughty prelate being informed that it was not their practice to speak before strangers, indignantly retired. He subsequently sent for More, and the brief dialogue which took place was characteristic of both parties. 'Would to God, Master 'More,' said Wolsey, 'you had been at Rome when I made you 'speaker.' 'Your grace not offended,' replied the other, 'so 'would I too, my lord.'

Attempts were subsequently made, in 1525, to levy money by illegal commissions, which greatly exasperated the populace, and spread dissatisfaction among the higher classes. 'How the great 'men took it,' says the chronicler Hall, 'was marvel; the poor 'cursed; the rich repugned; the lighter sort railed; and, in conclusion, all people execrated the cardinal as a subverter of the 'laws and liberties of England. For, if men should give their 'goods by a commission, then were it worse than the taxes of 'France; and so England would be bond, and not free.' Wolsey summoned the Lord Mayor and Common-council before him, and demanded a sixth part of their property to aid the king in his projected invasion of France. They remonstrated against the proposition, and pleaded the impossibility of granting it. 'Sirs,' said the haughty, but low-minded representative of Henry, 'speak not to break the thing that is concluded; the king must 'be able to go like a prince, which cannot be without your aid. 'Forsooth, I think that half your substance were too little; it 'were better that some should suffer indigence, than that the 'king at this time should lack,—therefore, beware,—resist not, 'nor ruffle in this case, for it may fortune to cost some their 'heads.'

Such was the insolent language which this pampered minion of a heartless and cruel tyrant addressed to the people. Wolsey, however, had miscalculated his position. The metropolis was thrown into a ferment, and the inhabitants of several counties, rushing to arms, demanded a redress of grievances. The proud spirit of Henry quailed before the menacing demonstrations of his

* Roper's *Life of More*, by Singer, p. 17—20.

people. The illegal commissions were revoked, and a general pardon was granted to all who had resisted the demand.

The reign of Henry derives its deepest interest from the ecclesiastical revolution of which he was the unintentional agent. At his accession he was amongst the most devoted and zealous supporters of the papacy. His early education prejudiced him in its favour, while his love of despotic power led him to regard with extreme displeasure the popular tendency of the reformed creed. His strong hostility to Luther, was expressed in a letter to Lewis of Bavaria, soon after he had received intelligence of the reformer's movements.

‘That this fire,’ said he, ‘which has been kindled by Luther, and fanned by the arts of the devil, should have raged for so long a time, and be still gathering strength, has been the subject to me of greater grief than tongue or pen can express; and this not only, my dear friend, on your account, but from my regard for the welfare of Christendom. For, whether we look to the traditions of your ancestors, or consult your historical records, can there be found a single instance where that most indomitable country of yours, which has ever been the firmest citadel of the church in its affliction, has either knowingly admitted any seeds of heresy into its bosom, or, at least, has not instantly eradicated them, if, by any oversight, they silently insinuated themselves? For, what could have happened more calamitous to Germany, than that she should have given birth to any man who (moved rather by the sinful license of his own judgment, than acting in the sincerity of Christian erudition) has dared to interpret the Divine law, the statutes of the fathers, and those decrees which have received the consent of so many ages, in a manner totally at variance with the opinion of the learned fathers of the church,—of men whose decision has been ever regarded as conclusive of the truth, proceeding, as it did, from a knowledge of Scripture altogether divine, and sanctioned by a blameless sanctity of life. His offence would have been less intolerable, had he abstained from an attack upon sacred letters,—had he not concealed the hated shapes of heresy and schism under the cloak of religion,—had he not, to gratify the pride and iniquity of his mind, consented to bring into peril the Catholic faith, and taught the flock of Christ to desert their master. Since, however, such is the premeditated falsehood of this wicked man, since these wiles of his have, by the permission of God, become so known to the whole world, that all further confutation of them is superfluous, we most earnestly implore and exhort you, by the hereditary and innate affection which we bear to your person, and by the common cause of our salvation in Christ, that you bear a willing and hearty hand in averting this destruction which overhangs us; that you delay not a moment to seize and exterminate this Luther, who is a rebel against Christ; and, unless he repents, deliver himself and his audacious treatises to the flames. Thus only will you preserve and increase your illustrious rank and your Christian name. Nor will it be alleged against you, that you permitted

sacred and divine things to be disturbed or overturned by the fraud and cunning of a single heretic, or the pride and resentment of a few persons whose enmity you wished not to encounter. To the accomplishment of this work, at once so sacred and so acceptable to God, we most readily, and from the heart, offer you of our royal favour, patronage, assistance, and even if necessary, our blood. And so we bid you happily farewell.*—pp. 132—134.

That such a man should have been the agent of our deliverance from papal superstitions, is amongst the inscrutable arrangements of that Providence which renders even the follies and vices of men subservient to its wise and benign purposes. Nor were the circumstances which led to this event less remarkable. Henry had now been married nearly twenty years to Catherine of Arragon, the widow of his brother Arthur, when he suddenly pleaded the incestuous nature of the connexion, and resolved on obtaining a divorce. This determination, though avowedly based on scruples of conscience, had its origin undoubtedly in the passion which Henry had conceived for Anne Boleyn.

‘It has been the fashion,’ remarks Mr. Tytler, ‘of many writers of the Romish Church to represent Anne Boleyn as having led a singularly profligate life in her early youth; but there appears no ground for so slanderous an attack. That the education of a youthful and beautiful female in one of the most corrupted courts of Europe should produce austere or reserved manners, was not to be expected; but no evidence deserving of a moment’s credit has been adduced to prove the slightest impurity of life; the tales against her being evidently the after-coinage of those misguided zealots who, by destroying her reputation, weakly imagined they were performing a service to religion.

When she first appeared at court, she was a lovely young woman in her twentieth year. She is described as possessing a rare and admirable beauty, clear and fresh, with a noble presence and most perfect shape. Her personal graces were enhanced by a cheerfulness and sweetness of temper which never forsook her, and her education had secured to her all those feminine accomplishments which were fitted to dazzle and delight a court. She danced with uncommon grace, sung sweetly, and, by the remarkable vivacity and wit of her conversation, retained the admiration of those who had at first been only attracted by her beauty.†—pp. 238, 239.

* Gerdes’ *Hist. Reform. Religionis*, vol. iv. ; Append. No. xxii.

† Wyatt’s *Memoir of Anne Boleyn*, in *Cavendish’s Life of Wolsey*, vol. ii. p. 182: ‘There was at this time presented to the eye of the court, the rare and admirable beauty of the fresh and young lady, Anne Boleyn, to be attending upon the queen. In this noble imp, the graces of nature, graced by gracious education, seemed even at the first to have promised bliss unto her aftertimes. She was taken at that time to have a beauty not so whitely, as clear and fresh above all we may esteem, which appeared much more excel-

Henry first essayed the virtue of the Lady Anne, and persisting in his suit after her denial, was met by the spirited and virtuous reply: 'I understand not, mighty king, how you should entertain any such hope. Your wife I cannot be, both in respect of my own unworthiness, and also because you have a queen already. Your mistress, be assured, I will never be.' Unhappily for the reputation of Anne Boleyn, a powerful party has identified its reputation with the establishment of her guilt, and hence the credence which has been given to the slanders of Sanders, and the acrimonious invectives of Cardinal Pole. Dr. Lingard, whose theological prepossessions are so discreditably conspicuous throughout his history, has disanted on her alleged improprieties with a minuteness which may well impose on his readers. Nothing, however, can be more slender or unsatisfactory than the basis on which his theory is constructed. The slightest examination is sufficient to explode it. It falls to pieces the moment it is submitted to examination, and gives place to the conviction that Anne—if not the most virtuous of her sex—evinced a self-respect and moral decorum far from prevalent in her day. She was indeed light and vain, proud of her beauty, and flattered by the conquest she had made. But the utmost suspicion that can be attached to her is, that her prudence failed her at the end of a five years' courtship,—but even this is uncertain. Her marriage took place on the 25th of January, and the Princess Elizabeth was born on the 7th of September.* 'If a late historian,' says Mr. Hallam, referring to Dr. Lingard, 'had contented himself with commenting on these dates, and the clandestine nature of the marriage, he would not have gone beyond the limits of that character of an advocate for one party which he has chosen to assume. . . . But when this author asserts Henry to have cohabited with her for three years, and repeatedly calls her his mistress, when he attributes Henry's patience with the pope's chicanery to 'the infelicity of Anne,' and all this on no other authority than a letter of the French ambassador, which amounts hardly to evidence of a transient rumour, with what face can he put forward the least pretensions to historical candour.†

The defence of Anne Boleyn from the slanderous accusations of the Romish party, must not be understood to imply any

lent by her favour, passing sweet and cheerful, and these also increased by her noble presence of shape and fashion, representing both mildness and majesty more than can be expressed.'

* Hall and Holinshed state the marriage to have taken place November the 14th; but Crammer, writing to Hawkins, Henry's Ambassador to Charles the Fifth, says it occurred 'much about Sainte Pauls daye,' which was the 25th of January. This letter may be seen in Ellis's Letters, II. 34.

† Const. Hist. i. 34.

justification of the proceedings adopted against the queen. Those proceedings, it is true, were urged on by Cranmer and other favourers of the Reformation, but their authority must not be permitted to blind our judgment to the dark passions and base policy of the king. Cranmer probably gave Henry credit for a conscientiousness, which few, in the present day, will be disposed to cede to him; and the scruples which influenced his judgment, were entertained by a large majority of the theologians of Europe. The levitical code was then deemed an authoritative rule of conduct.

The situation of Catherine was touching in the extreme. A foreigner, in a strange land, she was basely sacrificed by the monarch on whose honour she had confided, and to whom she had been a faithful and dutiful wife for nearly twenty years. The bloom of her youth was now passed away, but the firmness of her character, and the untainted purity of her heart, enabled her to meet the terrible crisis with queenly dignity. Even Henry was compelled to admit that she was a woman, 'incomparable in gentleness, humility, and buxomness;' and with a degree of hypocrisy which increases our detestation of his character, he affirmed, 'If I were to marry again, if the marriage might be good, I would surely chuse her above all other women.' The eulogy of the king was not needed. Her character was above his praise. It was no exaggeration of the poet when he made her rival acknowledge that she was

'So good a lady, that no tongue could ever
Pronounce dishonour of her.'

The dark tragedy now proceeded to its consummation. Campeggio arrived in London, October 7, 1528. He was an eminent canonist, well versed in all the arts of papal diplomacy, and was commissioned by the pope, in connexion with Wolsey, to adjudge the king's cause. Henry expected a speedy termination of his suit, but the legate brought imperative instructions to prolong the proceedings, and in no case to pronounce judgment without first communicating with Rome. It was Clement's interest to gain time, and this was effectually done by the dilatory and subtle policy of his emissary. Month after month was consumed in preliminary arrangements. At length the legates held their court, in the Great Hall of the Blackfriars. Henry sat in state on their right hand, and Catherine was on their left. It was a memorable scene, which must have struck deeply into the hearts of the spectators. The king promptly replied to the summons of the court, but the queen was too much absorbed to hear her name. It was repeated, and she awoke from her reverie. Rising from her

chair, she crossed herself with fervour, and approaching the king, threw herself on her knees, and addressed to him one of the most touching appeals which ever proceeded from woman's lips.

'Sir,' said the daughter of Ferdinand, 'I beseech you, for all the love that hath been between us, and for the love of God, let me have justice and right; take of me some pity and compassion, for I am a poor woman and a stranger, born out of your dominions. I have here no assured friend, much less impartial counsel, and I flee to you as to the head of justice within this realm. Alas, sir! wherein have I offended you, or what occasion given you of displeasure; have I ever designed against your will and pleasure, that you should put me from you? I take God and all the world to witness, that I have been to you a true, humble, and obedient wife, ever conformable to your will and pleasure. Never have I said or done aught contrary thereto, being always well pleased and contented with all things wherein you had delight or dalliance, whether it were in little or much; neither did I ever grudge in word or countenance, or show a visage or spark of discontent. I loved all those whom you loved, only for your sake, whether I had cause or no, whether they were my friends or mine enemies. This twenty years I have been your true wife, and by me ye have had divers children, although it hath pleased God to call them out of this world, which yet hath been no default in me; and when ye married me at the first, I take God to be my judge I was a true maid; and, whether it be true or no, I put it to your conscience. If there be any just cause by the law that ye can allege against me, either of dishonesty or any other impediment, to banish and put me from you, I am contented to depart, albeit to my great shame and dishonour; and if there be none, then here I most lowly beseech you let me remain in my former estate, and receive justice at your hands.'—pp. 262, 263.

But Henry was not to be diverted from his purpose. He saw the impression which Catherine's appeal had made, yet his dark heart responded not to her appeal. He at once acknowledged her virtues, and urged forward his suit. But unexpected obstacles were now interposed. Catherine appealed to Rome, and Campeggio refused to give sentence, before he had submitted the case, with all the evidence which he had taken, to the pope. Henry bitterly complained of the chicanery of the papal court, and suspecting Wolsey of having betrayed his interests, he sacrificed him to his enemies. It was at this moment, when the king's heart was distracted by a thousand emotions of disappointed hope and of embittered rage; when he was purposing one instant to break with the pope, and half resolving the next to abandon his long cherished scheme; that a new favourite was introduced, whose bold counsel and deep sagacity determined the wavering policy of the monarch. Cromwell had for some time ranked amongst Wolsey's retainers, without obtaining the promotion which his

ambition craved; and he now determined to seek an interview with Henry, in the hope of advancing his fortunes. The following passage is descriptive of his introduction and success.

‘The state of the royal mind, wavering between its wishes and its fears, was not unknown to him; and it can scarcely be doubted, that this able and artful man, when he declared to Cavendish his resolution to advance or to hazard his fortunes upon a cast, had the project in his head which at once brought him into notice. ‘He felt,’ he said, when introduced to the king, ‘his boldness in presuming to advise, and his inability to become a counsellor; but the sight of his sovereign’s anxiety, and his affection as well as duty, compelled him to address him. He acknowledged that the question regarding the divorce was not without difficulties; but, in his opinion, the embarrassment arose principally out of the timidity of his majesty’s ministers, who were deceived by appearances, and misled by vulgar opinion. Already the Universities and the most learned divines had given an opinion in favour of the divorce,—nothing was wanting but the confirmation of the pope. And with what object was the papal approbation so anxiously desired? It might indeed have some beneficial effect in moderating the indignation of the emperor; but was it so imperatively necessary that, if refused, Henry ought silently to submit and surrender his right? Had other princes done so? Did not his majesty live in the same age with the princes of Germany,—and what had they done? They had thrown off the yoke of Rome, and had proclaimed their independence of the popedom. Why then might not the King of England, strengthened by the authority of his Parliament, declare himself the head of the church within his own realm? At this moment England was little else than a monster with two heads. But,’ said he, ‘every contradiction, every difficulty would disappear, if your majesty would take into your own hands the authority now usurped by the pontiff. The clergy would then become obsequious to your will, when they were placed on an exact level with your other subjects. At present they considered themselves not so much the king’s as the pope’s subjects. They took, indeed, the oath of allegiance, but they were afterwards released from this obligation, and sworn anew to the pope; so that your majesty,’ said he, ‘is but half a king, and they but half your subjects.’ In this bold address, it will be seen that Cromwell brought before the king two ideas which were entirely new to him. The first, a project for claiming the supremacy; the second, a design for placing the whole body of the clergy within his power. When he had done, the monarch pondered for a few moments, and regarding the speaker with a piercing look, demanded if he could prove what he had last said. Cromwell drew from his pocket a copy of the oath administered to the bishops at their consecration, read it over, explained the manner in which the clergy had brought themselves within a charge of treason, and demonstrated that by the statutory law their lives and possessions were at the mercy of the king. Henry was convinced and delighted; his mind seized on the new ideas suggested by his able and unscrupulous adviser with its characteristic impetuosity and vigour;

he warmly thanked Cromwell, took him into his service, promoted him to the seat of a privy-councillor, and determined to follow out his suggestion.'—307—309.

Cranmer subsequently pronounced the marriage of Henry and Catherine to be null and void, and confirmed that which the monarch had contracted with Anne Boleyn. The authority of the papacy was thus despised, and its power defied. The king stood in an attitude of open hostility towards the successor of St. Peter, and was precipitated into a course of measures from the spiritual character and bearing of which his heart was utterly estranged. His separation from the papacy having originated from so questionable a source, was destitute both of the principle and the consistency of a religious movement. He vacillated from side to side—approximated to protestantism and drew back to popery—according to the revolutions of his domestic circle, or the whims of the passing hour. In one thing he was impartial, and this grew out of his arbitrary and ferocious disposition. He knew no distinction between the papist who denied his supremacy, and the protestant who rejected the real presence. The one was hung and quartered as a traitor, the other was burnt as a heretic. They were sometimes conveyed to Smithfield on the same hurdle,—victims of the most heartless and sanguinary tyranny which England had ever known.

The character of the king now rapidly assumed a darker and more ferocious aspect. All the worst passions of a depraved mind were brought into play. Anne Boleyn was soon sacrificed to his brutal passions, and many others, more illustrious in name and more worthy of respect, experienced a similar fate. Executions rapidly followed each other, and every class of society was made to furnish its victim. More and Fisher, and Cromwell—men of different characters, but each possessed of powerful claims on the gratitude of Henry—were dismissed from his service to the block. The taste of blood aroused the savage passions of the monster in human form, and set him in deadly hostility against his race.

The rise and fortunes of Cranmer form an interesting episode in the reign of Henry. The archbishop was an estimable and pious man, who slowly worked his way out of the trammels of popish superstition. His private character was irreproachable, and his natural disposition, mild and benignant. Both his friends and his enemies have failed to do him justice. He was neither the saint nor the demon that they respectively affirm. His character was a singular compound of virtues and weaknesses. In a private station the former only would have been seen; but unhappily for his fame, his rapid promotion and difficult post

afforded ample opportunities for the display of the latter. His introduction to Henry was unsought. It arose from some remarks on the king's cause, casually made to Fox and Gardiner, Henry's Almoner and Secretary, whom Cranmer met at Waltham Abbey, in Essex. These remarks were reported to the king, who forthwith required his attendance at court. This took place about August, 1529; and the king being pleased with his counsel, 'and observing,' as Strype remarks, 'the gravity and modesty, as well as learning of the man, resolved to cherish, and make much of him.' He was speedily dispatched to Germany, France, and Italy, to obtain the judgments of the most eminent divines; and, on the death of Warham, in 1532, was made Archbishop of Canterbury. Cranmer was strongly disinclined to this appointment. There is no reason to doubt the sincerity of his professions. They were in accordance with the whole tenor of his life, and naturally sprung from his reluctance to admit the supremacy of the Roman pontiff. At length he ventured to acquaint the king with his scruples; but Henry was not to be moved from his purpose. His present policy required that the appearance of submission to the Pope should be preserved; and Dr. Olivet, an eminent civilian, consequently suggested, that some one should be sent to Rome to take the oath of canonical obedience, and that Cranmer should take it under protestation. To this dishonourable expedient he assented, declaring at his consecration, 'That he did not admit the pope's authority any farther than it agreed with the express word of God; and that it might be lawful for him at all times to speak against him, and to impugn his errors, when there should be occasion.* It is impossible to justify Cranmer's conduct on this occasion. Every unprejudiced mind will instantly respond to Dr. Lingard's observation, 'that oaths cease to offer any security, if their meaning may be qualified by previous protestations, made without the knowledge of the party, who is principally interested.' The pope's bulls for Cranmer's consecration were obtained on the express stipulation of his taking a certain oath, and would have been indignantly refused if his intended protestation had been known. That protestation was not explanatory of the oath, but directly subversive of it, and was designed to leave Cranmer open to prosecute measures incompatible with the policy and interests of the papacy. Yet protestant writers have been too prone to extenuate the obliquity of this proceeding. Let a Catholic prelate have acted the part which Cranmer acted, and a very different judgment would have been pronounced. So perverting is the in-

* Strype's Cranmer, i. 24.

fluence of party spirit, even in the plainest questions of common morality.

Cranmer's subsequent career was chequered. He was honestly attached to the Reformation, and did the utmost that his slavish deference to the king permitted, to promote its advancement. But his hands were tied by dread of his master's displeasure, and his moral influence must have been impaired by the part he was compelled to take in the intrigues and dark tragedies of this reign.

So far as an intentional advancement of religious freedom is concerned, posterity owes nothing to Cranmer. He prepared indeed its way, but it was with no view of establishing its reign. By appealing from the authority of Rome to the word of God, he attacked the strong-hold of the 'Man of Sin;' and by circulating the inspired writings in the vernacular tongue, he aroused the intellect and conscience of the nation. But farther than this he would not go. Authority was as dear to Cranmer as to More and Fisher, and the views on which he acted, if capable of vindication, justify his murderers in lighting his funeral pile. The interest which he uniformly retained in the affections of his royal master, is one of the most singular phenomena of this reign. His enemies attribute it to his unscrupulous compliance with the tyrant's pleasure, while his friends resolve it into his transparent and saintly integrity. A medium hypothesis will account more satisfactorily for the fact. Had he been less supple or less virtuous, he would have been conducted from his master's embraces to the block. The adherents to the old faith frequently plotted against his life, and were sometimes on the very point of accomplishing their design. The fall of Cromwell, and the divorce of Henry from his fourth wife, Anne of Cleves, emboldened their machinations and threatened serious danger to the unsuspecting prelate. The following passage graphically describes the dark intrigues of his enemies, and the capricious generosity of the king.

'But although baffled in this attempt against the archbishop, his enemies soon made a more desperate effort for his destruction, in which he was once more protected from their malice by the prompt and generous interposition of the king. As the story strikingly illustrates the character of the times, and presents Henry in one of those attitudes of mercy and justice which he so rarely assumed, I need make no apology for giving it with those minute details which have been fortunately preserved by a contemporary. At the instigation of the Bishop of Winchester, the Duke of Norfolk and others of the Romish party in the privy-council, repaired to his majesty, and made a formal complaint against the primate: 'insisting that he, with his learned men, had so infected the whole land with their doctrine, that three parts of the people were become abominable heretics. It might prove dangerous,'

they said, 'to the realm, being likely to produce such commotions as were sprung up in Germany; and therefore they desired that he should be committed to the Tower until he could be examined.' To this the king was unwilling to accede; but they told him, 'that the archbishop being one of the privy-council, no man would dare to object matters against him until he were in confinement; then indeed men would be bold to tell the truth and say their consciences.' Upon this his majesty gave his consent that they should next day summon him before them, and if they saw just reason, commit him to the Tower.

'The king, however, had other designs in view, and about eleven o'clock, the same night, sent a messenger to the archbishop at Lambeth, desiring him to come immediately to Westminster; upon which the prelate, who was in bed, got hastily up and repaired to his majesty, whom he found in the gallery at Whitehall. Henry informed him what a bitter complaint the council had brought against him; 'they had affirmed that he and his learned men had infected the whole realm with heresy; they had asserted that, as he was at liberty and a member of the privy-council, none would venture to bring against him those accusations which otherwise could easily be substantiated. I have, therefore,' said he, 'granted their request, and given them permission to send you to the Tower; have I done well or no? what say you, my lord?' Cranmer humbly expressed his thanks to his sovereign for having given him this timely notice. He observed, 'that he was very well contented to go to the Tower, since it would lead to a more impartial examination of his doctrines and actions; nor did he doubt but his majesty would see that he should have a fair hearing.' The king for a moment turned his eyes full on the archbishop, as if he would read his inmost thoughts, and then smiling, cried out, 'Oh, Lord God! what fond simplicity have you, thus easily and contentedly, to permit yourself to be imprisoned, that every enemy of yours may take advantage against you! Do you not know that when they have you once in prison, three or four false knaves will soon be procured to witness against you, who else, now you are at liberty, would not once dare to open their lips, or appear before your face? No, not so, my lord. I have more regard for you than to permit your enemies to overthrow you in this manner; and therefore I will have you come to-morrow to the council, which, no doubt, will send for you. And when they break this matter, require them, that, being one of them, you may have so much favour as they would have themselves, that is, to have your accusers brought before you; and if they oppose this, and will not comply with your request, but must needs commit you to the Tower, then do you appeal from them to our person, and give to them this ring (taking it at the moment from his finger), which ring they well know I use for none other purpose but to call matters from the council into mine own hands to be ordered and determined. The king having said this dismissed his chaplain, who thanked his majesty for his goodness, and took his leave.

'Next day, at eight in the morning, a message was brought from the privy-council, requiring Cranmer to appear before them. When he

arrived he was not permitted to enter, but was kept waiting, with the servants and ushers, nearly an hour at the door of the chamber,—many of the members of the council going in and out in the mean time. The archbishop's secretary, who attended him, being astonished at this rude treatment, slept away and related the matter to Dr. Butts, the king's physician, who went to the palace and told him he had seen a strange sight. 'What is that?' said Henry. 'Marry,' said the doctor, 'my Lord of Canterbury is become a lacky or a serving-man; for, to my knowledge, he hath stood among them this hour at the council-chamber door.'—'Have they served my lord so?' said Henry. 'It is well enough; I shall talk with them by-and-by.' At length the archbishop was called in, when it was intimated to him, that a great complaint was made of him, both to the king and to them, that he and others had infected the realm with heresy; and therefore it was the royal pleasure that they should commit him to the Tower, in order that he might be examined and brought to his trial.

'The primate, in reply, offered many reasons to induce them to call his accusers before him in that place and at that moment; and, on being confronted with them, to suffer him to defend himself against their charges, before they should proceed to any farther extremities. But all was in vain; and he was told in a peremptory manner that he must go to the Tower. 'Then,' said Cranmer, 'I am sorry, my lords, that you drive me to the necessity of appealing from you to his majesty, who, by this token,' showing them the ring, 'hath resumed this matter into his own hand, and dischargeth you thereof.'

'The sight of the king's signet, and the suddenness of its appearance, appalled the council. Lord Russell swore a great oath, and, turning upon them, exclaimed, 'Did not I tell you, my lords, what would surely come of this matter? I knew right well the king would never permit my Lord of Canterbury to have such a blemish as to be imprisoned, unless it were for high treason.' The councillors, however, having received the ring, were compelled instantly to repair to Henry; and it may easily be imagined that he received them with no very placid countenance. 'Ah, my lords!' said he, 'I thought I had had a discreet and wise council; but now I perceive I am deceived. In what an unworthy manner have you treated my Lord of Canterbury? Have you not used him like a slave, by shutting him out of the council-chamber among serving-men? Would ye be so handled yourselves?' After other words to this effect, the king, raising his voice, spoke thus:—'I would have you all know, that I esteem my Lord of Canterbury to be as faithful a man towards me as any prelate in this realm ever was; and one,' added his majesty, laying his hand upon his heart, 'to whom I am many ways beholden by the faith I owe unto God; and, therefore, whosoever loveth me will, upon that account, regard him.' Upon this his submissive auditors retired, and Cranmer, during the remainder of this reign, escaped from any further attacks.'—pp. 242—246.

In closing our remarks, we cannot too strongly recommend to our readers the volume which has given rise to them. Mr.

Tytler's previous reputation as a historical writer, led us to calculate on finding in his present publication, extensive research, combined with sound judgment and strict impartiality. In this expectation we have not been disappointed, and we cordially commend the volume to all who are interested in the history of their country. It is at once condensed and luminous,—popular, yet solid;—sufficiently restricted in size to meet the views of the general reader, yet capable of aiding the researches and of increasing the knowledge of the more advanced student of history. We shall be much surprised if it does not have an extensive circulation.

Art. III. *Notes of a Short Tour through the Midland Counties of Ireland, in the Summer of 1836; with Observations on the Condition of the Peasantry.* By the Hon. and Rev. BAPTIST WRIOTHESLEY NOEL. 12mo. London: Nisbet & Co. 1837.

THIS is a very interesting volume, but its chief value consists, not in any novel views or original information,—for what remains to be told respecting the miseries and wrongs of Ireland?—but in the weight which will deservedly attach to the fearless, candid, independent testimony of one who, standing aloof from all parties, political or ecclesiastical, states his honest convictions as to the facts of the case. Should Mr. Noel be so fortunate as to obtain a hearing on the strength of his high reputation, his volume will do incalculable good. His attachment to Protestantism (that is, to the faith of the Reformation) will not be questioned; and yet he has the courage to stand forward as the apologist for the poor misgoverned Roman Catholics. He defends the National system of education as the only one adapted to the present state of Ireland; and he has even something to say on behalf of Maynooth. And yet, there is no false delicacy or false charity shown in his manner of speaking of Popery. He vindicates the Achill Mission; exposes the scandalous proceedings of M'Hale and his ruffianly subordinates; and, while he honestly confesses that Maynooth *does not come behind the University of Cambridge in the attention given there to the public exposition of the Bible*, he thus deploras the pernicious effects of the system of education pursued there.

‘I could not but reflect with melancholy interest on the prodigious moral power lodged within the walls of that mean, rough-cast, and white-washed range of buildings, standing, without one architectural

recommendation, on that dull and gloomy flat. What a vomitory of fiery zeal for worthless ceremonies and fatal errors! Thence, how the priestly deluge, issuing like an infant sea, or rather like a fiery flood from its roaring crater, pours over the parishes of Ireland, to repress all spiritual improvement by their anti-protestant enmities and their cumbrous rites! For those poor youths themselves, many of them with ingenuous countenances, I felt a deeper pity still. There, before they know it, to be drilled and practised for their hopeless warfare against the kingdom of Christ; there to imbibe endless prejudices fatal to themselves and others; there to be sworn upon the altars of superstition to an interminable hatred of what they call heresy,—which is, indeed, pure and undefiled religion,—to have prejudice blacken into malice against those who love God; to have all their worldly interests thenceforth identified with priestcraft; to settle down, perhaps, after a fearful struggle between interest and conscience, into epicurean scepticism; perhaps in some instances, to teach the people to adore what they know to be a bit of bread; to curse them from the altar for what they themselves believe to be a right and a duty, the perusal of the Word of God; and lastly, to despise them for trembling at the impotent malediction.'—pp. 353, 354.

Much of this would equally apply, however, to any Roman Catholic seminary; to the Continental Romish Colleges as well as to the Irish. The number of students now at Maynooth is about 450; and about 140 students for the priesthood are educated in the Irish College at Paris, at Rome, Salamanca, Lisbon, and in several French seminaries. Now, unless it can be shown that the Maynooth priests uniformly prove more ignorant, more intolerant, or more turbulent than the average of those who are trained in foreign colleges, no case is made out against the Maynooth system as pre-eminently vicious in its influence. In fact, the general state of collegiate education, Protestant as well as Popish, presents too much reason for melancholy contemplation. Is it at Maynooth only, that ingenuous youths are sworn upon the altar of bigotry to an interminable hatred of what they are taught to deem heresy, but which is indeed pure and undefiled religion, and have their prejudices blacken into malice against those who love God? Is it within Romish cloisters alone, that candidates for the sacred office learn to identify their worldly interests with priestcraft? Would that it were so, and that Maynooth were the only collegiate institution in the British islands which stands in need of thorough purification!

Mr. Noel's remarks upon the National System of Education are particularly valuable. 'Every real patriot,' he admits, 'ought to set himself against the proposal to dissociate national education from scriptural instruction in this country.' But Ireland is in a peculiar state; 'and if it be impossible to have the Bible in

‘the National schools, owing to a widely extended prejudice, ‘then, rather than that the people should be left in ignorance, ‘National Schools ought to be established without the Bible, but ‘with a volume of scriptural extracts; or, if that again prove im- ‘possible, without religious instruction altogether.’ Schools for general instruction, Mr. Noel maintains, ‘must be had; and if ‘we cannot establish such schools as we could wish, we must ‘multiply such as we are able.’ Against this common-sense view of the subject, however, specious objections have been raised, which he briefly examines. The scandalous allegations, that the National system *takes away* the Bible from the poor,—that it *hinders* scriptural education,—that it casts dishonour upon the Bible,—that it mutilates the Scriptures,—are soon disposed of: they originate in the perverseness of party spirit, never very heedful of facts. To the objection, that the Scripture Extracts, not being enforced, are not in fact used, and that the education is therefore atheistic, Mr. Noel replies: That, in the schools which he visited, he generally found proof that they were in use; and, according to returns made to the Commissioners, out of 352 schools, 285, or above four-fifths, were in the practice of using them. But, suppose the worst; that these schools are wholly without religious instruction, is a Protestant Government to withhold the means of useful knowledge from a Roman Catholic population because it will not receive the Bible at its hands? Many objectors would not hesitate to reply in the affirmative, on the ground, that ‘all knowledge without religious principle is ‘mischievous, because it confers the power to do greater evil.’ This is the strong-hold of the enemies of popular education; and Mr. Noel fairly grapples with the insidious argument.

‘The nature of this objection is as follows: Knowledge may be used by a wicked man as a means of doing mischief; therefore, keep the Roman Catholic people in ignorance. Let us apply this argument in other things. Health and strength will make a rogue more daring, more mischievous; therefore render every labourer a sickly cripple. . . . If, indeed, it could be shown that knowledge is much more uniformly injurious than ability, wealth, or bodily strength, it might be a reason for not imparting it; but the very contrary is the fact. In the case before us, knowledge alone, simple, secular knowledge, without the slightest acquaintance with Protestantism, would be a greater blessing to the Irish peasantry than any other, except religious instruction, which it would be in the power of England to communicate. Teach them the knowledge of agriculture, and you will enable them to receive three times their present returns from their soil. . . . Superstition cannot endure knowledge and reflection; and if the people are but taught, popery, with every other imposture practised on human ignorance, will certainly share the fate of

Mahommedanism and Hindooism, which are waning before the increasing civilization of the world.'—pp. 314—316.

Our Author evinces his sound judgment, and his competent acquaintance with the causes of the complicated evils of the social system in Ireland, by not proposing either education or any thing else as a specific remedy, a panacea for the disease. Education will not rescue the famishing thousands from periodical destitution. The Bible will not save them from the terrific effects of a redundant (because unemployed) population. Emigration is like topical bleeding, which may be necessary to relieve an inflamed part, but cannot have a curative effect, except as enabling nature to do her part, or allowing medicine to act upon the system. But, when the uncultivated lands of Ireland are considered, of which 4,900,000 are thought to be improvable, it is surely a worse than Irish blunder, to have recourse to a forced and costly emigration. A Poor Law Bill is a *sine qua non* in order to the introduction of a better system; but its efficacy as a remedial measure will absolutely depend, like that of ingredients in a prescription, upon the mode in which it is combined with other plans for relieving the able-bodied population by employing them. Unless the greatest care be taken, both in the framing and in the administration of the law, Mr. Noel remarks, the remedy will be worse than the disease. One frightful evil under which the community are suffering, the Legislature can do little or nothing to abate; we refer to the 'monster appetite' of spirit-drinking. 'This one gigantic vice,' says our Author, 'is strong enough to drag Ireland down to misery, were she prosperous; and now, with its iron heel upon her neck, declares that she shall never rise from her abject and hopeless degradation.' The whole cost of spirits to the consumers throughout Ireland, is estimated at the almost incredible sum of six millions sterling per annum; being considerably more than the whole amount expended for the relief of the poor in England and Scotland! Four-fifths of the crimes of Ireland are believed to be attributable to the use of spirituous liquors, as at least their proximate cause. But spirit-drinking, while it drags down the poor to more squalid poverty, tearing their rags from their backs, and snatching their food from their lips, is, to a great extent, the result of the widespread and hopeless pauperism. It is the readiest and cheapest way of allaying the gnawings of hunger, and deadening the sense of external privation and nakedness. It springs from the degradation which it consummates. What then is to be done? We answer in the words of Major Kennedy's title-page, 'Instruct them,—employ them.' Give them education, give them the Bible, preach to them the Gospel; but give them also land to

cultivate, or give them an interest in the cultivation of the land, by rendering their labour a thing of price and value, which at present it is not. The dairy-ground system must be abolished as a first step to any economical improvement. Upon the landlords of Ireland rest the chief burden of guilty responsibility. There are noble and generous exceptions; but it is indisputable, that, to their reckless, heartless, improvident, tyrannical conduct, far more than to any other cause, the wretched condition of the Irish peasantry is attributable. How well their solemn trust has been generally executed, 'let,' says Mr. Noel, 'the mean hovels and half-naked forms scattered over princely territories declare.' No; it is not Popery on the one hand, nor the Protestant church on the other, which has robbed, and beggared, and trampled upon the people, but an alien aristocracy domineering in the spirit of '*a garrison*'* over a subjugated and plundered country.

How much a few upright and humane resident proprietors may accomplish towards meliorating the condition and raising the character of their tenantry, the instances detailed in Mr. Noel's pages satisfactorily evince; and we would fain hope that his faithful appeal to Protestant landlords will have some beneficial effect. After pointing out their duty as landlords, he thus adverts to their religious obligations:

'Is it not discreditable to them, when nearly all the landed property is in their hands, that the appropriation clause of the Tithe Bill should occasion such a general panic, and that the extinction of tithe, whenever conceived as possible, should be reckoned tantamount to the extinction of Protestantism in Ireland? A Protestant ministry extinguished, while fourteen-fifteenths of the land is Protestant! Why! where is their fear of God, if they would not find means to maintain their pastors, should the State provision be withdrawn? Sure I am, that it would be an obvious and undeniable duty. Christ has both ordained that the Gospel should be every where preached, and that the pastor should every where be maintained. And I know not how those who disobey both these commands can consider themselves his consistent followers. *The alienation of the entire church property in Ireland, should such a catastrophe occur, ought not to dismiss a single faithful minister from her shores.*'—pp. 380, 381.

* This very expression was used by Earl Roden, in opposing the National System of Education in the House of Lords, in April, 1833: 'The Protestants have been the English garrison in Ireland since the time of Henry VIII!!'

Art. IV. *Lectures on Intellectual Philosophy.* By the late JOHN YOUNG, LL.D., Professor of Moral Philosophy in Belfast College. London: Whittaker. 8vo.

ALTHOUGH the contrast which subsists between the whole economy of man, and that even of the most sagacious of the brute creation, has continued in every age to present a grand memorial of the superior and wonderful nature of mind—it is not difficult to account for the fact, that the cultivators of mental science have always borne but a small proportion to the number of those who have directed their attention to the philosophy of the material world. The objects of nature make their appeal to every eye; and we cannot go back, in imagination, to the period when we first woke up to the beauty and grandeur of creation—when we did not feel awed at the coming storm, nor gaze with delight and curiosity on the rainbow, nor desire to know whether the brilliant meteor that darts along the nocturnal sky, were really a shooting star. The sounds of nature, too, attract every ear, whether heard in the agitation of the elements, or in the tones and cries of animals. In short, there is something so arresting to the senses, and so obtrusive and permanent and stable in the various objects that surround us, that, during our waking hours, we never for a moment lose the impression of the outward universe. In infancy, we are wholly the creatures of sensation; and, in after life, it requires a certain degree of abstraction, matured by habit, in order to be able to dwell readily on the internal mechanism of thought and feeling. Mind, and the mode in which it carries on its functions, are so shrouded and hidden behind the veil of materialism, that the phenomena of thought are apt to be one of the last objects to which the attention would naturally be turned. Here all is impalpable, shadowy, and immaterial; and it is no wonder that operations of a nature so peculiar, and apparently so recondite, as those of the mind, should be later in attracting the attention even of the inquisitive, than the more obvious phenomena, which the surrounding universe every where presents to view.

The very circumstance that the ordinary and most pressing wants of man, as a physical being, are felt to bear a far more immediate relation to materialism than to his own intellectual nature, has, no doubt, aided in drawing the attention of mankind chiefly to the properties of external objects. It is true that an artificial stimulus may be given to any one branch of study, and it may thus obtain a popularity which it might not otherwise have gained, however meritorious in itself. This principle has often been exemplified; and its influence has been strongly marked in the varieties of literary and scientific character, which have been

manifested by different academical institutions of the highest class. In our own country, for example, classical learning has reigned almost sole and triumphant; and, in one of the English universities only, mathematics alone disputes the sceptre with it. While this science bids fair to retain the ascendancy at Cambridge, every attempt to introduce improvements into the system of education in Oxford is regarded as a sacrilegious violation of the claims of the *antiquæ disciplinæ*, and an invasion of their ancient reign. The philosophy of man, as an intellectual being, has been almost entirely neglected at both the legitimate sanctuaries of knowledge; the chief amount of encouragement being recorded in the occasional question, *Rectè statuit Lockius?* Even *physical* science has either formed no ingredient in the materials of academic training, or has only been pursued, in its abstract forms, as a part of mathematics. Classics and Mathematics have constituted the high road to fame, favour, and emolument. In the English universities these departments of learning have been what the Germans call the *Brodwissenschaften*.

Among the causes that have operated unfavourably in regard to the study of the laws of *mind*, as a branch of higher education, has been the vulgar prejudice excited by the very name of *metaphysics*. Harmless as is this term in its origin, which is too well known to need repetition here,—no word, probably, in the whole nomenclature of human knowledge, since the downfall of the scholastic philosophy, has attracted to itself so much odium. Metaphysics, even to this day, in the minds of the uninitiated, is frequently only another name for what is unintelligible; and metaphysical discussion is regarded as a certain mode of endeavouring to blind and bewilder the minds of honest people with abstract and useless quibbles, which bear the same relation to plain unvarnished reason, that certain quirks and mystifications which find a shelter in the still uncleansed Augean stable of the English law, bear to straightforward equity. Hence the absurd distinction which has sometimes been set up between metaphysics and common sense, as though there were any sense at all in any thing but the genuine love of truth, and the determination to embrace it, be it found where it may. This prejudice, however, is very natural in those who are not tolerably well acquainted with the history of human knowledge; particularly with the intellectual follies of the middle ages, when scholars disputed only for the sake of disputation, and made what was in itself beyond the limit of human inquiry a double mystery by their mode of treating it. The Inductive Philosophy of the Human Mind has been confounded with the Ontology and Pneumatology of the Schools; and those who are not aware of the very opposite principles on which it is conducted are sometimes apt to regard all

speculations which offer to rise above the tangible and the material as equally mystical, vague, and futile.

We are no advocates for the system which has prevailed in certain quarters, of viewing every kind of knowledge through the medium of antiquity, forcing philosophy to bow to the wisdom of the schools of Greece, and making Plato and Aristotle the wardens of the temple of modern science. We are not of opinion that no one should be deemed worthy of being regarded as well-skilled in mental or moral philosophy, unless he be a critic in the ancient treatises.* Nor do we say this from any indifference to the literature of classical antiquity—it has been our delight from boyhood. But we think it would be as reasonable to deny the title of natural philosopher to every one who is not well acquainted with the *Principia* of Descartes: still more so, to say that he could be no mathematician who had not read, in the original, the writings of Apollonius, Archimedes, Euclid, Theodosius, or Pappus: for geometry is an ancient science, for which we are indebted to the Greeks; but the Philosophy of Mind, if we except that part of it which relates to the analysis of arguments, has been so far improved since the times of antiquity as to have become a modern science—the offspring of the era of Bacon.

The prejudice, however, that has arisen against metaphysical pursuits, in consequence of their accidental association with the disputations of the scholastics, has extended, it must be allowed, with almost equal injustice, to the earlier writers on all topics connected with man's intellectual nature; and especially to ARISTOTLE himself. It may not be right—it is not—that he should reign as dictator in the modern schools; but it is not necessary, on this account, to pull him by the beard, and to cause him to run the gauntlet with the herd of Peripatetics that have borne his name. It is enough to have dethroned him. Yet every sciolist, who has not read a page of his writings, supposes himself entitled to load him with indiscriminate vituperation, forgetful that the acumen of his understanding, his unwearied industry, his gigantic grasp of mind, and the exhaustless flood of genius which he poured over almost the whole domain of human learning, mark him out as second to none of the great master spirits of antiquity; and as, in some respects, superior to them all.

It has been unfortunate for the reputation of Aristotle, that many of his followers were so boundlessly extravagant in his

* This opinion is noticed, as having been expressed by some, even beyond the venerable cloisters of Oxford.

praise. Had he foreseen the absurdities of his future avowed followers, no man could have uttered more prophetically the aspiration, 'Deliver me from my friends!' The encomiums they heaped on his name were too ridiculous not to produce a reaction, when once the mind of man was loosened from the spell of antiquity. 'Nature,' it was said by Averrois, 'was not altogether complete till Aristotle was born; but *then* she could advance no farther.' Pardies says, 'Que si dans sa physique, Aristote a parlé en homme, dans sa morale, il a parlé en Dieu: qu'il y a sujet de douter si, dans ses morales, il tient plus du jurisconsulte que du prêtre; plus du prêtre que du prophète; plus du prophète que de Dieu!' Again, how can it be matter of surprise that a lasting prejudice should have fixed on a class of studies which, whether justly or unjustly, were supposed to possess any analogy with those of the 'profound,' 'marvellous,' 'perspicuous,' 'irrefragable,' 'seraphic,' and 'most resolute' doctors of the middle ages? for these were some of the titles lavished on them by their admiring disciples. What respect was likely to be retained for the *τὰ μετὰ τὰ φυσικὰ* of the Stagyrite, when such questions were gravely proposed for solution by his followers, as—whether the mind be distinct from its being?—whether the will be an entity or a quiddity?—whether angels can see in the dark?—whether they can exist in a perfect vacuum?—whether they can pass from one point to another without passing through the intervening space?—and, how many of them can hang on the point of a needle? Such were some of the subjects which, in the middle ages, were disputed, sometimes even to blows! Surely Sir Hudibras would scarcely be a caricature of these scholastic knight-errants!

' On either side he would dispute,
 Confute, change hands, and still confute:
 He'd undertake to prove, by force
 Of argument, a man's no horse;
 He'd prove a buzzard is no fowl,
 And that a lord may be an owl,
 A calf an alderman, a goose a justice,
 And rooks committee-men, and trustees.
 He'd run in debt by disputation,
 And pay with ratiocination:
 All this by syllogism true,
 In mood and figure, he would do.'

It is by no means our intention to attempt the enumeration of the various causes which have led, more or less, to the unmerited neglect which mental science has met with in this country; but it may be proper to add, that an impression, sometimes entertained, and very prejudicial to its progress, has been, that its

principles are *uncertain*. Now, if the space allotted to us would allow, we should not hesitate undertaking to maintain the position, that this allegation is the result of an extremely superficial view of the real case. The great fundamental laws of mind are matter of daily consciousness; and, though they admit of being viewed in different relations, of being variously arranged, and enumerated to a greater or less extent, they are essentially the same, so far as they go, in the works of all authors who have written on the subject. It would be possible, for example, to select from the works of metaphysicians some thirty classes of facts; illustrative of so many laws, or exhibitions, of the one principle of *association*. Some of these are mentioned by one writer, some by another; and their nomenclature and classification may considerably vary: yet the facts remain; and the evidence of the general principles, or laws which are drawn from them, is as certain as any thing within the range of human experience.

Aristotle, in his Treatise on Memory and Reminiscence, in explaining the manner in which we endeavour to recollect something we have forgotten, says that we search for it among other ideas, on the principle of 'resemblance, contrast, or contiguity: 'and by this means recollection is produced.* Ernesti says that 'a present idea may recal an absent one that is similar to it, 'or allied to it as a part of the same whole, or as having been 'originally received in connexion with it.† Hume enumerates three principles of connexion among ideas; namely, 'resemblance, contiguity in time and place, and cause and effect.‡ Dr. Brown, in his *primary* laws of suggestion, coincides with Aristotle. He adds nine other laws, which he terms *secondary*, showing that association varies according as the original impressions have been 'of longer or shorter continuance, more or less 'lively, more or less frequently present, more or less recent, more 'or less pure from the mixture of other feelings, as they are 'affected by differences of original constitution, or of temporary 'emotion, or the state of the body, or prior habits.§ If we could afford space also to consult Reid, Stewart, Scott, Kirwan, Mill, Abercrombie, Ballantyne, and Dr. Young, we should find our enumeration of the laws of association enlarged, indeed, and our points of view somewhat varied; but the comparison of these and other authors on this subject, would furnish a most sa-

* — ἀφ' ὁμοίου, ἢ ἐναντίου, ἢ τῶν συνέγγυς. Διὰ τοῦτο γίνεται ἡ ἀνάμνησις.

† —Imagines presentibus similes; vel quarum, quæ sunt præsentibus, partes sunt,—vel denique, quas eum presentibus simul hausimus. Erle-ti, Init. Doctrin. Solidioris, De Mente Humana, c. i. xvi.

‡ Hume's Inquiry concerning the Human Understanding, Sect. 3.

§ Brown's Lectures, XXVII.

tisfactory example of the real consent of philosophers, as to the circumstances under which one very important set of phenomena belonging to our intellectual nature take place. Other numerous instances might be adduced to show that, notwithstanding the apparent conflict of opinions, which to the novice appears so perplexing, there is a pretty substantial agreement respecting all the great elementary principles of the human mind.

But we must beg pardon of our readers for having so long detained them from Dr. Young's Lectures. The volume is respectably edited, and accompanied with a brief but interesting memoir, by Mr. Cairns, his colleague in Belfast College; the first academical institution for general education raised by public subscription in modern times; the first, also, to introduce mental science as a branch of education into Ireland--an institution which appears, after contending with some difficulties,* to have escaped the fate of being diverted from its original plan, as great and noble projects sometimes are in this country, by being made subservient to politics, court influence, or power.

Mr. Young's character of mind was formed before he entered on a regular course of academic study; but, though possessed of an ardent temperament, he furnished no example of that arrogant presumption and forward self-confidence of spirit which is sometimes found in men who are either self-taught, or who have been late initiated into academic learning. 'He was alive to every difficulty,' says his biographer, 'and, in examining opinions the most opposite to his own, he treated with candour all the considerations by which they were supported. He, therefore, seldom met objections with contempt, and never with flippancy.' He appears to have been equally removed from the pedantry of *one subject*, though mental and moral philosophy were his chief delight. It was not till he was twenty-seven years old that he commenced a regular course of classical study at the university of Glasgow; and, by extraordinary exertion, he attempted to supply the deficiencies of his early education. He subsequently entered the classes of Logic, and of Moral Philosophy, which, as conducted in Glasgow, have long held forth an admirable example of a truly useful and efficient intellectual training. In each of these classes Mr. Young was the successful competitor for the honour of the highest prize. When he had finished his course in the *gown-classes*, he entered the Divinity Hall, and finally took his degree of M. A. Nine years afterwards his *alma mater* conferred on him the distinction of LL.D. He died in 1829, at the age of forty-eight; and the following satisfactory testimony is borne to his moral and religious

* Memoir, p. xxi.

worth: 'He referred, in all his speculations, to Him who is the fountain of truth; and cherished an habitual regard to the great principles of natural and revealed religion. Throughout his life he retained a belief in those views of Christianity which are usually denominated evangelical; and, on his death-bed, he declared that they still met the full approbation of his mind and heart. He also uniformly cherished an affectionate regard for practical religion, and for persons of unaffected piety, with whom, indeed, he delighted to associate.'*

These lectures form a valuable digest of one part of the philosophy of mind, especially on the ground that the author appears, throughout, more desirous of arriving at truth than of giving prominence to a system. Not being designed for the press, but for the class-room, where they were filled up with much *extempore* illustration, they have been brought before the public without the author's own revision; and some alterations have been made in the original arrangement. We think certain indications may be observed, which may well be accounted for from the circumstance of the work being posthumous. We refer principally to the partial discussion of some important topics, and to the occasional summary disposal of the theories of others; but we have not been struck with any material want of consecutiveness in the train of thought. The lectures are drawn up in a plain, unambitious style, but discover, throughout, considerable acuteness, and are among the class of works on the subject of mental philosophy which are distinguished by the spirit of analysis. We allude to such works as those of Brown, Mill, and Ballantyne. Though the author does not follow the classification or the nomenclature of the first-named distinguished writer, coincidences will be found in their views, which are the more to be noticed, because Dr. Young's opinions, it appears, had been repeatedly delivered in the course of lecturing, previously to the publication of Dr. Brown's system.

The student of the laws of mind cannot be too often called on to remember that the *arrangement* of the mental facts or phenomena, and the *terminology* which is employed to designate them, may admit of considerable latitude, without affecting the facts themselves, which form the materials of the science; and which are, of course, based on human experience. Nay, even the *analyses* of certain phenomena may be, to a considerable extent, the same, amidst no small diversity of general system. We make no apology for repeating this remark, because we think it a sufficient answer to the assertion occasionally thrown out, and above alluded to, charging the philosophy of mind with uncer-

* Memoir, p. xxxi.

tainty. It may safely be affirmed that, with regard to the facts of mental science and their analysis, the same may be said, which has long been true of experimental physical science, that there is a progressive agreement among philosophers. We say nothing here of *phrenology*, because whatever opinions we form respecting it, the case is not altered; the actual manifestations of mind, rather than any alleged external prognostics of its complexion and varieties, are that with which the metaphysician has chiefly to do. Now we speak advisedly in stating our conviction, that the science of the human mind is so far independent of any particular system, that it is quite possible to conceive of the chief mental phenomena being almost equally well expounded and analysed, on different principles of classification. In this way, the following remarks, in Mr. Cairns's short Preface, which is well worthy of attention, are perfectly intelligible :

'As the writings of Dr. Brown were among the first to familiarize the public with an improved analysis, many may be led to suppose that no others, in his time, had any conception of similar views. This volume, it is presumed, will contribute to rectify such a mistake. The substance of these lectures had been frequently delivered before Dr. Brown's system was published: while the references which now appear were introduced after its publication, for the purpose of noticing how far it coincided with what they had previously contained. The coincidence, indeed, will perhaps be found to be as close as what usually takes place, when independent and original minds engage in similar inquiries, without any previous acquaintance or concert; while the differences which appear may sometimes be traced chiefly to expression and arrangement. The present publication, therefore, may be interesting to many, as exhibiting a striking approximation to the most approved views; and as marking the progress of independent inquiry in the wide and varied field of metaphysical science.'

'These Lectures, it will be observed, contain frequent references to various sources of information, and to the circumstances which suggested what may be regarded as improvements. Among others there are references to the doctrines taught by the present Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow;* whose ingenious mode of analysis has given a salutary impulse and direction to many ardent and inquisitive minds. It is well known that he has long been accustomed to resolve the intellectual powers, according to the

* Mr. Mylne, whose method of discussing the topics, and conducting the intellectual discipline belonging to his class, well merits the above encomium.

‘method adopted in these Lectures, into sensation, memory, and judgment.’

The author of the Lectures, after giving a general outline of the topics to be discussed, proceeds to point out some of the advantages of studying the laws of mind, and successfully to refute certain objections which ignorance or prejudice has sometimes brought against it. He next discusses the subject of the classification of the mental phenomena; and, having noticed the earlier divisions into the Understanding and the Will—the Intellectual and Active Principles—Locke’s division into Sensation and Reflection—and the classifications of Hartley, Reid, Stewart, and Brown, he adopts the system which distinguished all the mental phenomena as either *Intellectual* or *Active*. The present volume does not include the survey of the Active Powers, or Emotions, but only the Intellectual; the great elementary principles of which, Dr. Young holds to be Sensation, Memory, and Judgment.

Among the classifications rejected by Dr. Young, he has discussed at the greatest length that of Dr. Thomas Brown. As the outline of this system, which has considerable claims to originality, is clearly and concisely given, we shall quote it, for the benefit of those of our readers who may not be acquainted with the writings of this celebrated metaphysician.

‘I must now direct your attention to the division of the mental powers which has lately come into notice, and is on many accounts very remarkable. I refer to the arrangement of Dr. Brown; which proceeds on the following principles:—When we consider the various states of mind, it must strike us that some arise from the impression of external objects, and others from the reflection of the mind. Thus, when we look at an oak, our perceiving it is the result of the presence of the oak, and of the rays of light which are reflected from it; but, when withdrawing our visual organs from the external object, we contemplate it in the mind, the operation is wholly internal. According to these principles, all the phenomena of mind are divided into two classes: external and internal affections. The first class is simple, and easily understood, including merely the senses from which these affections are derived; and embracing also the appetites, because they are accompanied with bodily feelings. The internal affections, however, are extremely numerous and complicated, and are therefore subdivided into two kinds, intellectual states of mind, and mental emotions. All the intellectual states are called suggestions, and are either simple or relative. Whenever any thing brings another into the mind, without any comparison being made, this is called simple suggestion; as when I know a friend by the sound of his voice: but when I see a horse and a sheep, and begin to think in what respect they agree, and in what they differ, that is called relative suggestion. Under this head are introduced the relations of position, resemblance, difference,

degree, proportion, and comprehensiveness, with the relation of the whole to its parts. Under relative suggestions, again, are placed the powers of abstraction, or generalization, and of reasoning. The second branch of our internal affections includes the emotions of wonder, beauty, sublimity, and all our passions and desires.' p. 55.

The author then proceeds to a brief critical examination of the merits of the above system; and subsequently avows his adherence to the common classification before mentioned, into the intellectual and active powers. We must confess, however, that we do not think him by any means happy in this part of his work. In saying so we do not wish to be construed as speaking in the character of disciples of Dr. Brown, but merely to be regarded as desirous of seeing justice done in an argument between one philosopher and another. Our author admits that the general plan, of which he has given the above account, appears very comprehensive and inviting; that external and internal affections are apparently very distinguishable; and that the division of our internal affections into intellectual states and emotions, seems also to have some recommendations. It appears, he allows, to mark out the distinction between those more contemplative processes of mind, where intellect chiefly attracts our attention; and those other states, in which intellect also exists, but in which the feeling or emotion, the pleasure or the pain, seems to be predominant. 'So far,' says Dr. Young, 'all is well and plausible.' He does not even insist on the obvious defect in the use of terms which is exemplified by Dr. Brown, in his employment of the word 'external,' to designate those affections which are derived from some agency on the animal frame. This term, it is evident, would naturally imply that sensation is a mere corporeal affair; and not, as is admitted on both sides, ultimately a state of the mind itself. The author merely observes, on this point, that as our sensations and appetites are as really internal, and as truly affections of the mind as any others, the word external merely marks the origin of this particular class, and seems therefore to be 'quite allowable.'

Dr. Young, however, proceeds to advance objections against Brown's division, which are founded on the principle that it was designed to achieve what was certainly never intended; and which no classification can be expected to attain:

'There is still a great difficulty,' he observes, 'in separating our external from our internal affections. Our sensations cannot for one moment become objects of distinct consideration, without the concurrence of all the internal affections—without the concurrence of our intellectual powers, and without being accompanied with some degree of emotion, or some approximation to pleasure or pain. One sensation cannot be considered as distinct from another, without memory bringing

both before the mind, to be discriminated by judgment; and our sensations may be accompanied with, or may in fact themselves constitute very high states of feeling or emotion. All our external affections come to us modified by those powers which are called internal. We are not able to catch one of them naked, and stripped of those relations with which they are invested by the intellectual powers. But, perhaps, it is still a more serious objection to this arrangement, that it includes our appetites under our external affections—thus classifying those phenomena of our constitution which are strongly marked by desire and emotion, with the sensations of colour and touch. Some very valuable purpose should surely be served, before such violence is done to our usual notions ‘of arrangement.’ It might be remarked, also, that the division is extremely unequal; as our external bear scarcely any proportion to our internal affections.’ pp. 56, 57.

Now as the mixed character of the phenomena of mind has been universally remarked by metaphysicians, one power or capacity being rarely, if ever, called into exercise apart from others, it ought not to be supposed that any division of the mental faculties is designed to exhibit their respective processes in a state of separation from all the rest; unless, indeed, such were expressly stated to be the object of the author. Unquestionably, all that Dr. Brown has attempted is, to classify the phenomena on what he deems the most general principles, and then to present to his readers the *virtual* analysis of each given mental state; for he repeatedly insists on the very obvious fact that, here, the analysis cannot, from the nature of the mind, be *real*, as it is in the case of chemical decomposition. The object is simply to ascertain of what primary elements it appears that any class of mental states are chiefly composed, or at all events what may be regarded, to use a political phrase, as their *basis*. Now no one who reflects, can doubt that there are cases in which some strong sensation so occupies the mind, that, although it may not be attended with a suspension of the other powers, the mind may fairly be said to derive its complexion, at the time, chiefly from the predominant form of consciousness which pervades it. Those who deny this must have forgotten that they ever had the tooth-ache or the gout. Surely the desire to get rid of the pain, and of the means of doing so, which may, in the mean time, appear as co-existing with the pain, are very distinct, both from each other, and from the pain itself; and if it be wrong to distinguish sensations on the one hand, from thoughts, and reasonings, and desires on the other, because they are often blended together in one common mass of consciousness, it must be equally erroneous to divide the intellectual powers into sensation, memory, and judgment. It may be asked, would it be contended, on the author's principles, that the ‘*active* powers’ are ever found exhibiting themselves apart from the ‘*intellectual*?’ Judging, *à priori*,

from his general system, we think it would not. Nay, in turning back to the first lecture, we find this question virtually answered, though the present volume extends only to the discussion of the *Intellectual* powers :

‘ We shall next proceed to our active principles : when we shall inquire whether they are a distinct and independent set of powers, or whether they do not flow from the natural exercise of the understanding. We shall probably be able to show that they are all under the dominion of reason ; that they are capable of being cultivated, excited, or repressed, by the views of the mind ; and therefore that we are accountable for the manner in which we employ them. In passing from the consideration of man as an intellectual being, to contemplate his active powers, it will be an object of inquiry, whether we have got into a region completely distinct. Are his active powers something which operates independently of his reason, or are they, in fact, only the powers of the understanding in action ? Do our active powers stand out from our other powers ; or are they not merely that exercise of all our faculties which experience has led us to delight in ? Are we to affirm, with Reid, that there are a vast number of mechanical and animal principles of action, which have no connexion with our reason ? or with Hartley, that they are reared at first on the basis of our sensations and ideas ; but that they proceed afterwards without the superintendence of thought or volition ? Neither of these opinions, it will probably appear, is correct.’ p. 5.

What is intended by saying that ‘ our sensations may be accompanied with, or may in themselves, in fact, constitute very high states of feeling or emotion,’ does not appear very intelligible on any principles. Are sensations to be regarded as the same class of feelings with emotions ? Is there no difference, worthy to be remarked, between what are termed in common language, ‘ bodily pain,’ and ‘ mental anguish ?’ If not, why say that sensation may ‘ accompany’ very high states of emotion ? If there *be* a difference, how can sensation properly be said to ‘ constitute’ a very high state of emotion ? That sensation and emotion—or, in other words, that pain of body, and grief of mind, for instance, may be felt at one and the same time, we do not dispute ; but how any state, whether of body or of mind, can either accompany itself, or can constitute another state of body or mind, is beyond our comprehension. As to the arrangement of the ‘ appetites’ under sensitive or external affections, we suppose this might be defended by saying, that the whole complex state, termed *hunger*, for example, has its *origin* in an uneasy sensation, which by long association brings before the mind the idea of food, blended with a desire to partake of it. An infant, however, while yet only under the influence of instinct, might be said to be hungry. Dr. Young would place the appetites under the active principles ; but might not such an arrangement be objected

to, on the ground that this would be 'classifying phenomena of our constitution, which are strongly marked' by sensation, with emotions of the wonderful and the sublime.

To allege against any division that it is 'unequal,' is to say nothing; unless it be at the same time shown that the objects divided are *not* unequal. This can never avail as an independent objection; and we think this is one of those indigested remarks which, had the author published his own volume, he would have re-considered, before committing it to the press; though the editor might not perhaps feel himself justified in the omission. It would be quite as reasonable to find fault with the formation of a *genus* out of any of the objects of Natural History, in consequence of their being but few *species* found which could be regarded as belonging to it. Again, with what propriety, we may add, can our sensations be represented as so small a part of the mental phenomena?

Dr. Young concludes his animadversions on the classification of Brown, by complaining, that when we consider the views which it develops, 'we seem to be transported into a region of metaphysics, in which quite a new language is spoken.' The author has already, however, with sufficient indulgence, consented to waive objection to the term 'external,' because it is used merely to mark the origin of a certain class of mental affections; and he now further admits that he has no objection to the phrase 'intellectual states.' Indeed, he adds that he has 'long been in the habit of using it, instead of intellectual powers;' though, by the way, there is an obvious and very important distinction between them; for we can easily conceive of a given mental *state* as not existing at a certain moment; but we cannot suppose that the *power* of which that state is the result, does not exist unless it be in actual operation. Neither does our author, as he remarks, 'see any insuperable objection against using the 'word emotions in place of active powers.' In reference to the phrases 'simple suggestion,' and 'relative suggestion,' he asks, 'is the world ripe for such an innovation on all its established forms of speech, and in all its usual modes of thinking?'

Now whatever may be the merits or demerits of Brown's classification, we do not think this part of the nomenclature can be accused of any violent departure from common modes of speech. The words 'simple' and 'relative' are plain enough, and the term *suggest* is used by all persons who possess a tolerable English education, as nearly synonymous with *remind*. 'Suggestion' is used by Dr. Brown to express the class of mental parts generally termed 'Association;' and we do not see that this is by any means so great a departure from the 'established forms of speech,' employed in the 'world,' as Professor Young himself exemplifies, in making no distinction between sensation and the Intellectual

Powers; which, in the commencement of his eighth lecture, he makes to include Sensation, Memory, and Judgment. He subsequently remarks, in so many words, 'Sensation is unquestionably an intellectual faculty; for the body alone, or mere matter, shows nothing analogous to it.' We quite agree with the argument, and with the conclusion intended to be established by it; but it certainly does not accord with the ordinary language of mankind to denominate sensation an 'intellectual faculty.' It is not fair, again, to ask—'In a discourse on the powers of the human mind, too, should we not expect to hear something of Memory and of Judgment?' From this remark, one might be led to suppose that, in the philosophy of Dr. Brown, memory and judgment had no place; whereas the former is the second of those faculties which he includes, by name, under simple suggestion; and, in his fifty-first lecture, he expressly says, 'With the susceptibility of relative suggestion, the faculty of judgment, as that term is commonly employed, may be considered as nearly synonymous.' Finally, Dr. Young asks where in this system 'Perception' is to be placed? It may be replied that, so far as it is distinct from sensation, it is regarded by Brown as an intellectual affection. We may be allowed to repeat that we have made the above remarks, not with the view of subscribing to all and every thing in Dr. Brown's system, or indeed of offering any categorical opinion respecting it, but simply by way of seeing justice done to one whom all acknowledge to be a distinguished writer.

In discussing the laws of association, the author agrees almost entirely with Brown; he differs only in adding one *secondary* law; namely, 'that our associations may be regulated by the will; and may be either voluntary or involuntary.' This is undoubtedly true, and it strikes us a valuable addition to the laws which relate to this important department of our intellectual nature. For, though the will has no *direct* influence over our train of thought, the effect is, to a great extent, the same as though it had; for, by making any one existing idea among those which are passing through the mind, an object of attention, in preference to others, we may easily open up new avenues of association, which may lead us into certain regions, as it were, of thought, which may harmonize with the purpose we have in view. This fact in our mental nature is of great importance, especially in the aspect which it bears on morals.

On the much controverted subject of *extension*, Dr. Young has the following remarks:

'I felt a degree of surprise rarely experienced on such subjects, a few days ago, in perusing Dr. Brown's Lectures on Vision, where he affirms it to be the universal opinion of philosophers, that sight involves not colour merely, but extension also; and that there is a visible as

well as a tangible figure. I confess I felt very great surprise to find that I had been holding an opinion contrary to all philosophers whatever, and that Brown should be the first to hint the doctrine which I had so long believed. So much was my distrust in my own former conclusions, that I began to doubt of their truth, even although supported by his authority, which I do indeed much respect. I must confess I have found more foundation for Dr. Brown's statement, that the belief in visible extension is universal among philosophers, than I had previously expected. At the same time the assertion appears to me by no means to be correct.' p. 117.

Dr. Young also agrees mainly with the same writer on the doctrine of Causation; some of the objections against which he combats with great acuteness. He thus repels the most serious charge which is sometimes brought against the assertion that *we* are unable to perceive any thing more in cause and effect than sequence: 'It may be said that if we perceive no real connexion between the cause and the effect, then we are left without any proof of the existence of that Almighty and Incomprehensible Being who is the cause of all things. It must be remembered, however, that we have never maintained that there can be an effect without a cause: on the contrary, we have all along been asserting, that every change which takes place obliges us to believe in some objects or circumstances which immediately precede it. The creation of the world being a change, we are bound, therefore, by the constitution of our nature, to believe in some circumstance prior to it; and that circumstance must have been the will of God. But between the will of God, and the creation of the world, we see nothing interposed. He spake, and it was done!'

Notwithstanding the remarks we have made, in reference to the author's objections to Dr. Brown's system, we are of opinion that the present volume, as a whole, is a valuable addition to our stock of writings on the subject of Mental Philosophy, and will repay the student who shall peruse it. We have chosen the line of review which we have taken chiefly because we have, in this work, an exemplification, the instances of which might be multiplied, of a frequent coincidence in analysis, relative to the more recondite questions; while there is a difference of classification. Such examples tend to show what is sometimes overlooked; namely, that the laws of the human mind may, like those of external nature, frequently admit of being satisfactorily explained, independently of any particular general arrangement; though we are free to confess that one classification may be far more adapted to aid this result than another.

Art. V. *Opinions of Lord Brougham, on Politics, Theology, Law, Science, Education, Literature, &c. &c., as exhibited in his Parliamentary and Legal Speeches, and Miscellaneous Writings.* London: Henry Colburn. 12mo. 1837.

LORD Brougham needs no passport to the hearts of his countrymen. He has laboured too long and too assiduously in their service to be lightly esteemed, or hastily passed by. Other men may need an introduction, or may be indebted to the flattering reports of friends for the attention they obtain. But it is otherwise with Lord Brougham. A long list of services, extended through a life of unparalleled energy and of splendid achievement, constitute his claims on the notice and gratitude of the nation. In the worst times—when Toryism was rampant, and political profligacy a thing of daily growth—Henry Brougham was faithful to the people,—the enlightened expounder of their rights, the zealous advocate of every measure adapted to improve their condition and to elevate their minds. This is his true glory—the imperishable basis on which his fame will rest. His biography will be identified with the history of the national mind. The lives of other men, and those of no mean order, may be detailed, without light being thrown on the intellectual growth of a great people. They may have laboured faithfully in their appointed vocation, and may be worthy of the respect and veneration of posterity, but it is not necessary to an appreciation of their labours and character, that a deep insight into the spirit of their age should have been obtained. It is different, however, with Lord Brougham. He has done more to mould the character of his age than any other man living. Without extending the bounds of science, he has multiplied the number of its votaries—has peopled regions formerly inhabited by few, and given a vital energy to movements which were languid and inoperative. He found the intellect of his generation ignorant, rude, and dormant, contented with the barest pittance of knowledge, and perverted by a thousand prejudices of hourly growth. It will be his glory to leave it active and inquiring, ashamed of the past, and hopeful of the future. The light of science, formerly confined within a narrow circle, has been extended through the mass of society. It has entered the shop of the mechanic and the resort of the day-labourer, and has brought with it a humanizing influence friendly to social happiness and moral worth. The country is, in consequence, studded with institutions of a literary and scientific character, having for their object the instruction of the working classes, and supported mainly by their own contributions. These are monuments of which the loftiest genius may well be proud,

and, in comparison with which, the triumphal arch and the splendid column are insignificant and valueless.

Lord Brougham is descended from one of the most ancient families in Cumberland and Westmoreland. He was born in St. Andrew's Square, Edinburgh, September 19, 1779, and received the rudiments of his education at the High School of that city. At the age of fifteen he entered the University, where his intellectual pre-eminence soon obtained him distinction. His love of physical science was at this time remarkable, and his attainments far beyond his years. The following brief extract from the Memoir prefixed to this volume will be read with interest :

‘ When little more than sixteen years of age his mental powers were sufficiently developed, and that too, in branches of knowledge seldom mastered in youth, to enable him to compose a paper containing a series of optical experiments, and an exposition of principles connected with that science. This remarkable production of precocious intellect was thought so worthy of attention, that it was printed in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* for 1796. In 1798, he sent another communication, having for its object the development of certain principles and views of geometry, which, also printed in the *Philosophical Transactions*, excited considerable interest in the scientific world ; so much so that the vanity of the juvenile author was gratified by the publication of a reply by Professor Prevost, of Geneva, as well as by favourable notices in several continental publications. In addition to these palpable evidences of early proficiency, he carried on a correspondence in Latin, on scientific subjects, with several of the most distinguished philosophers on the continent. One of the speedy consequences of these studies, and their fruits, was, that in March, 1803, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, although his formal admission did not take place till the spring of 1804.’—pp. 3, 4.

Lord Brougham first practised at the Scotch bar, but subsequently removed to England, where his legal reputation and oratorical powers soon achieved his professional success. He was returned to parliament in 1810, for the borough of Camelford, on the vacancy caused by the removal of the present Marquis of Lansdowne to the Upper House. His subsequent career is well known to every intelligent and reading man in the empire. From the commencement of his public life, Lord Brougham identified himself with the Whigs, and he has never swerved from the position he then took. He was removed alike from the Tories and the Radicals—the Castlereaghs and the Burdetts of the day. His withering irony and searching sarcasm were directed with tremendous energy against both, but most frequently against the former. From this medium position he has never moved ; and the consequence has been that many of his contemporaries have outstript him on some points of political doctrine.

He has never been unfaithful to his own views, has never falsified his professions, or failed to redeem his pledge. But he has not progressed like others. He has not yielded to the impulse of his times, and been carried on to conclusions more popular than the practice of the Whigs would sanction. This has been matter of deep regret to many of his Lordship's warmest admirers, who have at the same time been disgusted, beyond all the power of words to utter, at the base malevolence and ingratitude with which he has been assailed by the tory and radical press. We were never among the blind partizans of his lordship. On the contrary, we deplored, deeply deplored, the waywardness and imprudence of some of his declarations in 1834, when annoyed by what he deemed the impatience of the popular demand. But we never admitted into our hearts a doubt of his fidelity to the popular cause. We might differ from him in opinion. We might regret his opposition to the ballot, and other salutary measures, but we felt assured that, up to the point of his conviction, he was the honest, and would ever be found the strenuous and untiring advocate of good government. The public mind was staggered for a moment by the fierceness of his enemies' attacks, but it soon recovered its position, and continues its confidence in an old and faithful friend. Such is the feeling which prevails at present, and the volume before us will consequently be hailed by a large class of readers. Lord Brougham has no connexion whatever with its publication. So states the Editor, and the book itself furnishes evidence of the fact. Great care has been taken to trace out the most correct reports of his lordship's speeches, and to ascertain the genuineness of the extracts made from the *Edinburgh Review*. The contents of the volume are very miscellaneous. Some of the extracts are so brief and fragmentary, that they might, without injury, have been omitted, and their place have been occupied by others of greater value and of more permanent interest. Lord Brougham's labours in the cause of education are well known. They were commenced on the 21st of May, 1816, when he moved in the Commons' house for a Committee to inquire into the education of the lower classes in London. Several extracts from speeches on this subject are given in the present volume. The following will be read with interest from the historical information it conveys:

‘It appears that, since the peace of Amiens, and in consequence of what has taken place at the French revolution, the education of the poor classes is objected to by some persons in this country, on the ground that it would make a man a worse subject. This is, however, a modern idea. I can show, from historical documents and authorities, that the education of the poor is by no means a novel object, but has been held in early ages, and by the wisest governments, the best security for the morals, the subordination, and the peace of countries.

‘In France, in the year 1582, under the reign of Henry III., the States General met, and the noblesse of the day presented a petition to the sovereign, praying that pains and penalties might be imposed upon those who would not send their children to school; and nearly at the same time the Scotch Parliament (perhaps the most aristocratical body in existence) passed a law that every gentleman should send, at least, his eldest son to school, in order to learn grammar.

‘In the sixteenth century, an order was made that all children should attend school, and that alms and charities should be refused to those persons whose children did not so attend. I have also seen a charter of King David I., dated in 1241, in which mention was made of various public schools in Roxburgh, now a small village.

‘Another charter, dated 1163, spoke of the school of Stirling. Another in 1244, noticed the number of schools in Ayr; and a fourth, dated in 1256, made honourable mention of the praiseworthy manner in which the schools of other districts were conducted. Shortly before the revocation of the edict of Nantes, in 1680, the most intolerant period of French history, was founded the first society in the world, and, for a long time, the only one, for the advancement of education. Its founder was the celebrated Père de la Salle, and the order was ‘Les Frères des Ignorants,’ and their vow was the foundation of schools.

‘That society had established numerous schools for the education of the poor. In 1724, which was also a most intolerant period, Pope Benedict issued his celebrated bull, authorizing and encouraging the extensive establishment of places of education for the poor. In that bull the Pope mentioned the example of the Père de la Salle, and expressed himself in the following words:—‘*Ex ignorantia omnium origine malorum, præsertim in illis qui egestate oppressi sunt, et qui elementa Christianæ religionis persæpe ignorant.*’ A more accurate, a more scientific description of ignorance, was never given, even by Voltaire, than in this instance was promulgated by the enemy of that great philosopher,—by Benedict.

‘I now turn to a different authority. From that of ‘Père de la Salle,’ and his ignorantium brotherhood, from the advice of the Pope, to whose bull I have alluded, I come to the evidence, in 1738, of the lieutenant of police, at Paris,—a man who was, perhaps, much more conversant than either with the effects of ignorance. That gentleman stated that, from the period of the establishment of the *ignorantium* schools in Paris, the expense of the police in the Faubourg St. Antoine was reduced 30,000 francs annually. This was the evidence, be it remembered, not of a theoretical, but of a practical man. About the same time a remarkable circumstance happened in this country. In 1714, Mandeville published his ‘Fable of the Bees,’ condemning the charity schools of that day, because, he said, the children learned nothing there but to lisp ‘High Church and Ormond;’ and in nine years afterwards the grand jury of the county of Middlesex thought fit to present him as a fit object for prosecution, and he was accordingly prosecuted for endeavouring to prevent the advancement of education and religious instruction, for irreligion, for decrying the

universities, and for reprobating the instruction of youth. Thus, strange as it may seem, an impious man and an atheist was at that time occupying the ground since mistakenly filled (though only for a moment) by the pious and the religious, who in our own day, worked upon by false philosophy and the evil consequences of the French Revolution, have endeavoured to discourage the progress of knowledge.

Mandeville charged the education of his time with instilling principles of disloyalty, and an antagonist of Mandeville's, in a letter to Lord Carteret, replied, 'I defy you to prove this; but enter into any of the schools, and if you at any time find disloyalty inculcated, let the schools be pulled down.' Now this is precisely my argument. I have heard that schools have been established in Lancashire and Cheshire, inculcating unconstitutional doctrines, radical doctrines; why then my advice is, if there are such schools, let them be shut up.

I next come to a letter or circular of the Pope, through the Cardinal Fontana, to the Irish prelates, in 1819. In this letter is pointed out the poison which was inculcated into the minds of the people from allowing them to read unauthorized versions of the Holy Scriptures. The right reverend father said, with true philosophy, 'It is not enough to prevent such works; in order to prevent your flock from being badly educated, you must yourselves educate them well.' This was undoubtedly the language which, as a pious man, and as head of the church to which he belonged, he ought to use. The Pope went on to say, 'In order to avoid the snares of the tempter, I beseech the holy brotherhood, through the love of Christ, to work day and night in the establishment of Catholic schools, in order to prevent the dissemination of improper doctrines.' Now this is exactly my argument. Let us, in order to prevent bad impressions, inculcate those which are sound, and this is only to be done by education. I am happy to have such high authority with me on this point. The whole of this branch of the argument may be summed up in the memorable words of the great Lord Bacon, '*Luces enim naturam puram,*' &c.—that the light of knowledge was in itself pure and bright, however it might be perverted and polluted by wickedness or imperfect instruction; and that the channels by which it poured in upon the human species ought to be ever kept open and undefiled.'—pp. 110—113.

His speech in defence of Ambrose Williams, who was tried at Durham in 1822, for a libel on the clergy, was one of the most powerful and effective ever delivered. His lordship is reported to have said that he never made a speech in parliament, or out of it, so completely to his own satisfaction. The circumstances of the case afforded scope for all the peculiarities of his oratory, and he availed himself fully of it. His unrivalled powers of sarcasm and irony were brought to play with appalling energy on his reverend opponents, exposing their political subserviency, and heaping upon them the contempt of every virtuous man. We well remember the impression which the speech made at the time,

and the avidity with which it was read by all classes. The following extract is a fair specimen of its concealed and biting irony :

‘ His majesty, almost at the time in which I am speaking, is about to make a progress through the northern provinces of this island, accompanied by certain of his chosen counsellors, a portion of men who enjoy unenvied, and in an equal degree, the admiration of other countries and the wonder of their own,—and there the prince will see much loyalty, great learning, some splendour, the remains of an ancient monarchy, and of the institutions which made it flourish. But one thing he will not see. Strange as it may seem, and to many who hear me incredible, from one end of the country to the other, he will see no such thing as a bishop ; not such a thing is to be found from the Tweed to John O’Groat’s : not a mitre ; no, not so much as a minor canon, or even a rural dean,—and in all the land not one single curate,—so entirely rude and barbarous are they in Scotland,—in such outer darkness do they sit, that they support no cathedrals, maintain no pluralists, suffer no non-residence ; nay, the poor benighted creatures are even ignorant of tithes. Not a sheaf, or a lamb, or a pig, or the value of a plough-penny do the hapless mortals render from year’s end to year’s end ! Piteous is their lot !—what makes it infinitely more touching is, to witness the return of good for evil in the demeanours of this wretched race. Under all this cruel neglect of their spiritual concerns, they are, actually, the most loyal, contented, moral, and religious people any where, perhaps, to be found in the world. Let us hope that his Majesty may return safe from the dangers of his excursion into such a country ; an excursion most perilous to a certain portion of the church, should his royal mind be infected with a taste for cheap establishments, a working clergy, and a pious congregation.’—pp. 392, 393.

The following brief extract from a speech on Criminal Justice, delivered in the year 1827, exhibits the same qualities as the foregoing. We fear that the subsequent history of the Upper House has not diminished the necessity for the petition referred to.

‘ Now, it becomes me, of course, to speak of the absent with all becoming respect ; but, from what I have not only heard others say in another place, but from what I have heard said of them, I can only express my unfeigned regret, that a prayer, which I heard yesterday solemnly preferred, has not hitherto been fulfilled. I can only express my sorrow that it has not yet pleased Divine Providence ‘ to endue all the nobility with grace, wisdom, and understanding.’ That a portion of the nobility is so endued, I have no manner of doubt ; but, even if I were willing to suppose that nine-tenths of them are so gifted, I cannot conceal from myself, or from the House, that the remaining portion of that illustrious body are still in a condition to require the prayers of the church.’—p. 267.

Our next extract forcibly states the inefficacy of religious tests, and is fully borne out by the testimony of history and the practice of real life. It is a singular proof of the folly of human legislation that these relics of a narrow-minded and bigotted age should be permitted to deface our statute book.

‘Religious tests! reflect for one moment how, from its very nature, a religious test must be the personification of impotence itself? How can any test keep out of any situation he aspires to any but the conscientious man? The test is pointed against the conscientious man in reality, though it professes to be contrived for his protection. Such a man will not take it, and it is only because he is an honest man that he will not. He is excluded, while the knave, who has no conscience at all, or whose conscience is seared, as it were, with an hot iron, will swallow all the tests that can be imposed, either by the statutes of the realm, or those imitative statutes which the Universities have framed.

‘The meaning of a test is, not that you should be excluded unless you believe; but that you shall be excluded unless you *say* you believe: not, ‘unless you are one of us you shall have none of our good things;’ but, ‘pretend to be one of us, and you shall have what you want.’ It is not addressed to a man’s conscience, his honest religious opinion—it is addressed to his sordid propensities, to his feeling of self-interest; it is an appeal to his pocket, not his heart; it is a security for the very vilest parts of his nature—his love of vain distinction and his love of pelf. The moment your test meets with the man to exclude whom it is devised, it becomes utterly powerless, he swallows it up whole, in the twinkling of an eye; the gates, shut for his exclusion, fly open to receive him, and he exultingly wishes the test were twice as strong: as the man, upon his preferment, wished there were sixty-nine articles instead of thirty-nine, that he might subscribe them all, at the same rate of gain.’—pp. 352, 353.

There is scarcely a topic on which the views of our public men are more confused and inaccurate than the legal constitution of the church. We have recently witnessed several exhibitions in both houses of the grossest ignorance on this point. Men who ought to know better have reasoned as though the clergy constituted the church, and formed one great corporation, having exclusive power over the ecclesiastical property of the nation. Such language may befit the position of the representative of the Oxford University, but it has sounded strange from the lips of Sir James Graham, the ex-member, we are happy to say, for Cumberland. The following brief extract sets the subject in a truer light:

‘There is a very extraordinary delusion under which many labour with respect to the question of church property. Persons are constantly speaking of the church as if it were something separate from

the rest of the community, something known to the law, some body distinctly and separately recognized by it ; as if it were a corporate or municipal body, possessed of several rights, and capable of holding several properties ! in a word, as if the church were a corporation. A greater or more mischievous error cannot exist. The church, both in contemplation of law, and in fact, is no such body. The church is not the body of the clergy—*it is the body of the faithful* ; and consists just as much of the laity as of the clergy. When you talk of church property, therefore, you do not in reality mean that there is £3,000,000 a-year derived from tithe-land and other sources belonging to the clergy, as a body separate from the state ; and yet in common parlance this is the ordinary, but most erroneous sense, in which church property is regarded.—p. 342.

Among the many changes wrought in our times, none is more singularly ludicrous or contemptible than that which the Tory party has exhibited. After waging a relentless war against human freedom in every quarter of the globe ; after confederating with despots, wherever they were to be found, for the suppression of liberty, both political and religious ; after abetting corruption, and repressing knowledge, turning a deaf ear to the voice of complaint and insulting the miseries which their own misgovernment had engendered, they have suddenly, and without warning, professed to change their views, and to have adopted a more righteous and liberal policy. Such a conversion, had it been sincere, would be matter of gratulation throughout the civilized globe. But unhappily it has taken place under circumstances which preclude the possibility of such a supposition, and which serve to exhibit, in a yet darker and more loathsome form, the unprincipled tactics of the Tory faction. The dishonesty of the artifice is powerfully exposed in the following passage, delivered in the House of Lords, in February, 1835, and having reference to the cabinet of Sir Robert Peel, then recently formed.

‘ When, I ask, did the reforming spirit come upon this government ? They are now for reform in corporations, in the law, in the church, in the state, in tithes, and in the law of marriages. They are going to make marriage a civil contract, and to abolish all banns, for the sake of the Dissenters. All these things we are to have from those who, a few months ago, would not listen to any reform ; who told us, that in proposing it we were pulling down the church about our ears ; who inveighed against us as revolutionists ; who challenged us as rebels ; who exclaimed that we had either fools’ heads on our shoulders, or traitors’ hearts in our bosoms. Since when, I repeat, has this miraculous conversion taken place ?—whence has it been derived ? My lords, I hope that my experience of men has not made me too distrustful of their good intentions, or induced me to entertain a worse opinion of the honesty of my fellow-creatures than I ought to cherish. I hope that, having lived so long in the world as I unfortunately have, I have not,

therefore, arrived at an unkindly or uncharitable estimate of their honesty. It is, however, a result not more, perhaps, of reason and experience, than of a sort of instinct which I have in me—an instinct which I believe to be a property of our common nature—that I feel an invincible mistrust of sudden, unaccountable, miraculous conversions. That men should at once from being the enemies of reform; from being the opposers of all improvement; from being the vituperators of all change; from being those who confounded reform with revolution, anarchy, disaffection, with political insanity, if not the worst political depravity; who would not touch any of the outworks of our venerable institutions of church and state; who signalled their opinions, year after year, by uninterrupted, unabated, and pertinacious hostility to all species of reform, regarding it as synonymous with destruction; whose conduct has recorded their opinion in the eyes of the world, and whose speeches have rung it in all our ears; whose protests have stigmatized reform in worse language than I have to use,—for I cannot forget the invectives against it with which they have so often loaded your lordship's journals:—that these men should, all at once, on the 14th of November, in the year of grace 1834, without any intermediate events happening, any change of public affairs; with nothing but twenty-four hours' experience added to their former stock; without any time given for reflection, except what elapsed between the opening and the reading of the letter enclosed to Sir Henry Wheatley, and brought by the servant of my noble friend; without being allowed *spatium requiemque dolori*; having no time to mourn over the destruction of our venerable institutions, to grieve over the loss of former opinions, to balance conflicting emotions, and weep over the cruel reflection that that ruin was all to be the work of their own hands:—that these men should all at once become reformers—this, my lords, does appear to me (I use not a harsh, but a very temperate expression) one of the most unaccountable phenomena in human nature which I was ever yet called on, either as a statesman, as a philosopher, or as a man of the world, to contemplate. But it is said, 'You may trust us in our conversion; this is not the first time we have changed our opinions, and sacrificed our principles, and become converts, in twenty-four hours, to the faith of our opponents.' That is, it seems, their title to trust.'—pp. 355—357.

We can only make room for one more extract, and it shall have reference to Lord Brougham's own position and views. It is well known that, on the re-formation of the Melbourne cabinet in the spring of 1835, he was excluded from office. Rumours were instantly afloat respecting the cause of this, and various reasons were alleged. His lordship's enemies attributed it to causes dishonourable to himself, but the secret was gradually elicited. His unequalled services, on behalf of the people, had rendered him an object of especial hatred to the Tory Court; and it was therefore resolved to debar him from those honours, to which he was entitled above all living men. To this fact he re-

ferred in no very equivocal terms, in a speech delivered at Liverpool, July 20, 1835, from which we make the following extract :

‘ To one charge, however, which they bring against me, I must, no doubt of it, plead guilty,—I have not found favour with the courtiers, and I am no longer in office. My political habits; my principles; my popular feelings; the perpetual struggle of my life for the rights of my fellow-citizens; the determination which guides my public conduct that the interests of the people shall be the sole rule of the government; above all, my fixed and unalterable resolution that the Reform Bill shall bear its natural fruits, by giving this country at length a really cheap government, without which it is a useless and barren stock;—all these things are the worst of crimes in the eyes of a court, and the result of them is, that I now meet my fellow-citizens in a private station, and absolutely independent in the performance of all my duties. Nor do I boast of having made any great sacrifice.

‘ If it were not somewhat late in the day for moralizing, I could tell of the prerogatives, not so very high,—the enjoyments, none of the sweetest,—which he loses who surrenders place, oftentimes misnamed power. To be responsible for measures which others control, perchance contrive; to be chargeable with leaving undone things which he ought to have done, and had all the desire to do, without the power of doing; to be compelled to trust those whom he knew to be utterly untrustworthy: and on the most momentous occasions, involving the interests of millions, implicitly to confide in quarters where common prudence forbade reposing a common confidence; to have schemes of the wisest, the most profound policy, judged and decided on by the most ignorant and the most frivolous of human beings, and the most generous aspirations of the heart for the happiness of his species, chilled by frowns of the most selfish and sordid of his race:—these are among the unenviable prerogatives of place,—of what is falsely called power in this country: and yet I doubt if there be not others less enviable still. To be planted upon the eminence from whence he must see the baser features of human nature uncovered and deformed; witness the attitude of climbing ambition from a point whence it is only viewed as creeping and crawling, tortuous and venomous, in its hateful path; be forced to see the hideous sight of a naked human heart, whether throbbing in the bosom of the great vulgar, or of the little, is not a very pleasing occupation for any one who loves his fellow-creatures, and would fain esteem them; and, trust me, that he who wields power and patronage for but a little month, shall find the many he may try to serve furiously hating him for involuntary failure—while the few whom he may succeed in helping to the object of all their wishes, shall, with a preposterous pride, (the most unamiable part of the British character,) seek to prove their independence by showing their ingratitude, if they do not try to cancel the obligation by fastening a quarrel upon him.

‘ Yet to even all this I might have reconciled myself from a desire to further great measures, and from the pleasure which excitement gives to active minds, or, if you will, from the glory which inspires

ambitious notions among statesmen, as well as conquerors. But worse to be endured than all, was the fetter and the cramp imposed on one used to independence,—the being buried while yet alive, to the people's condition and claims,—buried in the house of form and etiquette appointed for all ministers. Who, then, can marvel at the exultation which I feel to shake and to brace every fibre of my frame when, casting off these trammels—bursting through the cerements of that tomb—I start into new life, and resume my position in the van of my countrymen, struggling for their rights, and moving onwards in the accelerated progress of improvement with a boundless might, and a resistless fury, which prostrate in the dust all the puny obstacles that can be raised by the tyranny of courts and their intrigues—the persecution of bigots and their cunning—the sordid plots of greedy monopolists, whether privileged companies, or overgrown establishments, or corrupt municipalities?

‘In this proud position I am now placed; and I have no desire at all to leave it. I am once more absolutely free,—the slave of no party—-at the mercy of no court intrigue—in the service of my country, and of that only master. Firm on this vantage ground, it must, indeed, be an honest government, and a strong one,—a government which promises much for the people, and is capable of accomplishing much of what it promises, that can ever tempt me to abandon my independence in the front of my countrymen, and enlist with any ministry whatever.’
—pp. 386—388.

This extract, it must be confessed, presents the comforts of office in no very attractive light. It is a picture drawn by the hand of a master, accurate as an individual likeness, but failing as the representation of a class. There are few office-holders who sympathize with the lofty speculations and bright visions of such a man as Lord Brougham. They have been for the most part men of narrow views and sordid passions, who were content to deal with the follies and wickedness of others, if they might thereby retain the dignities and emoluments of place. They have consequently been exempted from the disquietudes and heart-sinking of which more generous and lofty natures are susceptible. Whether his lordship's past experience will deter him from the future acceptance of office remains to be seen. We must confess that, while we should like to see the honour proffered, we should be glad to know that it had been declined. It is due to Lord Brougham—due alike to his transcendent abilities, his political integrity, and his unmatched services—that the highest honours of the state should be within his grasp. But we should deem it a national calamity if so proud and lofty a spirit were again to be entrammelled by the cold forms and meaningless etiquette of office.

But we must reluctantly close. The volume from which we have extracted will be read and pondered over by thousands of our countrymen. It is not a book for continuous reading, but

for frequent reference. It is admirably adapted to occupy a leisure hour, and to minister a healthy stimulus to the mind. Its diversified contents appear, for the most part, under obvious disadvantages, yet they display, in combination with vast argumentative and oratorical powers, a force, comprehension, and subtlety of intellect rarely seen. We need not say, we recommend our readers to examine it for themselves.

Art. VI. *Introduction to the Literature of Europe in the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Centuries.* By HENRY HALLAM, F.R.A.S. Vol. I. 8vo. London: Murray.

THIS volume may justly be considered a phenomenon in literature. Its author represents at once the spirit of the writers of a past age and of our own. He conjoins that solid erudition, that multifarious and extensive reading which characterized the former, and which poured itself forth in folios, with that love of compactness and precision which distinguishes the latter. Modern authors rejoice in octavos and duodecimos, and strive to present the results of all science in the smallest possible compass. The spirit of literature as manifested in either class of writers, has its characteristic excellences and its characteristic faults. If the erudition of our forefathers was varied and profound, the mode of exhibiting it was often intolerably diffuse; and if on the other hand, the style of our own day is better adapted to convey instruction, the books themselves are as often intolerably superficial. If the ancient folio contained too much, the modern octavo or duodecimo as frequently contains too little. In the one case the reader is presented with the materials of thought,—with intellectual *viands*,—though in a rude way; in the other we are reminded of some of those coldly elegant entertainments where nothing is forgotten but the—*meat*, and we are in danger of starving, amidst silver forks and damask table-cloths. If the one class of books are stuffed with misapplied learning and pedantic quotations, or wander into endless digressions on all sorts of subjects, the other as often contain nothing more than a meagre abridgment, a hasty and scanty compilation of what has been said by others, without any of that charm of *manner*, that vivacity, that vigorous thought which is sure to distinguish all that is *original*, however rude. This volume combines all the excellences of both classes of works, and what is still more wonderful, cannot be charged with the faults of either. It displays immense and most multifarious knowledge, yet expressed in the most compact and compressed form. It is the concentrated essence of folios packed

into a moderate octavo. As we pass from page to page, and see the most massive and weighty subjects rapidly yet judiciously disposed of, we are reminded of the wonders of modern railroad travelling, where immense weights are conveyed with the utmost velocity of movement; where the bulky contents of the old broad-wheeled waggons are shot through space with more than the rapidity of mail coaches, and huge bales of goods and trains of numberless carriages are whirled along at the rate of twenty miles an hour.

Mr. Hallam may also be said to represent the spirit of the authors of two different nations; we mean those of Germany and those of his own country. He is eminently distinguished by that unwearied spirit of research which characterizes the former, but is at the same time as eminently distinguished by that far more *practical* spirit which is found in the latter. He possesses a complete command of his bulky materials, and selects and distributes them to the best advantage.

That the task of tracing the history of European literature should have been reserved for Mr. Hallam, (although we think it a very happy circumstance,) does not in the slightest degree surprise us. It may at first sight indeed excite wonder, that no previous author should have aspired to treat, in one great systematic work, so tempting, so magnificent a subject; yet, when we think of the rare qualifications which must centre in that individual who can attempt it with any chance of success, and the term of study, the long and unwearied preparation, which it requires for an adequate performance of the task, we are rather astonished that *any one* should be found fit to undertake it, than that no more should; or that any man, *being qualified*, should voluntarily subject himself to the Herculean labour it involves, than that such ambition should animate only him. In order to write a thoroughly good book on such a subject, the author must possess, in the first place, an intimate knowledge of at least *eight* languages, namely, English, French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, German, and of course Latin and Greek. Without the two last, the bulk of the literature of the mediæval period cannot be understood at all.—Secondly, in addition to a knowledge of the above-mentioned modern languages, as they are *now spoken*, he must possess a knowledge of their rude and early dialects, without which he will be totally unable to give an account of the process of their formation, or of the ancient works composed in them.—Thirdly, he must have read the principal productions in each of the above-named languages, in the wide realms of fiction and polite literature, and at least such a portion of those on all the several branches of science and philosophy, as shall qualify him for pronouncing on their literary merits, giving an intelligible account of their general contents, and tracing the progress of discovery

and improvement. To this must be added a *business-like* perusal of an immensity of historical, biographical, historico-literary and critical matter, containing accounts of the literary character and works of individual authors, or tracing the progress of literature within certain eras, or amongst particular nations. Let us only reflect for a moment what all this implies! The study of numberless authors in the most diverse languages on the most diverse subjects; poets, romance-writers, novelists, historians, metaphysicians, theologians, and the perusal of such a portion of the writings of authors in all departments of physical, ethical, and legal science, as shall qualify the historian to give a distinct account of the respective merits of each, and to trace the progress of the age. This alone must require very many years of diligent preparation—a long and most laborious accumulation of materials; but this is not all, nor even the principal part; for there are many men who possess sufficient powers of acquisition and sufficient industry, to fulfil *these* conditions as well as they *could* be fulfilled by any poor creature whose years are but threescore and ten. Other and more rare qualifications are still behind.—Fourthly then, he must possess a truly philosophical mind, if he would give any thing like a just account of the causes which have tended to advance or check the progress of literature in any particular country or at any one period; if he would trace the influence of politics and religion, on literature, or of literature on religion and politics; the influence which national manners and the outward forms of society have exercised upon literature, or which it again has exercised on them; or lastly, the reciprocal influence of the different branches of literature on one another. He must have a discriminating judgment and a highly cultivated taste, in order to appreciate the beauties, and determine the relative merits of the authors on whom he sits in judgment. He must be deeply imbued with a spirit of just and profound criticism, that he may give a rational account of the principles of different schools, and different styles of literature; pronounce on diversities of national taste, and determine how far these last are reconcileable with those immutable principles of our nature which lie at the basis of all literary excellence; the exhibition of which national manners and peculiarities may modify, but can never wholly violate, at least without rendering the productions which thus violate them a tissue of extravagance, ridiculous at once to the mass of mankind, and in the end to the very people in which such a false taste, like some absurd fashion, has for a time predominated.—Fifthly, he must possess eminent candour and impartiality; that he may rise above national prejudices himself, and do justice to modes of thought and styles of literature to which his own country, or his own age is a stranger. He must be entirely free from that love of paradox to which literary critics are so often addicted;

men, who find their supreme delight in taking down the idols of the world's admiration from their pedestals, and putting up others in their place; who are animated by an iconoclastic zeal which goes about defacing monuments and breaking images, depreciating great fame and elevating obscure merit; finding out that there is not much beauty in a universally admired work, and that purely because every body persists in admiring it, and prodigious merit in another, merely because no one has ever seen it but the critic himself. Lastly, he must possess a sound judgment in the selection, arrangement, and disposition of his own most multifarious materials, and at least such a command of language and of style as shall enable him to exhibit them with some degree of eloquence. This is absolutely necessary, if he would hope to attract and interest the reader on such a theme.

We only state our sincere conviction when we say that Mr. Hallam unites these various qualifications in as great a degree as could be expected in any man, and in far greater measure than can be found in any one of his contemporaries. Of many of these qualifications his former works sufficiently show that he was possessed. They evince his indefatigable research, his extensive erudition, his sound judgment, his impartiality and candour, in every page. But it will astonish some readers to find that, while Mr. Hallam was pursuing those studies which were necessary for exhibiting the political, social, and civil state of Europe during the Middle Ages, or for tracing the constitutional history of our own country, he was paying attention at the same time to polite literature, and that in his present volume he shows himself almost as much at home in poetry and the *Belles Lettres*, in discussing the merits of different schools of taste, in examining the works of great poets, in canvassing matters of diction and of metre, as (in his other works) the principles of politics and legislation, or the progress of wars and negociations. He is apparently as much at his ease in discussing the constituents of the chivalrous and romantic spirit of the Middle Ages, as he would be in tracing the history of the Reformation; or in criticising the merits of Boiardo and Ariosto as the characters of Henry VIII. and of Cromwell.

We do not know that we ever saw a work, certainly we never saw any *historical* work, which contained so much matter,—matter so various, and spread over so extensive a field,—in so *readable* a form. We say *readable*, because we are well aware that it would be possible to cram a much larger amount of information into a volume of the same size, if our author had pursued the same plan as some historians, or rather some mere *annalists*; but to insert so much in a *readable* form; that is, while touching each topic with that rapidity which was essentially necessary in order to comprehend it in any way, to present it in such a

definite form as to make an adequate impression on the memory and imagination; to interfuse amongst such a wilderness of dry names and dates so much of the spirit of philosophy and criticism as to render the narrative not only intelligible, but interesting; to overspread such a multitude of facts with so much discussion on the causes which produced or modified them, and to connect them with the general history of the periods or nations to which they are referred; to enter within so short a compass into such minute details, and yet render these details so attractive;—is what we never saw accomplished in so eminent a degree as in the volume before us.

It may justly excite surprise that, admitting almost a miraculous combination of natural and acquired qualities to be necessary, to qualify a man for such an undertaking as this—the task has not been attempted by combining upon it the talent and erudition of different individuals. In fact, however, this has been attempted in Germany, where, especially of late years, historico-literary investigation in every department of science, learning, and art, has become exceedingly common. The Germans have always been fonder of this species of investigation than ourselves; indeed, in England, to our shame be it spoken, we not only have no history of European literature in general, but not even of our own literature, nay, not even a complete history of any one of its departments. The Germans have various writers on the literature of their own country, the most valuable of whom, in our opinion, is Menzel, whose work we do not perceive as yet quoted by Mr. Hallam, but which we shall doubtless see referred to in his subsequent volumes; since it can hardly have escaped his comprehensive research. The greatest work of a *general* historico-literary nature ever projected was originated in Germany on the plan above mentioned; that of combining upon it the collective genius and learning of a considerable number of authors. It was divided into eleven different departments, any one of which was considered sufficient for one man. Bonterwek was intrusted with poetry and polite literature; Buhle with speculative philosophy; Kästner with mathematics; Sprengel with anatomy and surgery; Heeren with classical literature; while to Eichhorn was committed the revision and superintendence of the whole. This vast work was never fully executed; nor was it perhaps projected on the very best principle. In such a work, considering the cognate and closely related nature of many of the subjects, and the unity of character, of purpose, of execution, which it is so desirable to keep up throughout, different writers should merely be employed to collect materials, the selection, arrangement, and distribution of which, should be committed to one master-mind; a mind at once of great powers and multifarious erudition. But though the work was not completed, ‘we owe to it,’ says Hallam, ‘several

‘standard works to which I have been considerably indebted.’ Bonterwek’s history of Spanish poetry has been translated into English.

For the general history of the literature of particular countries, almost as little has been done as for the history of European literature in general, with the exception of Germany, and of Italy, which last can boast in the work of Tiraboschi, the most complete and comprehensive account of every department of national literature. There is nothing of the kind in France; ‘it has no work,’ says Hallam, ‘on the universal history of her own literature, nor can we claim for ourselves a single attempt of the most superficial kind. Warton’s history of poetry contains much that bears on our general learning, but it leaves us about the accession of Elizabeth.’

Particular departments of science or learning have fared better. There is the History of Philosophy by Brucker, to begin with. The great work of Tenneman on the same subject. Victor Cousin’s Abridgment of the same work. Buhle’s History of Philosophy from the revival of letters. Bonterwek’s History of Poetry and Eloquence, in eleven volumes octavo; and Montucla’s and Kästner’s Works on Mathematics; not to mention others. Not one of them, however, was written by an Englishman. Mr. Hallam’s work will wipe away this reproach, and we may confidently expect to see it translated into many of the languages of Europe.

Of the multifarious contents of this closely printed volume, it would be impossible of course to furnish, in a short review, any thing like an adequate analysis, as the separate parts of the work are so closely connected together: and as the detail of particular facts is so intimately complicated with the exposition of the great principles on which their evolution depends, it is equally difficult to select any short passages which can give an adequate impression of the merits of the work. We shall, however, do the best we can; and after laying before the reader a brief statement of the *principal contents* of each chapter, select a few extracts on such topics as are least connected with minute details, and are likely to prove generally interesting from their relation, not to this or that particular department of science or art, or to this or that class of writers, but to the great evolutions of literature in general.

The volume is divided into nine chapters. Mr. Hallam only proposes to treat of the history of literature in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. But in order that he might do this thoroughly, it was necessary to enter somewhat at length into the state of learning in Europe in the Middle Ages. The first chapter, therefore, is devoted to the examination of this subject, and is wholly introductory. It is entitled, ‘On the General State of Literature in the Middle Ages, to the End of the

'Fourteenth Century.' In this chapter, the remarks which have most interested us, and which we apprehend will most interest the reader, are those—on the prejudices of the ecclesiastics against literature, and on their usefulness in preserving it; on the schools of Charlemagne; on the general character of the tenth century, which Mr. Hallam contends was more progressive than is generally supposed; on the want of original genius, the prevalence of bad taste, and the deficiency of poetical talent, which distinguished the dark ages; on the degree in which this depended on the imperfection of language (our author's remarks on this subject, strike us as eminently just and beautiful); on the formation of the modern European languages; on the origin of modern metres and of rhyme; and on the invention of paper.

The second chapter carries on the history from 1400 to 1440. It commences with an account of the revival of classical literature, one great instrument of awakening Europe from barbarism and ignorance, and which, at all events, had more to do with the formation of *taste* than any other ten causes put together. This chapter also contains some most interesting remarks on the causes of the enthusiasm for antiquity in Italy; on the physical sciences of the Middle Ages; on the character of Roger Bacon, and his resemblance to his more illustrious namesake; on the Encyclopædic works of the Middle Ages; on the metres of Spanish poetry; on the state of English poetry during this period; on the constituents of chivalry; on the early attacks on the church.

The third chapter is on the Literature of Europe from 1440 to the close of the Fifteenth Century. In this, the remarks which have most pleased us are those on the progress of the study of classical literature; on the invention of printing; on its progress in Germany; on Lorenzo de Medici; on the Italian poetry and prose of the fifteenth century; on the state of literature in England, containing some most judicious remarks on the Paston letters, as affording some evidence as to the degree of information possessed by the wealthy in private life; on the revival of the Platonic philosophy, by Lorenzo and his friends; the splendid description of his villa at Fiesole; on the Schoolmen, especially on the controversy between the Nominalists and Realists; on the European Drama, and its origin as connected with 'religious mysteries,' as they were called; on the early literary history of Erasmus; on the number of books printed during this period; on the history of bookselling as a trade; on the price of books and their forms; on the effects of printing on the Reformation.

The fourth book is confined to a survey of the next twenty years only; that is, from 1500 to 1520. The most interesting parts are these: on the press and Academy of Aldus; on the study of the oriental languages; on the Greek scholars in

England; on the Utopia of Moore; on the Adages of Erasmus; on the origin of the Reformation; on the character of Luther; on the Orlando Furioso,—a beautiful piece of criticism.

The fifth chapter gives us the history of *ancient* literature in Europe from 1520 to 1550. The principal topics are the superiority of taste in Italy as connected with an ardent admiration of antiquity; the influence of Erasmus; the Greek Grammar, and the Lexicons of this period; the Latin Thesaurus of Stephens; the effects of the Reformation on classical learning; the history and characters of Smith, Cheke, and Ascham.—At the close of this chapter our author contends with great truth, in opposition to Warton and many other writers, that the destruction of monasteries was no injury to *learning*.

The sixth chapter gives us the history of *theological* learning during the same period. It contains a brief account of the progress of the Reformation; of the differences between Luther and Zwingle; of the conduct of Erasmus, and of his controversy with Luther; of Calvin and his institutes; of the progress of the differences amongst the Reformers; of the Jesuits; of the council of Trent and its chief difficulties; of the character of Luther, (to which we shall return by-and-by); of the spirit of the Reformation, and 'of the passions instrumental to it.' These latter topics are treated in a fine philosophical spirit, and with the author's accustomed candour; indeed, we are sometimes inclined to think that he has exercised rather *too much* candour towards the Romanists.

The seventh chapter contains the history of speculative, moral, and political philosophy, and of jurisprudence, during the same period. The most interesting portions of this chapter are on the gradual decline of the scholastic philosophy; on the fortunes of Aristotle's philosophy; on the imposture and extravagances of Paracelsus; on the ethical writings of Erasmus and Melancthon; but especially the long and admirable, but perhaps on the whole, somewhat too favourable criticism on Machiavel.

The eighth chapter contains the history of the literature of taste during the same period. We cannot specify particular topics of interest; to the student of polite literature, the whole is deeply interesting. The last chapter of the volume is on the scientific and miscellaneous literature of the same period. Though most valuable to the man of science, it is to the general reader the least attractive in the book.

Mr. Hallam may now congratulate himself on having completed the most difficult, or at least, most irksome part of his task; for though the stream of literature which is to bear him onward will widen as he proceeds, the chief difficulties of the navigation are surmounted. He will not have much more to read, in barbarous, or at the best (with the exception of a few splendid in-

stances) impure Latin, nor much in obsolete dialects, or half-formed languages. It will be plain sailing, though the voyage will be long. We shall rejoice to hear that his last volume is in the printer's hands, and that he can exclaim, in those triumphant words of the followers of Æneas, with which Montesquieu closes his great work, 'Italiæ ! Italiæ !'

We must now proceed to give our readers a few extracts ; promising, however, that, as they are selected principally because they are capable of being easily isolated, they by no means serve to convey an adequate idea of the merits of the work. We shall present our readers with three passages, giving an account of three of the principal events connected with the progress of literature ;—the invention of paper, the history of bookselling, and the publication of books in octavo and duodecimos. To this we should add, the account of the invention of *printing*, but we suppose the history of that great discovery is well known to our readers.

The following is an account of the invention of paper :

'The date of the invention of our present paper, manufactured from linen rags, or of its introduction into Europe, has long been the subject of controversy. That paper made from cotton was in use sooner, is admitted on all sides. Some charters written upon that kind not later than the tenth century were seen by Montfaucon ; and it is even said to be found in papal bulls of the ninth. The Greeks, however, from whom the west of Europe is conceived to have borrowed this sort of paper, did not much employ it in manuscript books, according to Montfaucon, till the twelfth century, from which time it came into frequent use among them. Muratori had seen no writing upon this material older than 1100, though in deference to Montfaucon, he admits its employment earlier. It certainly was not greatly used in Italy before the thirteenth century. Among the Saracens of Spain, on the other hand, as well as those of the East, it was of much greater antiquity. The Greeks called it *Charta Damascena*, having been manufactured or sold in the city of Damascus. And Casiri, in his catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Escorial, desires us to understand that they are written on paper of cotton or linen, but generally the latter, unless the contrary be expressed. Many in this catalogue were written before the thirteenth, or even the twelfth century.

'This will lead us to the more disputed question as to the antiquity of linen paper. The earliest distinct instance I have found, and which I believe has hitherto been overlooked, is an Arabic version of the Aphorisms of Hippocrates, the manuscript bearing the date of 1100. This Casiri observes to be on linen paper, not as in itself remarkable, but as accounting for its injury by wet. It does not appear whether it were written in Spain, or, like many in that catalogue, brought from Egypt or the East.

'The authority of Casiri must confirm beyond doubt a passage in Peter, Abbot of Clugni, which has perplexed those who place the in-

vention of linen paper very low. In a treatise against the Jews, he speaks of books, *ex pellibus arietum, hircorum, vel vitulorum, sive ex biblis vel juncis Orientalium paludum, aut ex rasuris veterum pannorum, seu ex aliâ quâlibet forte viliori materia compactos.* A late English writer contends that nothing can be meant by the last words, 'unless that all sorts of inferior substances capable of being so applied, among them, perhaps, hemp and the remains of cordage, were used at this period in the manufacture of paper.' It certainly at least seems reasonable to interpret the words '*ex rasuris veterum pannorum,*' of linen rags; and when I add that Peter Cluniacensis passed a considerable time in Spain about 1141, there can remain, it seems, no rational doubt, that the Saracens of the Peninsula were acquainted with that species of paper, though perhaps it was as yet unknown in every other country.

'Andrès asserts, on the authority of the Memoirs of the Academy of Barcelona, that a treaty between the kings of Arragon and Castile, bearing the date 1178, and written upon linen paper, is extant in the archives of that city. He alleges several other instances in the next page; when Mabillon, who denies that paper of linen was then used in charters, which indeed, no one is likely to maintain, mentions, as the earliest specimen he had seen in France, a letter of Joinville to St. Louis, which must be older than 1270. Andrès refers the invention to the Saracens of Spain, using the fine flax of Valencia and Murcia; and conjectures that it was brought into use among the Spaniards themselves by Alfonso of Castile.'

'In the opinion of the English writer, to whom we have above referred, paper, from a very early period, was manufactured of mixed materials, which have sometimes been erroneously taken for pure cotton. We have in the Tower of London a letter addressed to Henry III. by Raymond, son of Raymond VI., Count of Toulouse, and consequently between 1216 and 1222, when the latter died, upon very strong paper, and certainly made, in Mr. Ottley's judgment, of mixed materials; while in several of the time of Edward I., written upon genuine cotton paper of no great thickness, the fibres of cotton present themselves every where at the backs of the letters so distinctly that they seem as if they might even now be spun into thread.

'Notwithstanding this last statement, which I must confirm by my own observation, and of which no one can doubt who has looked at the letters themselves, several writers of high authority, such as Tiraboschi and Savigny, persist not only in fixing the invention of linen paper very low even after the middle of the fourteenth century, but in maintaining that it is undistinguishable from that made of cotton, except by the eye of a manufacturer. Were this indeed true, it would be sufficient for the purpose we have here in view, which is not to trace the origin of a particular discovery, but the employment of a useful vehicle of writing. If it be true that cotton paper was fabricated in Italy of so good a texture that it cannot be discerned from linen, it must be considered as of equal utility. It is not the case with the letters on cotton paper in our English repositories, most, if not all, of which were written in France or Spain. * * * *

‘ Sir Henry Ellis has said that, ‘ few, very few instances indeed occur before the fifteenth century, of letters written upon paper. The use of cotton paper was by no means general, or even, I believe, frequent, except in Spain and Italy, perhaps also in the South of France. Nor was it much employed even in Italy for books. Savigny tells us there are few manuscripts of law books among the multitude that exist, which are not written on parchment.’—pp. 74—79.

We next give an account of the history of bookselling :

‘ We shall conclude this portion of literary history with a few illustrations of what a German writer calls ‘ the exterior being of books,’ for which I do not find an equivalent in English idiom. The trade of bookselling seems to have been established at Paris and at Bologna in the twelfth century ; the lawyers and Universities called it into life. It is very improbable that it existed in what we properly call the dark ages. Peter of Blois mentions a book which he had bought of a public dealer (a quodam publico mangone librorum). But we do not find, I believe, many distinct accounts of them till the next age. These dealers were denominated Stationarii, perhaps from the open stalls at which they carried on their business, though *statio* is a general word for a shop, in low Latin. They appear, by the old statutes of the University of Paris, and by those of Bologna, to have sold books upon commission ; and are sometimes, though not uniformly, distinguished from the Librarii ; a word which, having originally been confined to the copyists of books, was afterwards applied to those who traded in them. They sold parchment and other materials of writing, which with us, though, as far as I know, nowhere else, have retained the name of stationery, and naturally exercised the kindred occupations of binding and decorating. They probably employed transcribers : we find at least that there was a profession of copyists in the Universities and in large cities ; and by means of these, before the invention of printing, the necessary books of grammar, law, and theology, were multiplied to a great extent for the use of students ; but with much incorrectness, and far more expense than afterwards. That invention put a sudden stop to their honest occupation. But whatever hatred they might feel towards the new art, it was in vain to oppose its reception : no party could be raised in the public against so manifest and unalloyed a benefit ; and the copyists, grown by habit fond of books, frequently employed themselves in the somewhat kindred labour of pressmen.

‘ The first printers were always booksellers, and sold their own impressions. These occupations were not divided till the early part of the sixteenth century. But the risks of sale, at a time when learning was by no means general, combined with the great cost of production, paper and other materials being very dear, rendered this a hazardous trade. We have a curious petition of Sweynheim and Pannartz to Sixtus IV., in 1472, wherein they complain of their poverty, brought on by printing so many works, which they had not been able to sell. They state the number of impressions of each edition. Of the clas-

sical authors they had generally printed 275; of Virgil and the philosophical works of Cicero, twice that number. In theological publications the usual number of copies had also been 550. The whole number of copies printed was 12,475. It is possible that experience made other printers more discreet in their estimation of the public demand. Notwithstanding the casualties of three centuries, it seems, from the great scarcity of these early editions which has long existed, that the original circulation must have been much below the number of copies printed, as indeed the complaint of Sweynheim and Pannartz shows.'

'The price of books was diminished by four-fifths after the invention of printing. Chevillier gives some instances of a fall of books in this proportion. But not content with such a reduction, the university of Paris proceeded to establish a tariff, according to which every edition was to be sold, and seems to have set the prices very low. This was by virtue of the prerogatives they exerted, as we shall soon find, over the book trade of the capital. The priced catalogues of Colinaeus and Robert Stephens are extant, relating, of course, to a later period than the present; but we shall not return to the subject. The Greek Testament of Colinaeus was sold for twelve sous, the Latin for six. The folio Latin Bible, printed by Robert Stephens in 1532, might be had for one hundred sous, a copy of the Pandects for forty sous, a Virgil for two sous and six deniers, a Greek Grammar of Clenardus for two sous, Demosthenes and Æschines, I know not what edition, for five sous. It would of course be necessary, before we can make any use of these prices, to compare them with that of corn. * * *

'Nothing could be less unreasonable,' adds Mr. Hallam, 'than that the printer should have a better chance of indemnifying himself and the author, if in those days the author, as probably he did, hoped for some lucrative return after his exhausting drudgery, by means of an exclusive privilege. The senate of Venice granted an exclusive privilege, for five years, to John of Spire, in 1469, for the first book printed in the city, his edition of Cicero's Epistles. But I am not aware that this extended to any other work. And this seems to have escaped the learned Beckmann, who says, that the earliest instance of protected copyright on record appears to be in favour of a book insignificant enough, a Missal for the Church of Bamberg, printed in 1490. It is probable that other privileges of an older date have not been found. In 1491 one occurs at the end of a book printed at Venice, and five more at the same place within the century; the Aristotle of Aldus being one of the books: one also is found at Milan. These privileges are always recited at the end of the volume. They are, however, very rare in comparison with the number of books published, and seem not accorded by preference to the most important editions.' Such was the origin of copyright—a topic which is at this period of no little interest—at least to us.

‘ In these exclusive privileges the printer was forced to call in the magistrate for his own benefit. But there was often a different sort of interference by the civil power with the press. The destruction of books, and the prohibition of their sale, had not been unknown to antiquity; instances of it occur in the free republics of Athens and Rome; but it was naturally more frequent under suspicious despotisms, especially when to the jealousy of the state was superadded that of the church, and novelty, even in speculation, became a crime. Ignorance came on with the fall of the empire, and it was unnecessary to guard against the abuse of an act which very few possessed at all. With the first revival of letters in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, sprang up the reviving shoots of heretical freedom; but with Berenger and Abelard came also the jealousy of the church, and the usual exertion of the right of the strongest. Abelard was censured by the council of Soissons in 1121, for suffering copies of his book to be taken without the approbation of his superiors, and the delinquent volumes were given to the flames. It does not appear, however, that any regulation on this subject had been made. But, when the sale of books became the occupation of a class of traders, it was deemed necessary to place them under restraint. Those of Paris and Bologna, the cities, doubtless, where the greatest business of this kind was carried on, came altogether into the power of the universities. It is proved by various statutes of the university of Paris, originating, no doubt, in some authority conferred by the crown, and bearing date from the year 1275 to 1403, that booksellers were appointed by the university, and considered as its officers, probably matriculated by entry on her roll; that they took an oath, renewable at her pleasure, to observe her statutes and regulations; that they were admitted upon security, and testimonials to their moral conduct; that no one could sell books in Paris without his permission; and that they could expose no book to sale without communication with the university, and without its approbation; that the university fixed the prices, according to the tariff of four sworn booksellers, at which books should be sold, or lent to the scholars; that a fine might be imposed for incorrect copies; that the sellers were bound to fix up in their shops a priced catalogue of their books, besides other regulations of less importance. Books deemed by the university unfit for perusal were sometimes burned by its order. Chevillier gives several prices for lending books (*pro exemplari concessio scholaribus*), fixed about 1303. The books mentioned are all of divinity, philosophy, or canon law; on an average, the charge for about twenty pages was a sou. The university of Toulouse exercised the same authority; and Albert III., Archduke of Austria, founding the university of Vienna about 1384, copied the statutes of Paris in this control over bookselling as well as in other respects. The stationarii of Bologna were also bound by oath, and gave sureties to fulfil their duties towards the university; one of these was, to keep by them copies of books, to the number of one hundred and seventeen, for the hire of which a price was fixed. By degrees, however, a class of booksellers grew up at Paris, who took no oath to the university, and were consequently not admitted to its privileges, being usually poor

scholars, who were tolerated in selling books of low price. These were of no importance, till the privileged, or sworn traders, having been reduced, by a royal ordinance of 1488, to twenty-four, this lower class silently increased: at length the practice of taking an oath to the university fell into disuse.' pp. 339—347.

The last shall be the following lively account of the first publication of books in a more convenient size than the unmanageable and expensive folio:

'Aldus himself left Venice in 1506, his effects in the territory having been plundered, and did not open his press again till 1512, when he entered into partnership with his father-in-law, Andrew Asola. He had been actively employed during the first years of the century. He published Sophocles, Herodotus, and Thucydides in 1502; Euripides and Herodian in 1503; Demosthenes in 1504. These were important accessions to Greek learning, though so much remained behind. A circumstance may be here mentioned, which had so much influence in facilitating the acquisition of knowledge, that it renders the year 1501 a sort of epoch in literary history. He that year not only introduced a new Italic character, called Aldine, more easily read, perhaps, than his Roman letters; which are sometimes rude; but, what was of more importance, begun to print in a small octavo or duodecimo form, instead of the cumbrous and expensive folios that had been principally in use. Whatever the great of ages past might seem to lose by this indignity, was more than compensated in the diffused love and admiration of their writings. 'With what pleasure,' says M. Renouard, 'must the studious man, the lover of letters, have beheld these benevolent octavos, these Virgils and Horaces contained in one little volume, which he might carry in his pocket, while travelling, or in a walk; which besides cost him hardly more than two of our francs, so that he could get a dozen of them for the price of one of those folios that had hitherto been the sole furniture of his library. The appearance of these correct and well-printed octavos ought to be as much remarked as the substitution of printed books for manuscripts itself.' We have seen above, that not only quartos, nearly as portable, perhaps, as octavos, but the latter form, also, had been coming into use towards the close of the fifteenth century, though I believe it was sparingly employed for classical authors.

'It was about 1500 that Aldus drew together a few scholars into a literary association, called Aldi Neacademia. Not only amicable discussions, but the choice of books to be printed, of manuscripts and various readings, occupied their time, so that they may be considered as literary partners of the noble-minded printer. This academy was dispersed by the retirement of Aldus from Venice, and never met again.' pp. 352—354.

But we must not quit the volume without saying a few words on the topic to which we intimated above our intention to return—the character of Luther. We cannot think that Mr. Hallam has quite done the great reformer justice, and that on two points. We

think he has hardly interpreted with that candour which usually distinguishes him, certain obnoxious expressions in Luther's writings, with respect to Christian liberty, and the doctrine of justification by faith alone; and that he has scarcely done justice to Luther's extraordinary intellectual endowments. To deal with these in order.

Speaking of Luther, he says :

‘In maintaining salvation to depend on faith as a single condition, he not only denied the importance, in a religious sense, of a virtuous life, but asserted that every one, who felt within himself a full assurance that his sins were remitted (which, according to Luther, is the proper meaning of Christian faith), became incapable of sinning at all, or at least of forfeiting the favour of God, so long, but so long only, as that assurance should continue. Such expressions are sometimes said, by Seckendorf and Mosheim, to have been thrown out hastily, and without precision; but I fear it will be found, on examination, that they are very definite and clear, the want of precision and perspicuity being rather in those which are alleged as inconsistent with them, and as more consonant to the general doctrine of the Christian church.’ p. 416.

He at the same time says, ‘it must not be supposed for a moment that Luther, whose soul was penetrated with a fervent piety, and whose integrity and purity of life is unquestioned, could mean to give any encouragement to a licentious disregard of moral virtue, which he valued as in itself lovely before God as well as men, though in the technical style of his theology he might deny its proper obligation.’ He afterwards says, that ‘he is unwilling to give his pages too theological a caste, or he could easily prove his statement by extracts from Luther’s *early writings*,’ ‘which display Luther’s Antinomian paradoxes in a strong light.’ Now upon this we observe, first, that we are far enough from denying that, *in his early writings*, Luther often did express himself on this subject with lamentable want of prudence and caution; nor, considering the extent to which the great doctrine of justification by faith had been obscured, was this, perhaps, much to be wondered at; but then we cannot agree with Mr. Hallam in thinking that these passages are to be interpreted alone, merely because they are apparently so ‘definite and clear,’ but from the whole of his writings; if there are others, as there are incontestably many, which at the least seem to be inconsistent with these absolute statements, the former must be interpreted as qualified and modified by the latter. This is the only rational plan; it is this we adopt in interpreting the sacred writers, some of whom indeed, if ‘a few clear and definite’ expressions were taken alone, apart from a full examination of the whole book in which they occur, might be

charged with holding the same opinions with which Luther is here charged. If, on the other hand, the two series of statements be utterly incapable of being harmonized, then Luther must be given up as apparently holding contradictory opinions. But even then we have no right to charge him with holding one set of sentiments in their most naked and undisguised form, while there are others which show that they did not hold an invariable influence, or that they were to be modified in some way or other. Mr. Hallam says, 'in treating of an author so full of 'unlimited propositions as Luther, no positive proof as to his 'tenets can be refuted by the production of inconsistent passages.' This does appear to us, from a person of Mr. Hallam's perspicacity, somewhat extraordinary; since the 'positive proof,' to which he refers, is derived from the *writings* of Luther, as well as 'the inconsistent passages,' which seem at variance with them, and the one is as much to be taken into consideration as the other. Now, as we have already said, if it be impossible to harmonize the two series of statements, we must give up the author as inconsistent; but even then, as the evidence is conflicting, we have no right to take the first series, and say, 'These, literally interpreted, and absolutely unqualified by any apparent counter-statements, must be considered as *alone* positive proof of what Luther's sentiments were.—But is there any such absolute contradiction? is there no possibility of harmonizing the two sets of passages? We apprehend there is. We apprehend that Luther, when he affirmed (often, we admit, in language exceedingly injudicious and unguarded) that salvation was by faith in the merits of Christ alone, meant no more than would be affirmed by thousands in the present day, who cannot for a moment be suspected of denying 'the importance, in a religious sense, of a virtuous life;' that is, who would affirm that the merits of Christ are the sole efficacious cause of man's salvation; and who, while they contend for the necessity of a holy life, would deny that it was for *that* that man was admitted into heaven; in other words, who, while contending for the necessity of a holy life, would put that necessity on entirely *different* grounds. They would affirm that good works were the only intelligible and infallible sign of the existence of faith, or of the influence of the Divine Spirit on the heart: that they were the necessary and inevitable consequences of the reception of the gospel, of gratitude and love for the benefits it brings, and of all those lofty motives which it inspires; that personal holiness was the essence of that character it is intended to form and cherish, and which is the ultimate design of the whole economy; in a word, they would contend that man certainly would not go to heaven *for* his good works, although he certainly could not go to heaven *without* them. Now, if Luther held such

a theory as this, or one approximating to it, it is plain that no statements, however 'clear and definite,' that salvation was by faith alone, would prove that 'he denied the importance, in a religious sense, of a holy life,' for they in reality would not be at war with it. That Luther held some such theory as this, however imprudently he often expressed himself, we think is plain from the many 'inconsistent passages' to which Mr. Hallam refers, and which in charity should be interpreted so as to qualify his more rash statements. Those rash statements should not, by the utter rejection of such passages, be exaggerated into 'Antinomian paradoxes.' We have also Melancthon's explicit testimony, that *in substance* Luther agreed with himself, at a time when no one could charge the former with holding such paradoxes. The passage cited by Mr. Hallam, in a subsequent part of his work, is as follows: 'Scis me quædam minus horridè dicere de prædestinatione, de assensu voluntatis, de necessitate obedientiæ nostræ, de peccato mortali. De his omnibus scio re ipsa Lutherum sentire eadem, sed ineruditi ejus φορτικώτερα dicta cum non videant quo pertineant, nimium amant.'

We may also remark that there are numberless passages in Luther's later writings, especially his letters, as recently collected and edited in five large volumes by De Wette, which conclusively show that Luther did not hold 'a virtuous life, in a religious sense,' unimportant, and which are as clear and definite as any which could be adduced to the contrary. But we must now say a word or two on the second point.

Mr. Hallam says of Luther 'that his amazing influence on the revolutions of his own age, and on the opinions of mankind, seems to have produced, as is not unnatural, an exaggerated notion of his *intellectual* greatness.' He then, after admitting that 'he writes his own language with force and purity,' and that 'his hymns possess a simple dignity and devoutness perhaps never before excelled in that sort of poetry,' goes on to state that 'his works, so far as his acquaintance with them extends, are not distinguished by much strength and acuteness, and still less by any impressive eloquence.' Now if, by *intellectual* greatness, Mr. Hallam means that Luther's writings do not place him in the very first rank merely in a literary point of view, we should not find much difficulty in agreeing with him. But then it is to be recollected that *intellectual* greatness may exhibit itself in other forms; that it is, in fact, of various kinds. In some of them we believe that Luther was as great as mere mortal ever was. But 'every man in his own order.' His genius, we believe, was far more *practical* than speculative; and, as far as his writings are concerned, showed itself in his wondrous powers of persuasion, in the unrivalled energy with which he could address the popular

mind, in that skill with which he could select, and the strength and vividness of expression with which he could urge home upon the understandings of the people, just those arguments and topics, and only those which were likely to avail with them. For lofty and comprehensive speculation, for calm and subtle argumentation, we do not think he was well fitted. In a word, his genius was strictly oratorical, and in this respect strongly resembled that of Demosthenes. Now Demosthenes, for any thing we can tell, might have made but a sorry philosopher; yet no one denies, *in his own department*, his preeminent greatness. Thus ought we to judge of Luther; he who almost created the German language; who wrote it with a force, purity, and raciness never known before, and seldom rivalled since; he who translated the Bible in such strong and sinewy language (Luther's *kraftvolle und kornige Sprache*, as an eminent modern German has phrased it) that it still holds undisputed sway over the minds of his countrymen; he who could maintain such an influence over the popular mind, and address it with such power, energy, and pathos, must have been, in his own department, a man pre-eminently great. We do not know that his genius appears anywhere more conspicuously than in many of his familiar German letters. We do not see that De Wette's collection is referred to by Mr. Hallam; but, if he has not seen it, we cannot but think that its perusal would somewhat modify his opinion of Luther's genius. In oratorical power we do not believe there ever was his equal, except Demosthenes.

But we must have done. There are one or two other points on which we should like to have expressed our opinions, but they are of no very great importance, and our space is already exhausted. We cannot conclude, however, without once more expressing the high gratification we have derived from this volume, and heartily recommending it to the attention of our readers.

Art. VII. *Researches Antediluvian, Patriarchal, and Historical, concerning the way in which Men first acquired their Knowledge of God and Religion, and as to what were the doctrines of Adam and Noah; with an Account of the long night of Idolatry which followed, and darkened the Earth, and also of the Means Designed by God for the Recovery and Extension of His Truths, and of their Final Accomplishment by Jesus Christ.* By THOMAS CLARKSON, M.A., Author of 'the History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade,' &c. &c. London: Longman and Co. 8vo.

WE know not why we should hesitate to confess that we took up this volume with some considerable anxiety. The revered character of its philanthropic author almost seemed to preclude the possibility of criticism, while the importance of the topics treated, imperiously required that faithful judgment should be pronounced. Our anxiety, however, soon gave way to emotions of pleasure, as from page to page, and from section to section, we found him prosecuting his examination of the sacred records with the same simplicity of design, manliness of understanding, and obvious love of truth, which so eminently marked his benevolent career in the earlier and more vigorous periods of life.

There is perhaps as little intermixture as possible of verbal criticism, since, with few exceptions, our author has adhered to the commonly received version of the Scriptures, and has, we think, exhibited proofs of very considerable power, that the Antediluvians possessed the substance of the moral law, afterwards more circumstantially and impressively uttered at Sinai.

On the important subject of the Divine Origin of Sacrifice, there has not perhaps been sufficient prominence usually given to an argument deduced from the very nature of the rite itself, and which Mr. Clarkson has thus briefly but impressively stated:

'But this answer leads to another question. By whose authority did Cain and Abel institute this rite? Did they invent it themselves? Certainly not. But why? Because the doctrine of appeasing God by the blood of animal victims could never have been the spontaneous product of the human mind. It never could have entered into the mind of Adam, or of Abel, or of Cain, that the taking away of the life of one of the animals of their flocks and offering it to God, could appease his wrath when offended on account of sin.'—p. 64.

In connexion, however, with the offerings of Cain and Abel, our author's plan of adhering so much to our version, has prevented him from clearing away the difficulty which ever seems to attach to our reading of Genesis iv. 7. Not to dwell on what we think must appear the violence of the figure—sin lieth at the door—we are inclined to suppose every reader will

admit that the intention of the whole passage was to console the mind of Cain,—at least, to lower down the irritation manifested on his not being accepted; but surely to tell a sinner that when he did not do well sin lay at his door, or would be imputed to him, could have no such effect: hence we have always preferred Archbishop Magee's rendering, 'And the Lord said unto Cain, wherefore art thou wroth. Is there not, if thou doest well, exaltation; and if thou doest not well, a sin offering lying at thy door? And thus he' (i. e. Abel thy younger brother) 'may become subject to thee, and thou mayest have the dominion over him.' This translation, in addition to removing the difficulty mentioned above, tends to bring out still more clearly the important truth that blood only could be accepted as a sin-offering; and the version is, we apprehend in strict accordance with the use and meaning of the Hebrew words.

Perhaps no part of Mr. Clarkson's work is of higher merit, or will better repay the reader, than his remarks on the Book of Job. We have been interested, not only by the proofs brought out of the knowledge which Job possessed of essential truths, but by the mode adopted of establishing the antiquity of this part of the sacred writings, which, if it be not entirely conclusive, is certainly distinguished by considerable ingenuity, and attended with high probability.

In the second part of the volume, which relates to the views entertained of the Saviour by different nations prior to, and at the time of the Advent, there is less of originality than in the former. Mr. Clarkson, with his habitual ingenuousness, refers frequently to Horsley in this portion of his work, and the reader will at once remember to have seen in the writings of that learned prelate the substance of much that is stated.

Without pledging ourselves to all the statements made, in this volume we can, with much pleasure and confidence, recommend it to our readers generally, and especially to those whose studies are more strictly Biblical. It contains much valuable information, and is rich in germs of thought which may be unfolded and expanded in varied luxuriance.

We can scarcely persuade ourselves to close this short notice without expressing an earnest desire that the venerable author of this book may find consolation under the painful trial recently experienced, from that sacred volume, to the study of which he has given so much of his time and attention. May the visions of the future so attract his gaze, as to prevent his reflecting too bitterly on the past.

Art. VIII. *The Curate of Steinholt. A Tale of Iceland.* Two Vols. 12mo. London: Longman & Co. 1837.

THE history and present condition of Iceland present many topics of deep interest to the intelligent observer. Situated at the very confines of the habitable world, it refutes many theories which have been popular amongst us, and illustrates the compensatory arrangement by which a beneficent Providence secures the general diffusion of happiness. Iceland was peopled in the ninth century by some Norwegian emigrants, who preferred liberty abroad to slavery at home. Their political institutions bespoke the liberality of their views, and provided for the equitable and mild administration of justice. ‘The existence and constitution of the Icelandic republic,’ says Dr. Henderson, who possessed ample opportunities of forming a judgment, ‘exhibit an interesting phenomenon in the history of man. We here behold a number of free and independent settlers, many of whom had been accustomed to rule in their native country, establishing a government on principles of the most perfect liberty, and with the most consummate skill, enacting laws which were admirably adapted to the peculiar circumstances of the nation.’* The constitution thus established was maintained for nearly 400 years, when the Icelanders suffered some abridgment of their liberties by becoming tributary to Norway. They were subsequently, in 1387, transferred to Denmark, but continued to observe their ancient institutions.

The first settlers in Iceland were pagans, and their conversion to Christianity did not take place till about 140 years after their emigration. They early adopted the principles of the Reformation, and now constitute one of the most moral and best informed communities on the globe. While Europe was wrapped in the darkness of the middle ages, the poets, historians, and legislators of Iceland were employed in cultivating the intellect, and in providing for the welfare of her people. Amidst the eternal snows and burning volcanoes of their frozen region, the supremacy of intellect was established, while in milder and more luxuriant climates man was enthralled by sloth, and sunk into sensual indolence. At the present day the inhabitants of this dreary region appear to be far in advance of every other European community in general education. This may appear singular, but it is nevertheless true; and it gives an interest to the character of the people which no adventitious circumstance could supply. In the work from which we

* *Journal of a Residence, &c. Introd.*

have already quoted, Dr. Henderson tells us, 'It is exceedingly rare to meet with a boy or girl, who has attained the age of nine or ten years, that cannot read and write with ease. Domestic education is most rigidly attended to; and it is no uncommon thing to hear youths repeat passages from the Greek and Latin authors, who have never been farther than a few miles from the place where they were born; nor do I scarcely ever recollect entering a hut where I did not find some individual or another capable of entering into a conversation with me, on topics which would be reckoned altogether above the understandings of people in the same rank of society in other countries of Europe.'

Such a people, so advanced in civilization amidst circumstances so unpropitious and dreary, constitute a *study* for the philosopher and statesman. Any thing which throws light upon their character; which familiarizes us with their daily and hourly avocations; which teaches us what they are, and how they think, and feel, and act, cannot but be received with thankfulness, and be examined with deep interest by every well-ordered mind.

Such is the purpose which the volumes before us are adapted to answer. They accord strictly with their title, and will be found to introduce the reader to the daily intercourse and the fire-side acquaintance of the inhabitants of a frozen world. The tale is simple, both in its plot and style. The characters introduced are exhibited in their usual costume, and made to express themselves in language most natural and becoming. There is nothing forced or exaggerated in the part they act. They walk and talk, they scheme and love as human beings placed in their circumstances would naturally do. There is consequently a calmness in the emotions excited—healthful as well as pleasant—and strikingly contrasted to the turbulent and exhausting feelings usually awakened by the harrowing incidents of the modern romance. The general sentiments of the work are indeed so chaste and christian-like; the principal actors in the drama are so obviously imbued with the spirit of our holy faith, and so honestly concerned for the practice of its duties, that its influence is at once mild and salutary, insinuating the lessons of wisdom, and strengthening the resolves of virtue.

As a vivid and natural description of Icelandic scenery and manners we strongly recommend the '*Curate of Steinholt*' to our readers. The pure sentiments, chaste diction, and graphic descriptions of life, by which it is distinguished, will render it a general favourite wherever it is introduced.

Art. IX. *Classes and Parties—Results of the Elections—Prospects of the Country.*

WE are not going to trouble our readers, as we at first intended, with the perplexities of a parliamentary calculus, since the returns are in every newspaper; assertions are made with about equal confidence on all sides; and an approaching session of the two Houses will soon change fears into facts, or hopes into realizations. Our object is now of another kind. It is to analyze our present circumstances as a nation, rather than merely ascertain how many of the new members will support Lord Melbourne, or how many will oppose him: and in aiming at the point before us, we will do our utmost to use the words of truth and soberness. The crisis is so pregnant with importance, that to allow passion, or even strong feeling, to sway the balance of judgment, would be, in our humble opinion, as foolish as it is criminal. Not that we mean to be mealy-mouthed, or to mince matters; but there never, perhaps, was a time when loud pretension seemed less valuable, or calmness of mind more essential, in conducting a political investigation.

We must look back a few years upon, and even beyond, the reign which has just closed: for it is gravely asserted in the last number of the Quarterly Review, that the consequence of what the Grey and Melbourne administrations performed, has been a *dormant anarchy*. The latter days of William the Fourth were, indeed, stirring times; but it so happened, that when Providence called him to the throne of these realms, anarchy was *awake* in the land! Now in our apprehension, if a tiger be in the jungle at all, we had rather have him dormant than vigilant; and those that could lay him asleep we should consider benefactors, after they had done so. But what was the actual matter of fact, when the King dared not dine with the lord Mayor in his own city of London? Discontent had broken out beyond all bounds; the funds were falling; our farm-yards were in flames; and seventeen counties exhibited themselves in a state bordering on insurrection. The evil had been smouldering under its embers for half a generation. Since the congress of Vienna, after the battle of Waterloo, there was little joyous recurrence to those brilliant illuminations and carousals, which threatened two and twenty years ago to obliterate every sober thought about debts and difficulties. When the stern reality, with hunger and ruin in its rear, had extinguished the anticipated satisfaction of enjoying peace and plenty, so bitter was the disappointment, that riot and desperation could be scarcely restrained from becoming rampant. We may well remember how gazette after gazette displayed its long list of bankruptcies; how the gains of the farmers faded; how the wheel

of industry went round heavily; until labour almost folded its arms in sulky dismay, or was ready to exchange the plough and the reaping-hook, for the bludgeon or the blunderbuss. Then markets got glutted, prices declined, retailers broke, capitalists barely snatched their fortunes from shipwreck, or perhaps perished in the attempt. Every face grew pale, and every heart sad, as one channel of commerce after another only cheated and mortified expectation. In one word, the curse of warfare was working its avengeful way. A system of loans and taxes had exhausted our commonwealth of its life-blood. Habits of public and private extravagance had wrought their poison into our vitals. We forgot our victories in our sorrows. Nor was this the whole state of the case; for beside the troubles on the surface of society, there was a process preparing beneath, which escaped the eyes of the superficial. There was an inward conviction deeply seated, and gradually gathering strength, that our governors were going on in a wrong direction. Like a struggling earthquake, it made the nation sometimes tremble to its centre, although millions in alarm could merely guess why and wherefore it should so happen. External circumstances, comparatively trifling often in themselves, would catch an affinity with what was passing within, and augment the electric shock into a mysterious and tremendous warning. Statesmen, so called by courtesy, started in their dreams, or at their shadows in noon-day. They demanded and obtained oppressive powers from an un-reformed parliament. The hidden sensations of uneasiness, however, still vibrated from the palace to the cottage. The sovereign added cruelty to his voluptuousness. The people clamoured more loudly than they had ever done before. Our middle classes felt aggrieved and whispered. Nobles feared much for the crown, and more for their own coronets, rich pastures, and envied immunities. Clergymen *then* preached loyalty and obedience. The Tories held fast and faster to their power and pensions, as the earth threatened to crumble from under them: whilst in the mean time, some degree of education being diffused, knowledge of course extended in proportion, and occasionally such a groan was given, or the mailed hand of public opinion was so raised and clenched, that even before the French revolution of 1830, wise men amongst us predicted an approaching change.

It arrived after the decease of the last of the Georges, and the occurrence of the three celebrated days at Paris. Napoleon's assertion proved correct, that a revolution in France is a revolution necessarily beyond her own boundaries. England, Ireland, and Scotland, convulsed themselves with joy. In the hour when the Bourbons ceased to reign from the Rhine to the Pyrenees, in that self-same hour, was drawn from the urn of destiny the doom of Toryism, throughout Great Britain and her dependencies. The Duke of Wellington retreated from office. Earl Grey succeeded

to the helm amidst acclamations not easily to be forgotten. He assumed it under pledges of peace, retrenchment, and reform; which have been redeemed so far as the foreign and domestic entanglements bequeathed him by his predecessors, and his own inherently aristocratic prejudices, would allow. At least the *then active anarchy*, from whose roar the greatest captain of the age had fled, was lulled into profound slumber. The fire-brand of the incendiary went out in the breeze of reform; and we undertake to say, that nothing will rekindle its glare, or awaken the monster that wields it, so readily, as a return of the conservatives to their high places. Let the Quarterly Reviewer, and those who agree with him, ponder these things in their heart. Assertions are not arguments; but our youthful contemporaries are old enough, and have memories good enough, to decide whether the picture just now drawn be a true or false one. The reign of William the Fourth was altogether a transitional period; and therefore full of fluctuations. We deem his capacity and information to have been slight, but his intentions royal and sound. He meant, and endeavoured to act the part of a paternal monarch: but neither his previous pursuits, his court, his family, his age, could be otherwise than unequal to the herculean labour of raising nations in the mass, from a low level, to one far higher. He will be numbered amongst the emancipators rather than the enslavers of mankind; whilst it may be hoped, from the circumstances of his death-bed, that he was brought as a humbled sinner to prostrate himself before the King of kings, and seek through the cross of Jesus for a celestial, unfading diadem.

His successor has ascended the throne with every patriotic heart throbbing in her favour. That her predilections are liberal need not be questioned for a moment, if we call to mind her voluntary nominations in the household, and the confidence reposed in lord Melbourne and his colleagues. It is not true, that she was of necessity bound to retain the present ministers in office. Where were the servants of Anne, at the accession of George the First? Did not the Whigs make a clean sweep of Jacobites and their retainers? And just admitting, for argument's sake, conservative statements to be correct, that the existing cabinet is the worst ever concocted, could not the pure patriotic Tories, with his immaculate Majesty of Hanover at their head, have delivered the land of such a nuisance, had but their sovereign lady been of their opinion? Surely, both as to appetite and capabilities, there were cormorants to be found in sufficient abundance, within less than a hundred miles of Windsor, snuffing the carrion from afar? Had the Queen, or her mother, vouchsafed even a symptom of assent, neither pen nor pencil could have described the readiness with which they would have bolted the most indigestible precedents, and proudly pounced upon the prey!

“*Jam subitæ horrifico lapsu de montibus adsint
Harpyiæ, et mágnis quatiant clangoribus alas,
Diripiantque dapes, contactuque omnia fœdant
Immundo: tum vox tetrum dira inter odorem!*”

It may be assumed, then, that the young wearer of the British crown (and long may she wear it!) entertains sentiments in unison with those of her present advisers. Her truest wisdom will be, like Solomon of old, to seek for ‘an understanding heart to ‘judge her people, that she may discern between good and bad.’ The millions, over whom she is to rule, have already tendered her in name, and the majority in reality, their warmest affections. She has only to make herself mistress of their wants and wishes; to study their welfare in the mass, without favouritism or preference as to persons or parties, to render them at once both prosperous and happy. In this way she will eclipse the glories of Elizabeth, and the mistress of Marlborough; without the accursed tyranny of the former, or the sanguinary trophies of the latter. In order, however, to do so, she must rely upon her people, and her parliaments. Whatever may be the result of the recent elections, let us imagine her, with some political Mentor at her side, throwing a glance, from her elevated station, over the various classes of her subjects.

Nearest below her may be pointed out the aristocracy, with one exception, the proudest, wealthiest, and most powerful in the world. From the banishment of the Stuarts, they have contrived to infuse their spirit and manners throughout the army and navy, the church, and even the entire nation. In appearance, they have been just sufficiently connected with their fellow-countrymen, to mask the undeniable truth, that their interests are distinct from those of the public at large. Interwoven by ten thousand ties, with every species of property and association in the realm, their own monopoly of rank and privilege has been until lately never questioned. Most certain it is, that for more than a century, they have dictated to the crown, and domineered over the people. Dissolutions of parliament were so many farces, which threw dust into the eyes of spectators, whilst dishonest conjurers carried on the imposture. The battles of the state have been fought by their lordships, of the House of Peers, upon the chess-board of the House of Commons. Every borough was a pawn in the game; mitres and coronets adorned the bishops and castles; knights of the shire protected the pockets of country gentlemen; the Queen consort could intrigue and take in all imaginable directions; the Monarch was the object of check-mate; and the plunder of an overflowing treasury rewarded successful players. At length, in our own happier days, the system has been brought as nearly to a close, as the half-restored vision of the middle-classes would permit. Yet much—very much remains to be done; nor have the

oligarchy either forgotten or forgiven the events of 1832. Their language is more civil, whilst their intentions can never really change. They will hide themselves in any costume, to secure an unreasonable portion in the dew of heaven, and the fatness of the earth; but the voice will be Jacob's voice, and the hands the hands of Esau. In what way can selfishness, supported by might and mammon, be brought into the paths of honesty and uprightness? After the maturest deliberation, we conceive that the country is not as yet prepared to sanction extensive modifications in a certain branch of our legislature; until its yoke has been made tenfold heavier, and the whips of chastisement have been acuminated into the scorpions of Rehoboam. Bad as this may seem to many sanguine minds, there is light springing up out of darkness. Wiser sages may arise than the wholesale slanderer of the Irish. The magnitude of what they have to lose, in a struggle, may remind them to count the cost, before buckling on their armour. At all events, the palace will no longer be to them a temple of Delphi, with priests on the back-stairs deluding them with lying oracles. When their vocation carries them thither, they will find the atmosphere clear, salubrious, and bracing. The regal prerogative of creation may be largely exercised, so as to coerce them into good behaviour. Glimmerings of understanding will surprise them on certain subjects; and they will be happy to fall into the companionship of those among their fellows, who have grown into men of valour, whilst they have been dancing in their leading-strings, or at least lingering in the nursery.

Nearly allied with the aristocracy, in sentiments and sympathy, are the clergy of the Established Church. Towards that religious communion, contemplated in its legitimate, or rather its appropriate position, as distinct and separate from the state, we are far enough from entertaining a vestige of hostility. But the fact cannot be impugned, that having embraced the world, the world has in return polluted her sanctuaries. Hence episcopacy has swollen into prelacy. Instead of continuing a holy sister, mingling with others in ministrations around the cross of her Saviour, she has painted her face, and attired her head, and lifted up her eyes on high. Hence has her fine gold grown dim; and the purity of her raiment is defiled. A lordly hierarchy, and bigoted universities, have not nurtured her Levites in vain. The latter are losing sight of the love of that Master, whom they profess to serve, and are kissing the mouth of Baal. Even 'the precious sons of Zion' have merged themselves in the clamour and the crowd. We look round, and listen in vain, for the evangelical successors of the Scotts, and Newtons, and Leigh Richmonds, who would have died, rather than stood aloof from their brethren in Christ, on the ground of being branded as dissenters. Alas! we hear no voice amidst the waves of strife; and see no hand reached out in friendliness,

towards the thousands of nonconforming pastors, ranged in one array with themselves, upon the Rock of everlasting ages. Throughout the elections, they have canvassed and voted, with occasional exceptions, for candidates often destitute of character, provided they were only pledged to oppose the Queen's government in its respect for the rights of conscience. That faults have been committed on every side, we freely admit; whilst in common justice, we claim what cannot without unfairness be withheld. When a recent movement was to have been made at Bristol against the present iniquitous system of church rates, not a single dissenting minister, in that populous city, would allow notices of the public meeting at the Guildhall, to be given out from his pulpit; and this from the most conscientious and scrupulous considerations. On the other hand, when petitions were to be got up, perhaps by the mandate of an archdeacon, against the new measure of lord Melbourne, parchments were lying, on the Sabbath, at the vestry and church-doors, in each parish, for Conservative worshippers to subscribe as they entered; and, in more instances than one, the sermon contained exhortations on the subject, charging upon nonconformity in general, premeditated designs of overturning the Church of England! Why have the flags, unfurled over so many belfries, been permitted to proclaim, that even consecrated steeples and towers are nothing more than the pillars of partizanship? We are entitled to ask our countrymen, and the religious portion of them in particular, on which side have the potsherders striven with the potsherders? Have pious dissenters, or pious episcopalians, manifested the greatest taste and delicacy, as to political forays, or exhibitions before the hustings? And to proceed one step further;—is it not notorious, that in several discourses pronounced over the velvet cushions of the Establishment, there have been hints thrown out as to the Sovereign herself, implying that, should a peculiar line of conduct be adopted towards her Roman Catholic subjects, Protestants may entertain the idea of something like a transfer of their allegiance? We hesitate not to affirm, that an impression has got abroad respecting the clergy as a body, involving their character for scriptural loyalty; and that it is their duty, as members of society, as well as Christian instructors, to lose no time in removing these suspicions, both by word and deed. With our own ears, we have known some among them omit supplications in the liturgy for the Queen *as our governor!* And though such trifles may be nothing more than willing mistakes, just at present, let them hasten to mend either their grammar or their manners; unless they mean to loosen altogether their hold upon the affections of their congregations, and accelerate, as well as aggravate, that tempest of public opinion, which will lay their prejudices in the dust.

Next, perhaps, in importance may be pointed out the gentry; an anomalous tribe, identified with the ancient squirearchy of the country, and alluded to, we suspect, by lord Brougham, when he said that all, or most persons possessing £500 per annum, were at heart conservatives. The fact, we fear, is so with regard to those who number above forty summers. Under this age, our firm conviction is, that the talent and education of the times may be deemed decidedly favourable to constitutional liberalism; always allowing, indeed, for drones and dunces, at Oxford and Cambridge. The loaves and fishes of these monastic establishments are too plenteous, to permit even learning to enlarge exclusiveness, or banish celibacy. Elsewhere, however, middling fortunes place their owners in more propitious circumstances and associations. Persons of taste, with independent incomes, feel disposed to see something of the world, and think for themselves. Should they embark in commerce, monopolies, and every thing connected with them, soon come in for a full share of detestation: or if they prefer the bar, that grade of the legal profession, amongst its juniors at all events, leans to popular rather than aristocratic opinions. It must be remembered too, that the elders are rapidly dying out; whilst accretions are continually being made, from the youth, and strength, and enthusiasm of the community. As an order, therefore, our gentry grow wiser every day they live. The scales break off in all directions; and borne onwards by the middle classes, they would find it impossible to retrograde, even if so inclined. There is, moreover, an increasing love of religion, leavening and purifying them from the low habits of the last generation. Theatres in cities, and field-sports in the country, seem at a discount. More books are written, and read, than their grandfathers ever dreamed of; and the platforms of our public meetings, as well as innumerable reading-societies, and committees, bear testimony to the vast improvement which has so happily occurred in this quarter.

We wish as much could be said for the farmers, who still remain a sort of *pagani* in politics; that is, villagers or rustics, as to general knowledge; when nearly every other section of society presses forward in the race. They correspond surprisingly to the ancient hinds and clowns, the old *adscripti glebæ*, bending over the soil they cultivate; which, under the misnomer of the agricultural interest, (a juggle practised upon them by their landlords), they almost worship as their venerable mother. The famous fifty-pound clause, introduced into the Reform Bill by lord Chandos, has completed their degradation. Speaking of them in the gross, it has rendered them serfs to the great landed proprietors. We know it is said with much truth and poetry, that the light of morning is first caught by the loftiest mountains; but it is some-

times forgotten, that there are vallies of such profundity, as to be rarely enlivened with a ray, so as that they may emerge from the perpetuity of gloominess. Our farmers remain walled in, overshadowed, and sunk, in the depths of antiquated ideas. Witches and warlocks still frighten their dairy-maids; and grain is often winnowed by fairies, or made mouldy by Puck and Goodfellow. Bogles squint from ten thousand barn-doors, after dark; or wander through glens and glades: nor does the nailed horse-shoe disappear from the stable, as it ought, in the nineteenth century. Beyond their 'talk about oxen,' our graziers seem resolved to have no reflections. Isolated and ignorant, they cling to the corn laws, as though these had been enacted for their sole especial benefit; and the wisdom of Solon would be thrown away in setting the real fraud before them, or the bearings of its stupendous iniquity. Whatever weight they have, will fall ponderous on the side, and at the bidding, of their bitterest oppressors. The tithe system, which was fast setting them against the clergy, is on the point of being so modified, as to harass the mere cultivator no longer. With all friendly respect for the best interests of our fine yeomanry, they are not valuable friends, at least in their present state of mind, either to themselves, or their country.

The SHOPOCRACY, as the retailers have been sometimes termed, are a good deal wiser in their generation; although they might be much wiser still. They have all the mental advantages offered in large or smaller towns, of mingling and blending together. The interchange of sentiments, and even the collision of interests, contributes powerfully to awaken the faculties. The mind no sooner gets aroused, than it becomes intensely desirous of profiting by all, or any means of education, within reach. Periodicals, without end, are procured and perused. Sunday-schools and prayer-meetings, with attendance more or less regular upon sermons and lectures, purify the heart, and refine the intellect. The main body of our middle-classes, (under Providence the sheet-anchors of the country,) must be the shop-keepers. If their myriads would but keep in memory the force of united numbers; if they would but so extend their views, as to see that what is good for all must ultimately be beneficial to each; if they would but brave the frown of rich and overbearing customers; they would find *the many* always rallying round them; willing to be edified by their example, and to support them on needful occasions. Knowing, however, what human nature is, it is for this most respectable class, that the ballot is essential. Their liberties are literally bound up in it. A conscientious tradesman, with his wife and children, had better be without the electoral suffrage, than not be able to exercise it at discretion. It is a solemn trust, which he has to administer, before his Maker and his fellow men. But what is to be done, when interest beckons one way, and con-

science another? An applicant for his vote is at the counter, with a large order, either to be executed or discharged; whilst the goodwoman and her little ones are weeping in the back-parlour. Who can wonder at pale looks and aching hearts? That candidate, who in the opinion of the honest grocer or linen-draper, ought to be returned, he must oppose, or support with ruin staring him in the face. Were the retailers of England to determine on the correct course, they would one and all place their franchises in abeyance, until such protection was afforded, as might enable them to act out their principles, with the impunity to which they are so justly entitled.

The Operative-Electors appear next in the political panorama: and if the ballot be necessary for persons in comparatively comfortable circumstances, how ten times more needful is it for the grade below them! They form the substratum of the middle classes; and a noble foundation they would be, were they in a fair position. But they not only want the shelter of secret and therefore safe voting;—they also want education, or at least practical knowledge. The penny magazines are miserably deficient on some points. There is not a peasant in the Prussian dominions who would remain satisfied, with the superficial information, thus doled out to our ingenious and hard-working artizans. No pains have ever been taken, upon system, to furnish them with any thing beyond the most crude and incorrect notions, as to the duties of governors and subjects; as to our principles of taxation; or as to the philosophy and economy of industry. We are far from wishing to see them prating and discontented politicians; yet with the outlines of political science they should surely be made acquainted: nor is there a class of persons in the three kingdoms, who would acquire what ought to be learned, upon such matters, more quickly; or use the power thus imparted, with greater meekness and modesty, as well as regard to the general welfare. Such we affirm would be the case, provided no treasonable or irreligious impulses were permitted to prepossess and bias them. Yet this is precisely what will occur, unless national education, *upon a religious basis, without any sectarian partialities*, become one of the very first objects of our rulers. The tree of knowledge must be planted in the land, with the river of the water of life springing up beneath it. Our operative electors will then be in the way of discerning their truest interests, and feeling the weight of their responsibilities. They may then be brought to understand that what their representatives are to them, they are to the non-electors; namely, trustees responsible both to God and their country. In an evil hour it was that the unpopular branch of our legislature thought to win popularity by an affected regard for the rights of the old freemen. The consequence has been, that a cancer, which might have been extracted with perfect safety, has been allowed

to remain untouched, and spread contagion through every healthy member in its neighbourhood. The Tories were well aware that, in retaining the ancient burgesses, without any qualification of proprietorship or occupancy, they were preserving within their reach an enormous portion of the constituencies, ready to be purchased by the best bidder, upon all occasions. Hence the disease has infected thousands and thousands among the new voters; so ubiquitous has been the gold of conservatism; so tempting the influence of example; so universally outstretched the palm of poverty itching for the accursed bribe! Perhaps it may be observed that our ten-pound householders cannot be designated *poor*, in the strict sense of that term: but, during the recent elections, such has been the depressed state of trade, that up and down some of the most honourable boroughs in the realm, penury is knocking at doors, where plenty, in happier seasons, was wont to be a smiling guest. An immense change must succeed to the existing order of things, before political virtue can breathe freely through-out the operative classes among the electors.

But what is the state of the Non-Electors—the unrepresented multitude—the basement of the whole social pyramid? Destitute of the franchise, they avow their claims, and point to their growing numbers. These are rather upwards of four millions; calculating the male adult portion of our united population at one-fifth of twenty-five millions; and deducting from it the eight hundred thousand invested with the right of suffrage. We are no friends to the mad schemes of a certain notorious baronet, the late member for Westminster; yet we should be heartily glad if our wisest legislators would pay due attention to the present state of the non-electors. Are these informed that proprietary qualification is necessary? they look round upon the multitudes of freemen, so called, the legacy of rotten boroughs, and still more rotten corporations, which enfranchised precisely those persons, who, as pauper burgesses, could never maintain their independence. An able artizan, earning his thirty shillings per week, and residing in a respectable dwelling for which he pays nine guineas and a half (£9 19s. 6d.) annual rent, with character and talents so unquestioned, that the neighbouring chapel is proud to enrol him amongst its deacons, has nevertheless no voice for the weal or woe of his country; whilst another man clothed in rags, reeling from the beer-house or the gin-shop, may touch the ark of the constitution, and get twenty pounds from a candidate! How can such a state of things be satisfactory; and, without going further into the subject, it does appear to us that the plan of lord Durham, as to household suffrage, accompanied of course by the ballot, would go far towards allaying this enormous anomaly, in a manner at once safe and constitutional. There are symptoms of discontent, at which no reflecting mind can wonder, and which should lead to

full and fair investigation. The heart of our country we believe thoroughly sound; yet, from the pressure of external circumstances, increased competition in commerce and manufactures, the rapid diffusion of incomplete and unsound opinions, as to physical force and the rights of labour, it becomes imperative upon us to do something. Our social framework is getting daily more and more artificial. Its internal machinery involves the fortunes of thousands, where formerly only hundreds were concerned. The greater its complexity, the more occasion there is for incessant vigilance and fearless reform, whenever and wherever a necessity for it is demonstrated. The non-electors must be dealt with fairly. The abolition of the corn laws, a revision of our fiscal system, so as that its burdens should no longer press like an incubus upon the energies of industry, and a due regard to the rights of conscience, would all be healing processes, tending to convince the unrepresented classes that their interests were not forgotten; and they would then wait, we think, without impatience, for those concessions of political privileges to themselves, which an increasing portion of their numbers ought, in strict justice, even now to enjoy.

And so much with regard to an imaginary survey of our countrymen, as existing in classes: let us now glance at them under another aspect, as gathered and divided into three great parties, styled by common consent—the Conservatives—the Ministerialists—and the Radicals.

The first are neither more nor less than the old Tories under a new denomination; the same enemies to all good government that they always were; only, as lord John Russell observed the other day at Stroud, having selected the title of conservatives, as *an alias*, to cover them from former deeds, and former professions, of which honesty has long since been ashamed. These gentlemen, then, are wolves in sheep's clothing; and the name, by which they call themselves, is the homage which hypocrisy pays to virtue. For this reason, and for this alone, the liberals allow them to bear it: since the whole world knows that its actual meaning is like *lucus a non lucendo*! It appears to us, after the most careful consideration, that their strength is greater than before in the constituencies, and less in the country at large. Secret associations, the foulest bribery, and tremendous intimidation, have produced the former result; truth and sober argument are bringing about the latter. Amidst the excitements of an universal struggle, the electors, (not one-sixth, be it remembered, of the male adult population) have been below a certain grade in society, stupefied with ale, misled by professions, purchased by gifts, and driven to the polling-booths like animals without souls. On which side, we would fearlessly inquire, have been, in nine instances out of ten, the popular voice, and the non-electing masses? What is

the evidence furnished by Liverpool, Norwich, Hull, Bridgwater, and similar boroughs? It is not too much to affirm, that unlawful and criminal practices have, during the recent fermentation, outheroed Herod, and exceeded all previous instances, both in atrocity and extent. This will be soon demonstrated before committees in parliament. But meanwhile the agitation will subside into a calm, upon which we shall see reflected, as in a sea of glass, the real merits of the case. Then must be visible the full force of facts. Those who have bribed, and menaced, and forsworn themselves, and roared their throats hoarse, with professions not more absurd than they were contradictory at the time of making them, will stand out in their inherent deformity. They have ever been the foes of all reform, though now avowing themselves to be the friends of it! They supported needless wars, enormous taxes, profligate expenditure, restrictive edicts—though now declaring themselves opposed to every evil of the kind! They and theirs held the reins of government for seventy years, without originating a single measure, with the welfare of the people for its characteristic; while, for the last seven, they have obstructed, with unparalleled acrimony, that party in the state which alone pleaded the cause of freedom, when such phantoms as lord Castlereagh were in power. And lo! these are the men grasping once more for what they have lost—the capabilities of perpetrating mischief! The honest thinkers of Great Britain will settle the question by their firesides in the long winter evenings. It requires no prodigious talents to do it. It will be within the compass of those who can count five upon their fingers, as well as those who can measure the heavens. Will the conservatives render justice to Ireland? Have they been tender of the rights of dissenters? Were they not the progenitors of three-fourths of the national debt? Did they not uphold every rotten borough in the kingdom? Were not the green mounds of Gatton and Old Sarum precious in their sight? Were their voices heard in favour of or against Municipal Reform? Whence, then, their sudden patriotism—their wonderful conversion—their overflowings of anxiety on behalf of the poor—their incontinent affection for liberty—their unlooked for and egregious virtue? The novel trumpet, moreover, of self-applause, which they are ever and anon sounding, happens to prove too much for their own purposes; and we well know that *Qui probat nimis, probat nihil!* Their words, when listened to, must be construed backwards. They, as conservatives, proclaim themselves the only real Reformers! Was Earl Grey then only an avatar of Sir Robert Peel? They affirm the peers to be neither more nor less than the true tribunes of the people! How came it to pass, then, that this curious political vocabulary—this simple horn-book and Royal Primer of the Carlton Club, never got into fashionable repute, until after

those, whom the tories so bitterly abuse, had won the Magna Charta of the nineteenth century? We fear that in the new House the *conservative* phalanx will comprise from three hundred to three hundred and fifteen members.

But now for the Ministerialists. These are made up of multifarious materials very unequal in value. The nucleus, however, of their party is for the most part sound, having borne the test of many a trial during the last twenty or thirty years. Some venerable prejudices no doubt still cleave to them; the results of aristocratic habits, and that incurable malaria overhanging the Pompeian marshes of Downing Street. Much must and will be forgiven them by the generous and sober-minded. Omitting the peculiarity of their past position in the palace, the components of their majority, in the late parliament, were any thing but those of the threefold cord, which is not soon broken. Integrity of purpose there was; but blended with both timidity and selfishness. Several members had turned with the times, and held their principles as Anthony Fire-the-Faggot, in Kenilworth, did his religious creed—an easy glove to be pulled off and put on according to occasions. The cabinet itself was not quite free from political cameleons endowed with marvellous facilities for adopting whatever colour they are thrown upon. The set-off against them has been a rising school of disinterested and high-minded men, like the eldest son of the late premier, or the present secretary for Ireland; whose education and talent combine beauty with strength, and bid fair to realize the warmest aspirations of their admirers. The mere numerical force of ministers in the new house remains to be shown: though we anticipate a very slight difference at first from what it was before. We conceive, however, that public opinion, out of doors, is in a disposition to be wooed and won over in their favour; if they will only take the right course to secure it. Ireland affords tangible proof that something like tranquillity has been achieved under lord Mulgrave. The apprehension of transforming that island into a volcano, operates, we doubt not, as a considerable check to the gasping ambition of conservatives. Every day must add to the fulness of such convictions, unpleasant as they may be to their entertainers. The Court, meanwhile, will effect not a few seasonable conversions. Loyalty will be urged as an appropriate plea for gliding from the polar circle of opposition into the genial regions of royal sunshine. Attempts on the part of tories to storm the treasury benches, gradually degenerating into forlorn hopelessness, will induce their most conscientious followers to seek a strong government, upon almost any terms; and therefore, for the sake of having the business of the country conducted with dignity, they will either be absent from divisions, or make a merit of necessity, by tendering their support to administration. This will occur in-

deed in deep silence, and through sheer constraint: nor would the process of overcoming their maiden coyness, or making their wry faces give way to sebaceous satisfaction, be incurious to laughing philosophers. It will be remarked, perhaps, that such prospects, however probable, are as yet future ones; and those, too, dependent upon very delicate contingencies. Our present trust reposes upon the pledges so recently given by ministerial representatives to their constituents. In the zeal of their late communications, those who adhere to lord John Russell will manifest a freshness of cordiality. The veteran senators will find new comrades at their sides, before whom it would savour of disgrace to flag at the onset; whilst an analogous enthusiasm will thereby be enkindled among their more youthful rivals. We are satisfied that no ultimate apprehensions need be felt on behalf of liberty and good government; and if our tone be not altogether so sanguine as our readers might perhaps wish it to be, they will agree with us, that an agreeable disappointment will come better to all parties than a failure of prudence in exciting delusive expectations.

The Radicals stand last on our list, with their rank and file somewhat reduced on the muster-roll. Candidates, identified with their views, have certainly been found at the bottom of the polls, during the late struggle, in a very marked manner. Yet we believe that their battalions in parliament, delivered from several of the most noisy and intractable leaders, will be proportionably more powerful, as they will have become wiser. Adversity is a severe schoolmistress. Her lessons are given at the point of the rod; but happy are the minds upon whom flagellation is not thrown away. What has occurred at Bath, and in similar cases, may annoy, though it fails to surprise. The people of England, and especially the middle classes, prefer, for the most part, plain practical common sense, to theories thrust down their throats, whether they happen to be palatable or otherwise. They have, perhaps, the quickest perception of any nation in the world, as to the coincidence of occasions; as to what is really useful or attainable at a precise moment; or as to what, under the circumstances, may amount to nothing more than arrogance and dictation. They love ability much, but modesty still more. They may, and always will, have favourites; but even their favouritism has neither permanency, nor toleration, for flippancy, dogmatism, or impertinence. It eschews rash talkers, afflicted with the persuasion, that philosophy and patriotism can only issue from their own loquacious lips. The radical section, in the new House of Commons, strikes us as a purified party, less likely to be precipitate, cross-grained, and incoherent in its character. The absence of sundry individuals, unnecessary to name, we sincerely lament; and the diminution of steady votes is sufficiently deplorable. Yet we are satisfied that, upon the whole, our parliamentary salads

will evince more of the oil, and less of the vinegar, in their composition: a modification agreeing better with our individual digestion; although quite aware, that *de gustibus non disputandum*. Our radical senators, we have no doubt, will perform their duties well, and sacrifice minor details in their attachment to the general cause. Let them yield a cordial, ungrudging, uncomplaining support to the Queen's present government, on their side; and let the administration on theirs, in the name of common sense and common justice, leave open such questions as the Corn Laws, the Ballot, Triennial Parliaments, Household Suffrage, and the removal of Bishops from the Upper Chamber. There is no time, neither is there any ground, for quarrels about trifles. The influences of the Executive are in honest hands; and therefore let the cabinet of lord Melbourne be defended against all assailants, and at all hazards. The hopes of toryism exist upon anticipated disunion in that camp upon which their eyes are full of water with gazing. That those hopes may never be realized is our most fervent prayer; and the very thought reminds us to speculate a little upon the prospects of the country.

Now, there are four things which by possibility may happen, and we will look each steadily in the face. For example, the present ministry may just be enabled to maintain its position, and no more. Perhaps after all that has been said and written, this is most likely to occur; and lamenting, as every man must, the inconveniences of feebleness, bandied to and fro like a shuttle-cock, still what is bad is preferable to what is worse. Not to dwell upon the millions of Ireland, contented with the policy of their lord-lieutenant, and the praiseworthy moderation of Daniel O'Connell, who can accurately estimate the advantages of having liberal instead of arbitrary statesmen in power? Except as to legislation, where it is admitted that their hands will be tied, the benefits of a patriotic Executive are like the blood circulating in a person's veins; visible in no other manner, than in the general healthiness of his body. Patronage descends in its results upon the people, rather than on a party. The affections of a parent, instead of the caprices of tyranny, govern the commonwealth. Impulses shoot forth throughout society, in numbers beyond thought or calculation; and allowing for human frailty, they run in a right, instead of a wrong direction. The grand consequence therefore is, that possession of office by the liberals, under the nose of an all-but-successful opposition, induces such habits of circumspection and economy, that the country gets honest service upon moderate terms, together with the good done in addition, by an incessant enunciation of sound principles in parliament. True it is, that an enemy prevents those principles from being acted out; but the masses well know upon whose shoulders the culpability lies: and while they wait

patiently or otherwise, the hour arrives, when public opinion rises up in its omnipotence, and settles one or the other knotty point, exactly as it did with regard to the Reform Bill. That this is a state of affairs which ought to exist, we by no means affirm; yet we must insist upon it, that it is a bed of roses compared with what has been, and might be again for a transitory interval. It may not be a paradise to the Liberals; but to the Conservatives it is a perpetual purgatory. The clustering attractions of the treasury torment their appetites, yet elude their grasp:

Above, beneath, around their hapless head
Trees of all kinds delicious fruitage spread;
There figs sky-dyed a purple hue disclose;
Green looks the olive, the pomegranate glows;
There dangling pears exalted scents unfold,
And *yellow apples ripen into gold*;
The fruit they strive to seize; but blasts arise,
Toss it on high, and whirl it to the skies!

The second possibility is, that in the course of events, Lord Melbourne and his colleagues may obtain such a majority, as will bear them through, in a large creation of peers, as well as in a gradual, yet complete realization of their measures. Then will arrive those halcyon days, when the flames of faction will expire for want of fuel. Ireland will become like England and Scotland, a happy, prosperous, united nation. The energies of Great Britain will be developed; and the debt in all its magnitude will be forgotten as a national burden, through the augmentation of national resources. Lines of demarcation between Christian sects, as to whatever now constitutes the roughnesses of distinction, will then vanish into thin air. The growing intelligence of every class will quietly and satisfactorily decide, whether religious establishments are blessings or banes to a country. We, as voluntaries, claim no merit in avowing, that we would stand or fall by the verdict; being convinced in our own minds, as to which way that verdict will be given. Truth will prevail without asking for protection, coercion, or clamour. Its existence involving its immortality and irresistibility, it has only to be let alone, that it may govern, as well as live for ever. It may be too much to expect these things in their entirety, just at present: but let us at all events, get as near to them as may be; and take care to lose nothing by dividing our forces, slumbering at our posts, or grasping at the impossible!

It further appears to us that there is a third contingency, the occurrence of which none would regret more than ourselves. There have been hints occasionally scattered abroad, when some Whigs have been pale with despair, that a coalition might be formed

between the least liberal members of the cabinet, and the most liberal conservatives; in other words, a combination of those leviathans possessing the largest swallow! Such a catastrophe would disgust, we believe, many right-minded, conscientious, and disinterested persons, and drive them altogether from the arena of politics. Coalitions have never permanently answered; and could only be tolerated, but as substitutes for something far more to be dreaded. If it be replied to us, that the existing state of things is in some sort a coalition between Whigs and Radicals,—our rejoinder is, that we deem it rather an association of elements with natural affinities, than an amalgamation between professors of conflicting principles. Sincere reformers see alike on essential matters, and merely differ as to the extent and degree of the reform required. But the differences between Sir Robert Peel or Lord Stanley, on the one hand, and the Marquis of Lansdown on the other, are fundamental and vital. Their views of society are taken from opposite points, wide as the poles asunder. The coalition in question could never be based upon mere conciliatory concessions: it must necessarily involve grand compromises, destructive of mighty principles. The soul of it, in plain terms, would be dishonour! Its tendency would be to separate the people more than ever from their rulers. Parties would rapidly degenerate into factions. Government, in lieu of acquiring solidity, compactness, or public respect, would bear in its own bosom the seeds of disunion, which the struggle and the storm must soon force into the most fatal development. Superficial observers are often misled by sounds. They hear a grave senator prosing from the ministerial benches in favour of our matchless institutions, which his heart nevertheless is set upon improving; whilst his antagonists accuse and decry him and his, as revolutionists. It is this atrociously erroneous charge, which has generated the whole homily. The lengthy orator may be neither a Demosthenes nor an Ulysses; yet he would possibly undergo death itself, sooner than have the wheels of advancement brought to a total stand. He is simply defending himself, or his friends, against groundless calumnies: he is not going over to the enemy. Some of his fellow-combatants happen to have opened their mouths so foolishly, that explanations are needful in detail. Those explanations may seem to be almost a conservative confession of faith, the recantation of his former creed: but it is not so in reality. The root of the speaker is unshaken as ever; and he loves light rather than darkness. There is a deep gulf betwixt toryism and attachment to liberty, which can neither be crossed nor closed up, consistently we mean with the preservation of political identity. Nor can there occur any coherence for honest purposes between the two parties, where the vehemence of repulsion on one side is only paralleled by its perfect reciprocity on the other.

The fourth possibility alone remains to be considered; for there is no other that we can discern, unless it be revolution; an alternative in argument out of the question, through the mercy of Providence, and the good sense of all classes. It is then, we will suppose, just within the range of sober hypothesis, that toryism may again culminate, like a baleful star, in the political firmament. Is it possible that such a state of affairs could endure through a twelvemonth? Would the country, after a struggle of seven years for good government, allow what has been done to be undone; as well as permit all hope of future benefit to be swept away? Most certainly it never would! There are from eight to nine thousand dissenting chapels in the land, each with its pastor and congregation; the entire aggregate of these churches augmenting rather than diminishing; with the spectacle daily before them of an Establishment planting its foot on their necks;—and coupled with it, is there, we would ask, to be a faction round the throne, sworn to the perpetual maintenance of this ascendancy, and that degradation? Would it be long endured? In Ireland there are six millions and a half of Roman Catholics, sympathized with by about three quarters of a million in the same communion here, bowed down under a dominant minority of Protestants about one-tenth of their numbers, and all but stung into absolute frenzy;—we ask, can this continue, if the last beam of expectation, that matters are to mend, be extinguished? In the three kingdoms, there are upwards of four millions of adult non-electors, with half a million more of electors craving the ballot for their protection, as well as certain modifications of our social system, without which they believe that industry must be prostrated, and prosperity banished;—and will these materials of discontent, multiplied and magnified, and inflamed by passion, be played with as a bird, or be commanded and insulted for ever? History is not, in our humble estimation, an old almanack; and it shows that the awful line, where sufferance darkens into vengeance, has infatuation on one side, and destruction on the other! We decline prosecuting further a subject so thoroughly disagreeable.

Before we close, let us address a few words to Dissenters in the way of our vocation. If the prospects of our country be not quite so cloudless as they were, it is nevertheless clear that knowledge of every kind has made enormous strides. Its accelerated progress indeed has led to the idea that advancement must henceforward always proceed with the velocity of a locomotive on a railroad. But it should be remembered, that the further we penetrate into hostile territories, the nearer we approach the centre and metropolis of their strength. Of course, therefore, the resistance will become greater,—more intense in its character,—more concentrated in its operation. The shout of

them that strive for the mastery will go up to heaven still louder than before. Prejudices will assume the form and garb of religious principles, and move amidst the contending armies, with a respect not altogether deserved. Increased excitement will solemnize the mien of wisdom in pressing towards her ultimate victory, that the least possible sorrow may be the price,—the painful price,—of righteousness being learned by the oppressors of a community, as Gideon was compelled to teach the elders of Succoth, with the thorns and briars of the wilderness. Meanwhile, not only is the triumph secured, but the numbers who will share it, must be enhanced through the delay. The very restlessness of our adversaries betrays some sensibility, as to the weakness inherent in whatever ought not to be. Nonconformity does not ask for domination ;—but it demands, and must speedily obtain the most perfect liberty and equality. Nothing, however, will more befriend it, at the present juncture, than a spirit of union and moderation ; a spirit of conciliation without compromise ;—a spirit of mildness without meanness,—firm in the surrender of no principle,—wise in the repression of every approach to the unreasonable. Lord Melbourne and his compeers must be supported ; they must be made also to do that which is right,—but they must be cheered on, and backed in performing it. They must have fair time given them ; and much patience should be shown in waiting for those opportunities which are the flowers of time. All the denominations, thus holding together, with a single well-understood object in view, will most completely fall in with the practical habits of the best and wisest among their fellow-countrymen. Under blessed influences from above, religion will pervade every rank and degree, without injuries being inflicted, or jealousies imagined, through the promotion of sectional partialities. Not that such events can occur on any one given day. Prudence, and not precipitancy, will stand us in the noblest stead. Restraining ourselves, we shall extort the approbation of others. The elements of harmony will accompany the elements of power. The conduct, which conferred upon us the Reform Bill, may be described as our political Salamanca : the measure, which revised our municipalities, has been the Vittoria of our corporations ; and the separation of church and state will be more to us than a sanguinary Waterloo ! May its laurels be unstained with violence ; may there be neither the wail of the widow, nor the tear of the orphan ; but only those achievements crowned with success, which illuminate the shadows of time, and extend into the ages of eternity !

ART. X. BRIEF NOTICES.

A History of British Birds. By Wm. YARRELL, F.L.S., Secretary to the Zoological Society. Illustrated by a Wood-cut of each Species, and numerous Vignettes. London: John Van Voorst. Part I. 1837.

To those who are acquainted with Mr. Yarrell's History of British Fishes, it will be unnecessary to say one word in commendation of the present work. It is distinguished by the same intimate acquaintance with the subjects of which it treats; is written in an equally popular style, and is embellished by numerous beautiful illustrations from one of the most eminent artists of the day. It is intended as a companion to the author's former work, and to that of Professor Bell on British Quadrupeds. All the species will be illustrated by engravings on wood; two, and in some cases three, illustrations being given 'to represent the various changes dependent on age, sex, or season.' The drawings, wherever practicable, will be made from living examples, and in other instances from the most perfect specimens to which the author can obtain access. Numerous Vignettes, subservient to the general subject, will be given, 'and no expense or labour will be spared to render this History of British Birds as complete as extensive observations, long practical acquaintance with the subject, and the plan of the work will admit.'

The Way to do Good: or the Christian Character Mature. The Sequel to the Young Christian and Corner-Stone. By JACOB ABBOTT. With a Preface by Thomas Morell. London: James Dinnis.

The author of this work needs no introduction to British readers; the continued circulation of his earlier pieces being amply sufficient to keep his name and character before the public view. His present volume is well deserving of a place beside the former productions of his pen. Equally distinguished with them for the clearness, spirit, freedom, and dramatic character of its elucidations,—pushed

occasionally to excess,—it is perhaps as justly chargeable with overstepping propriety in regard to the positive institutions of Christianity. It is, however, far too great a treasure to be neglected on account of any peculiarities in this respect that we have noticed.

That a work, adapted to the character and tastes of youthful readers, was wanted on the present subject, has been very suitably noticed in Mr. Morell's brief preface. This gentleman, in speaking of the moral dangers, of which it is highly important, that the young and inexperienced should be admonished, and against which it is incumbent on all most vigilantly to guard, proceeds to say:

'Some of these dangers relate to the *objects* of Christian beneficence, lest the specious should be preferred to the useful—the spurious, to the true—the selfish, to the disinterested—the speculative and doubtful, to the approved—or the subordinate, to that which is of supreme excellence. Others relate to the *manner* in which those objects are prosecuted, and the agencies employed in carrying them into effect. So far is the well-known maxim that 'the end sanctifies the means,' from having the recommendation of truth, that nothing can be more erroneous in principle, or more dangerous in practice. The holiest cause may be contaminated—the noblest, degraded—the most benevolent, and, in its own nature, beneficial, frustrated, or rendered an instrument of evil; if attempts are made to promote it by unhallowed and unlawful means. Other dangers to be encountered in the work of doing good relate to the *principles* on which they are based, the *spirit* in which they are pursued, or the *motives* from which they spring. Never can it be too frequently or too earnestly inculcated on the professed disciples of Jesus Christ, to make the law of their Divine Master the rule, and his holy example the model of their conduct. The most efficient principles, and the strongest inducements to a dili-

'gent continuance in well-doing, are those which the gospel of Christ suggests and implants. In this, as in every other department of Christian duty, the great rule is, 'Let the same mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus.'

With these observations, it is impossible not to agree, as also with the opinion, afterwards expressed, that the present essay is 'replete with sound practical wisdom, imparts instruction of the most valuable kind in the simplest, and most unostentatious form, and is manifestly the result of a diligent study of the human heart, an extended and accurate survey of the Christian character, and a minute observation of the present condition of the church and of the world.'

The work is distributed into eleven chapters, respectively headed, Works and Faith, or the History of Alonzo; Motives; Ourselves; The Poor; Promotion of Personal Piety; Public Morals; The Church and Christian Union; The Sick; Children; Instruction; Conclusion.

The basis of the work is laid in the first chapter, not in a systematic, but an historical form. The necessity of a renewed state of mind, in order to consistent and acceptable well-doing, is portrayed in the early history of Alonzo; a sketch, the circumstances of which indeed may be fictitious, but of which the inward substance is incontrovertibly real. The occasional impressions of a heart, which is still the friend of the world, are here truly and admirably delineated, in their evanescence and fatuity. Whatever may be thought of a few phrases and sentences, in which he has probably exposed himself to misrepresentation or mistake, Mr. Abbott has, in this first chapter, afforded beautiful and expressive evidence of his desire to lay the foundation of Christian beneficence in the reconciliation of the heart to God. We could extract many interesting observations, but it is preferable to read it as a whole.

It remains only to be added that, this interesting volume is very neatly printed, and that it is published at a very low price.

Religion in America; a Narrative of the Deputation from the Baptist Union in England, to the United States and Canada. By the Rev. F. A. Cox, LL.D., and the Rev. J. Hoby, D.D. Third Edition, carefully revised. London: T. Ward and Co. 1837.

As this work was noticed in our pages on its first appearance, we should not advert to the present edition, if some important alterations had not been made in its title and contents. 'On several accounts,' say the authors, 'it has been deemed expedient to alter our original title; so that instead of, 'The Baptists in America,' we have adopted 'Religion in America.' Our chief reason is, that as the *book* is not 'sectarian, the *title* ought to be more 'general.' This is as it should be. The general character and spirit of the book were misrepresented by the original title, and its circulation has probably been limited by it. We are, therefore, glad that the alteration has been made. Another feature of the present edition is the omission of some statements contained in the former, respecting the proceedings which took place at New York, in connexion with the American Anti-Slavery Society. These statements, it is well known, involved the authors in some unpleasant controversies, and we are glad to find that the obstacle they furnished to the circulation of their volume has been removed. It would have afforded us pleasure if the pruning knife had been applied to some other statements, and if a more direct and unhesitating exposure of the inconsistencies of slave-holding professors had been introduced. But we are not going to enter into a controversy which we hope is closed for ever. We rather avail ourselves of this opportunity to say, that the Anti-slavery discussions which this volume occasioned, necessarily called off public attention from its specific character. The important information it communicates on the ecclesiastical statistics of America, has, in consequence, been overlooked, and the design of its publication in some measure lost. We hope that, under its new title, it will obtain the

attention to which it is well entitled, and which it will amply repay. We know not any other volume which comprises within such narrow limits, so great a mass of interesting and valuable information.

The Preacher from the Press: Sermons, to Explain and to Recommend the Gospel of Jesus Christ. By JOHN ALEXANDER. Norwich: Josiah Fletcher.

This little volume contains twelve sermons, addressed to the church and congregation over which Mr. Alexander presides. They were originally delivered in the ordinary course of his ministry, and are now issued from the press, in the hope of effecting more extensive good. They answer strictly to their title, and constitute a pleasing memorial of pastoral solicitude and counsel. Their style is clear, unaffected, and popular, their sentiments strictly evangelical, and their tendency eminently good. We shall be glad to find that their circulation encourages their author to continue the series.

The Progress of Creation considered with reference to the present condition of the Earth. By MARY ROBERTS. London: Smith & Elder. 1837.

A beautiful little volume, which may be put advantageously into the hands of intelligent young persons. It contains the results of extensive reading, combined with much judgment, and happily controlled by a religious spirit.

Missionary Records—West Indies. Tract Society. 1837.

It would be easy to fill many pages with interesting extracts from this small volume. But we must content ourselves with recommending it to our youthful readers, among whom it cannot fail to prove a favourite. It is well adapted to enkindle a missionary spirit, and to strengthen the Christian's faith in the ultimate prevalence of religious truth.

Art. XI. *Note to the Article entitled 'Jamaica Apprenticeship,' in Number VII.*

WE have been honoured by a letter from Sir George Grey respecting some remarks in our July number (Art. VI.) on his conduct as Under Secretary to the Colonies. To this letter we should have given insertion last month had we not deemed it due to Sir G. Grey, as well as to the facts of the case, to institute some inquiries, with a view of removing, if possible, the mystery in which the subject referred to by him is involved. In a note to the Article in question (p. 91) we extracted from the Jamaica Watchman an account of the 'Secret History of Lord Sligo's Resignation,' in which certain statements are attributed to Sir G. Grey, in an alleged interview with two West India planters. It is to this extract that the letter with which we have been honoured refers. 'My present object,' says Sir G. Grey, 'is exclusively limited to an alleged statement of facts contained in a note to the Article in question, purporting to be taken from the Jamaica Watchman of the 9th of May, in the accuracy of which the writer of the note states he has good reason to confide. It will probably be satisfactory to you to know, that this confidence has been altogether misplaced, and that the writer has been imposed on by a gross fabrication. The alleged facts, so far as I am concerned, are entirely devoid of truth, and do not even rest on any plausible foundation which could give them the most remote semblance of truth.'

This explicit denial is of course decisive. It precludes the supposi-

tion of the statement which we extracted being correct *as a whole*. Sir. G. Grey's denial respects those parts of it which implicate himself, and we most readily give circulation to it. But the main facts of the statement are untouched by his letter, and on those we are desirous of adding a few words. That such a letter as the Watchman refers to was written from England by Mr. Philpots, and that considerable excitement amongst the planters and others in Jamaica was produced by it, are, we believe, unquestionable.

We were, therefore, desirous of ascertaining from the most authentic sources how far the account extracted from the Watchman might be relied on, that, in doing justice to Sir George Grey, we might not be guilty of suppressing any facts in which the British public are interested. For this purpose a friend applied to the Marquis of Sligo, and has been honoured by the following reply, which we are authorized to publish.

‘Wiesbaden, July 30th, 1837.

‘My dear Sir,

‘Within this last half hour your favour of the 24th, relative to the secret history of my recall as connected with the letter of Mr. Philpot to Mr. Hodgson, reached me, and I lose not a moment in sending you a reply, which you are at full liberty to publish or make any use of you please.

‘Though deeply hurt at the time by the conduct of several of those who were officially or otherwise connected with me in Jamaica, in relation to this letter, I resolved never to give vent to my feelings, and I should now, in accordance with that resolution, have avoided giving you any particular reply had there not been a difference of opinion between Mr. Ramsay and Mr. Stewart as to this affair, and had I not been appealed to by one of them, Mr. Stewart, as to the truth of this statement. My recollection of the matter differing somewhat from his, I replied to him nearly in the same manner as I shall now to you.

‘Mr. S. M. Barrett having, in the course of our usual correspondence, alluded to Mr. Philpot's letter as a subject of common conversation, I never having heard of it, requested him to communicate to me its contents and his authority for them. He, in reply, named Sir Joshua Rowe, the chief justice, as his authority, when on a visit to him on his way to Montego Bay assizes, Sir Joshua having told him it was a subject of common conversation at Spanish Town. I did not scruple to ask him if he had seen it when he happened to come a short time after to the King's house. He informed me that he had not seen it, but had heard of it, and that it was to the effect stated since in the Jamaica newspapers. I then asked him why, with the intimacy that existed between us habitually, he had not mentioned to me a fact in which I had so deep an interest, more particularly as we had been in communication about my proposed resignation of office. He replied to me that he had only heard of it *en passant*, and as Mr. Stewart, who, from being the Island Secretary, was in almost hourly contact with me, was his informant, he could not imagine me to have been left in ignorance of it by him. With his permission I sent for Stewart, being desirous of tracing the matter a little further, and before Sir Joshua,

asked him what he knew of it; he told me he had not seen it, but heard it from Mr. Rennals, his clerk, to whom Mr. Hodgson had shown it in Mr. Vidal's assembly office. I then reproached Mr. Stewart with his having neglected to make me acquainted with a circumstance which must have so deeply interested me, after having received from me every possible civility and kindness. Mr. Stewart, at once, in a tone of much irritation, which induced me to think he was indignant at the accusation, said: 'How, my Lord, could I suppose you to have been ignorant of it, when, to my knowledge, Mr. Nunes, your private secretary, has read it himself.' I confess I was surprised at this, and called up Mr. Nunes, who was at his desk as usual, and asked him if he had seen or heard of it. He declared, to my great astonishment, that he had read it, but had not thought it worth while to inform me of it, 'that he thought my stay in Jamaica was assured thereby.' Not choosing to say what I did think, and being equally unwilling to say what I did not think, namely, that the explanations I received were satisfactory, I turned the conversation to some other subject. Though I communicated my feelings on the whole affair to my immediate family the same evening, I resolved on taking no public notice of it. I did not imagine that Sir G. Grey was capable of such conduct. I was about in a few short weeks to leave Jamaica, and terminate thereby all official connexion with Messrs. Stewart and Nunes. I did not wish to have any difference with them, or to injure them; I knew that some letter had been written by Philpots, which had formed the groundwork of the affair, but I determined on letting it drop, as the further sifting of it could do me no good, when my departure was so soon to take place. I should still have maintained silence on the subject, for the same reason, had I not felt myself impelled by justice to Mr. Ramsay, to send him a copy of my reply to Mr. Stewart's appeal. He was, as was thought by himself and others who read Mr. Stewart's letter in the papers, implicated by insinuations, in the publication of an account, he (Stewart) thought to be incorrect, of that conversation. This, however, has subsequently appeared to have been an erroneous construction, as Mr. Stewart has declared that he had no such intention. Notwithstanding, I thought it but fair to let him as well as Mr. Stewart know my view of the facts which took place. I alluded to it since it appeared in the Jamaica papers, in conversation with Lord Glenelg, at the Colonial office, in connexion with another matter; but, excepting to him and yourself, I do not think I have mentioned it to any other persons. Sir G. Grey has written to me a most kind letter, denying it totally, which disposes of that question; but as I have not seen the *ECLECTIC REVIEW*, I am unable to allude to any thing which may have appeared in it. In my letter to Mr. Stewart I have gone more into details than can be necessary here, pointing out what I conceive to be the mistakes of his statement as to the persons present. I again repeat that you may make what use you please of this letter.

'Signed,

'SLIGO.'

This communication clearly establishes the general facts stated in the passage which we transferred from the *Watchman* to our pages, while it as distinctly admits the denial of Sir George Grey. We have

already expressed our conviction that that denial is conclusive, but before dismissing the subject, we will venture to suggest, that the honourable baronet owes it to himself to call upon Mr. Philpots, now in this country, to say whether he transmitted to Jamaica the report which is attributed to him. Such an account did reach that colony, and Mr. Philpots is alleged to have sent it thither. The means of refutation are consequently at hand, and we hope Sir George Grey will avail himself of them.

ART. XII. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

A Latin Glossary of the Tenth Century, has been found in the department of the Vosges by M. Charles Friry. A correct copy has been made of it for the Royal Library. A great part of the Latin words are explained in Anglo-Saxon.

Dr. Pritchard's Work on the Mythology of Egypt has just been translated and published, with Remarks, in German, by Hayman, and with a Preface by A. W. Schlegel. A Translation of these will shortly appear in English.

Dr. Dantz, Professor of Divinity at Jena, has issued a prospectus of a Universal Dictionary of Theological Literature. It is to be comprised in one large octavo volume.

M. Audubon, the distinguished Ornithologist, has returned to England, after a year's absence in America, where he has been engaged collecting specimens for the completion of his magnificent work, the *Birds of America*.

M. Garcin de Tassy, one of the professors of the Bibliotheque du Roi at Paris, is visiting London, to consult the Oriental Manuscripts at the East India House, as well as those of private collectors, prior to the publication of his History of Hindustani Literature.

In the press, *The Life, Journals, and Correspondence of the late William Wilberforce, Esq. By his Sons.*

Just Published.

Dr. Pyc Smith's *Scripture Testimony to the Messiah; an Inquiry with a View to a Satisfactory Determination of the Doctrine taught in the Holy Scriptures concerning the person of Christ.* The Third Edition, much improved, and enlarged by a considerable increase of new matter. 3 vols. 8vo.

A Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament. By Edward Robinson, D.D., late Professor Extraordinary of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary, Andover, North America. A new edition, carefully revised and corrected, with some additions and various improvements by S. T. Bloomfield, D.D., F.S.A. 8vo.

A History of British Fishes. By William Yarrell, V.P.Z.S., F.L.S. Illustrated by nearly 400 Wood-cuts. 2 vols.

An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians. Written in Egypt during the years 1833—34 and 35. By Edward William Lane. 2 vols.

Christian Theology. By John Calvin. Selected and Systematically Arranged, with a Life of the Author, by Samuel Dunn.

The Wrongs of the Caffre Nation. By Justus. With an Appendix, containing Lord Glenelg's Despatches to the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope.

Memoir of the Rev. William Newman, D.D. By George Pritchard. 8vo.

Discourses; chiefly on Doctrinal Subjects. By the Rev. Robert Nesbit, Poona Presidency of Bombay. 8vo.

Earl Harold. A Tragedy, in Five Acts.

The Miscellaneous Works of Adam Clarke, LL.D. Vol. XI.

Lives of the Most Eminent, Literary, and Scientific Men of Great Britain. Vol. II. Lardner's Cyclopædia, Vol. XCIII.

Saunders's Portraits and Memoirs of the Most Eminent Reformers. Part I.

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR OCTOBER, 1837.

Art. I. *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians; written in Egypt during the Years 1833, 4, and 5; partly from Notes made during a Former Visit to that Country in the Years 1825, 6, 7, and 8.* By EDWARD WILLIAM LANE. 2 vols. 12mo. London: Knight. 1836.

A CURIOUS and reflective mind will not fall on many subjects more attractive than the relation of ancient regions, such as history and monuments have recorded them, to the same regions viewed in their modern and present state. It is striking to consider how widely they are, as it were, estranged from their primitive selves; insomuch that the mere local and nominal identity has less power to retain them before us under the original idea fixed on the place and name, than their actual condition has to present them as domains of a foreign and alien character. They are seen divested, to so great a degree, of that which had created a deep interest in contemplating them, that we consign them to a distant province of our imagination, where they are the objects of a reversed order of feelings. We regard them as having disowned themselves, while retaining their ancient names, and their position on the earth.

We say, 'divested to so great a degree;' for if the regions be eminently remarkable for natural features—mountains, rivers, defiles, and peculiar productions—these do, indeed, continue to tell something of ancient times. In keeping under our view a groundwork of the scenes we had meditated on, they recall to us by association what once was there, and is there no longer. But

they do so to excite a disturbance by incongruity. What is there *now*, rises in the imagination to confound or overpower the images of what was there *then*. So that, till we can clear away this intrusion, we have an uncouth blending of the venerable ancient and the vulgar modern.

Again; there are seen in those territories striking relics of the human labours of the remote ages; which are thus brought back more impressively to the imagination than by the most prominent features of nature. But these disclaim more decidedly still, in the name of that departed world to which they entirely belong, all relationship with the existing economy of man and his concerns. They are emphatically solitary and estranged amidst that economy. Their aspect, in their gloom and ruin, is wholly to the past, as if signifying a disdain of all that later times have brought around them. And if, in some instances, man is trying to avail himself of some parts or appendages of them, for his ordinary uses of resort or dwelling, we may, by a poetical license of thought, imagine them loathing the desecration. Still, as the vulgarities *do* obtrude themselves in contiguity, the contemplatist cannot wholly abstract himself from the annoyance.

Some of those scenes of ruin, indeed, and especially and pre-eminently the tract and vast remaining masses of Babylon, are placed apart by their awful doom, as suffering no encroachment and incongruous association of human occupancy or vicinity. There is no *modern* Babylon. It is secluded and alone in its desolation; clear of all interference with its one character as monumental of ancient time and existence. If the contemplative spectator could sojourn there alone and with a sense of safety, his mind would be taken out of the actual world, and carried away to the period of Babylon's magnificence, its multitudes, its triumphs, and the divine denunciations of its catastrophe.

Egypt has monuments of antiquity surpassing all others on the globe. History cannot tell when the most stupendous of them were constructed; and it would be no improbable prophecy that they are destined to remain to the end of time. Those enormous constructions, assuming to rank with nature's ancient works on the planet, and raised, as if to defy the powers of man and the elements and time to demolish them, by a generation that retired into the impenetrable darkness of antiquity when their work was done, stand on the surface in solemn relation to the subterraneous mansions of death. All the vestiges bear an aspect intensely and unalterably grave. There is inscribed on them a language which tells the inquirer that its import is not for him or the men of his times. Persons that lived thousands of years since remain in substance and form, death everlastingly embodied, as if to emblem to us the vast chasm, and the non-existence of relation, between their race and ours. A shade of mystery rests on the whole

economy to which all these objects belonged. Add to this our associations with the region from those memorable transactions and phenomena recorded in the sacred history, by which the imagination has been, so to speak, permanently located in it, as a field crowded with primeval interests and wonders.

It may then be asserted, perhaps, that Egypt surpasses every tract of the world (we know not that Palestine is an exception) in the power of fascinating a contemplative spirit, as long as the contemplation shall dwell exclusively on the *ancient* scene. But there is a *modern* Egypt. And truly it is an immense transition from the supernatural phenomena, the stupendous constructions, the frowning grandeur, the veiled intelligence, the homage, almost to adoration, rendered to death, and the absorption of a nation's living powers in the passion for leaving impregnable monuments, in which, after their brief mortal existence they should remain memorable for ever,—to the present Egypt as described by Mr. Lane. But this Egypt, as it is spread around the wonderful spectacles which remain to give us partially an image of what once it was, disturbs the contemplation by an interference of the coarse vulgar modern with the solemn superb ancient. At least to a reader, who has not enjoyed the enviable privilege of beholding those spectacles, and so practically experiencing how much they may absorb and withdraw the mind from all that is around them, it would seem that the presence of a grovelling population, with their miserable abodes, and daily employments, combined with the knavish insolent annoyance of the wearers of a petty authority, must press on the reflective spectator of pyramids, temples, and catacombs, with an effect extremely adverse to the musing abstraction in which he endeavours to carry his mind back to the ancient economy. As to any advantage to arise from *contrast*, there is no need of it. And besides, the two things are too far in disproportion *for* contrast. Who would let hovels and paltry mosques come into comparison at all with the pyramids and the temple of Carnac?

Mr. Lane has surrendered to the antiquarian and imaginative tribe the vestiges of the ancient country, and strictly adhered to his purpose of describing its present state and people. This he has done in such a manner, that his work may be considered as nearly superseding all the slighter sketches conveyed to us in the narratives of the numerous recent travellers. He has possessed the advantage over them of a protracted residence, of having one special design to prosecute, of a competent mastery of the language, and of possessing a certain flexibility of adaptation to the notions and habits of the people, by which he has insinuated himself into a familiarity and confidence with them quite out of reach of any passing visitant. The result is a work surprisingly comprehensive and particular. His vigilant inquisitiveness has gone

into all the detail of dress, domestic manners, conventional observances, superstitious notions and ceremonies, ordinary occupations, traffic, political economy, official administration, and characteristic diversities of the several sections of the heterogeneous population; which are exhibited with a minuteness and precision, to make us marvel at his untiring patience of investigation. All is set forth in the plain language of an honest intention and labour to give a matter-of-fact account of things, without any flourishing off into sentiment or ambitious speculation. It could not be *so amusing* a book as those which have been made up of picturesque touches and incidents of adventure; it necessarily partakes of what we are apt to call dry; but it will be the repository to be consulted by every person who wants to know any thing about any part or circumstance of the character, habits, and condition, of the modern inhabitants of the old realm of the Pharaohs.

The author's observations were chiefly made in Cairo, the capital, and its precincts; but that portion of the country may, he says, be taken as very competently representing the general character and state of the nation, and of the mahomedan world to a much wider extent than the Egyptian section; for, says he,

‘In every point of view, Musr (or Cairo) must be regarded as the first Arab city of our age; and the manners and customs of its inhabitants are particularly interesting, as they are a combination of those which prevail most generally in the towns of Arabia, Syria, and the whole of Northern Africa, and in a great degree in Turkey. There is no other place in which we can obtain so complete a knowledge of the most civilized classes of the Arabs.’

It is out of the question to attempt any thing like an analysis of such a multitude and aggregate of particulars. All we can do is to make a few brief notices, here and there, in passing over the 800 closely printed pages—a journey through which, though thus commodiously guided and put at our ease, it is really not a light adventure to follow the author, who had himself, at every step, to make it with the slowness of the most marked and deliberate attention. Had he lived in the early times of the country, he would have been an excellent superintending officer to take note of each added stone, in one of the huge piles which consumed a whole life of a generation of labourers.

His first observations respect the climate; which, he says, is remarkably salubrious through the greater part of the year; more so in the southern parts of the Upper, though the heat is 10° higher there than in the Lower Egypt; where the thermometer, ‘in the depth of winter’ (an expression of strange sound, for Egypt), in the afternoon, in the shade, is at from 50° to 60°; in the hottest season from 90° to 100°; the heat still not very op-

pressive, being attempered by a northerly breeze. In default of the more pompous relations between the ancient and the modern, there is still in noble superabundance the plague of flies, lice, and other insect nuisances. Precautions more than formerly are adopted against the invasion of the plague, so named by eminence. But in 1835 it was introduced from Turkey, extended over the whole country, and carried off in Cairo alone 80,000, one-third of the inhabitants.

There is a very lengthened description, illustrated by numerous wood-cuts, of the houses, in all their diversities, proportions, and adjustments. The best of them seem such as may well content the 'true believers,' during their probation for the more luxurious abodes promised them by the prophet; 'but the dwellings of the lower orders, particularly those of the peasants, are very mean; mostly built of unbaked bricks; some of them mere hovels.' The villages are raised on the progressively accumulating and rising heaps, made by the ruin and rubbish of former ones; thus maintaining a proper height above the inundation, by rising in proportion of the continual rise of the alluvial plains and the bed of the river.

The population, of which there is no authentic statement, can hardly, Mr. Lane thinks, be estimated at so many as 2,000,000, since its prodigious diminution by the pacha's sweeping conscriptions for his wars, of at least 200,000, that is, a full half of all the men fit for military service. This goes beyond the rate of our once terrible neighbour of France; and surely threatens a similar eventual prostration to the minor potentate. The calculation for the several classes is, Mahomedan Egyptians (peasants and townspeople), 1,750,000; Christian Egyptians (Copts), 150,000; Osmantees, or Turks, 10,000; Syrians, 5000; Greeks 5000; Armenians, 2000; Jews 5000.

Estimating the natural capability of the country, on supposition of its being well cultivated, to the widest practicable extent, as adequate to the support of 8,000,000, he observes,

'How different now is the state of Egypt from what it might be. How great a change might be effected in it by a truly enlightened government; by a prince who (instead of oppressing the peasants by depriving them of their lands, and by his monopolies of the most valuable productions of the soil; by employing the best portion of the population to prosecute his ambitious schemes of foreign conquest, and another large portion in the vain attempt to rival European manufactures,) would give his people a greater interest in the cultivation of the fields, and make Egypt what nature designed it to be, almost exclusively an agricultural country. Its produce of cotton alone would more than suffice to procure all the articles of foreign manufacture, and all the productions of foreign countries, that the wants of its inhabitants demand.'—Vol. I., p. 23.

As dress is a main thing by which mankind all over the world wish to be taken account of, our author pays the Egyptians the compliment of dissecting and delineating theirs, through every article, and fold, and colour, and change, and through each grade of society, with a detail and critical precision which we are confident no tailor or mantua-maker in all Cairo could equal, even if as handy at the pen and pencil as at the needle. To us it appears, as shown in the engravings,* very ungainly and cumbrous in many of its modes. Draperies so unshaped,—and so hung, and loaded, and swathed on the figure,—as some of them appear, must impose a total unfitness for action, even for walking, more than a short measured amble; and by the very quantity, garment heaped on garment, must greatly add to the grievance of heat. They needed not to outvie the customary Turkish costumes, in the ambition of casting a broad shadow on the ground. But of course this excess is the exclusive privilege and grace of the better sort, who can afford to parade a wardrobe, and are exempt from the humbler calls to action. The old and approved operation of walking is for them nearly out of the question. A handsome race of asses has the honour of saving them that trouble.

Mr. Lane is pleased with the personal appearance of both sexes about the period of maturity. But unfortunately the females 'generally attain their highest degree of perfection at the age of 'fifteen or sixteen;' when, and for a few years longer, many of them are very beautiful in figure and countenance; but are under the doom of thenceforward declining; till they have lost, at the age of forty, all the graces but those sometimes retained in the eyes; which, 'with few exceptions, are black, large, and of a 'long almond form, with long and beautiful lashes, and an exquisitely soft bewitching expression: eyes more beautiful can 'hardly be conceived: their charming effect is much heightened 'by the concealment of the other features.' We must take the describer's authority for what we have some difficulty to conceive, that this effect is also greatly heightened by a practice of blackening the edge of the eye-lids, both above and below the eye, with a powder called *kohl*. For the antiquity of the practice reference is made to the example of Jezebel, and to Ezekiel xxiii. 40. Another cosmetic device is the well-known use of *penma* leaves, to dye of a yellowish red or a deep orange colour the nails, tips of the fingers, palm of the hand, toes, and other parts of the feet.

Children are regarded as a great blessing; and with a reason

* We may as well notice the wood-engravings here, once for all. They are after drawings by the author, in number exceeding a hundred; not of high pretensions in elegance of art; but bearing, in their plain simplicity, strong marks of faithful representation. They were not meant, he says, 'to embellish the pages, but to explain the text.'

subject to less exception than in many other parts of the world, if, as we are here told, their behaviour to their parents as they grow up is always exemplary. As a consequence, that looks odd at first sight, their childhood is kept in a state disgustingly squalid; even a lady finished off in dress, and scenting with her perfumes the street through which she is walking, shall be seen leading her little favourite 'with a face besmeared with dust, and 'clothes appearing as if they had been worn for months without 'ever being washed.' This is from dread of the *evil eye*, which, vainly coveting the sweet creature, would blast it to spite the owner. But the mind is worse off than the person can be; the state of education being as wretched as political slavery and religious superstition can require. The females are not educated at all. Very few of even the women of the higher order can read, or have learnt to say their prayers. They must not pray in the mosque, and need not pray at home. For boys there are numerous schools, in which, with the letters, they are taught to recite chapters of the koran. Writing is an accomplishment nearly confined to those intended for offices, or the services of the mosque. One of the very first elements of their instruction is 'religious pride, with hatred of the Christians, and all sects but 'their own.'

A long chapter on Religion and Laws, after distinguishing the religious parties, respectively denominated after the doctors whose tenets they have adopted, recites in substance the doctrines and prescriptions of the koran; and goes through a minute detail of the formularies of devotion, an odious compost of the ideas of the divine unity, power, and goodness, with the principles of a vile and virulent superstition; the noxiousness of the latter destroying the practical good of the former, and vitiating even the good moral rules and sentiments which are blended in the institute. The grave frivolities and grimaces of the ritual are a worthy decoration of the depravity of the principles. The Moslems of Egypt have their proportion of formalists and fanatics; but collectively considered, they cannot make very high claims for that conscientious faithfulness of observance, which some of our travelling describers of Turkey have taken pleasure in celebrating and exaggerating. In the habits of many there is great laxity, and in not a few an almost total neglect. The rigours of their grand solemnity of the Ramadan, regarded as of more importance than any other religious appointment, are unscrupulously melted down in secret by many of the wealthy classes. The majority, however, strictly keep the fast; which, says Mr. Lane, 'is fatal 'to numerous persons in a weak state of health.' The pilgrimage to Mecca and Mount Arafat, once in every true believer's life, though nominally of comprehensive obligation, admits of some compromise and exception in favour of poverty and ill health;

‘but many neglect the duty who cannot plead a lawful excuse ; ‘nor are they reproached for so doing.’ The interdicted wine and spirituous liquors are no strangers in the concealed recesses of many a Mahomedan dwelling. As to the one article of swine’s flesh, it seems they are veritably and universally conscientious.

The laws, conformably to the koran, concerning marriage, concubinage, and divorce, and the property adjustments in each case, are as multifarious as any Mahomedan or even Christian jurisconsult, and as lax in morality as any libertine, could well desire. The worthy husband, when he conceives any dislike, or perhaps has too many on his hands, has only to say, ‘I divorce thee,’ or, ‘thou art divorced,’ and to pay her some trifle as a return of a part of her dowry, which he had kept back from the first against such an occasion. He may take her again if the whim should take *him*, should she have no objection; and in certain cases whether she consent or not. But a woman cannot separate herself from her husband against his will, unless for some very considerable fault on his part, such as cruel treatment or neglect; nor then without a process in the *cadi’s* court. There are, however, fully as many provisions in the legal system in favour of women, as could be expected where they are held mentally and morally of such small account.

Murder, though there are allowable compositions, is generally punished with death by the government. But the Arab’s sanguinary and hereditary barbarism often scorns an appeal to regular authority. Among most tribes, indeed, a fine is accepted; but,

‘The Bedawees have made the law of the avenging of blood terribly severe and unjust, transgressing the limits assigned by the koran; for, with them, any single person descended from the homicide, or from the homicide’s father, grandfather, great-grandfather, or great-grandfather’s father, may be killed by any of such relations of the person murdered or killed in fight. Cases of blood-revenge are very common among the peasantry of Egypt. The relations in an Egyptian village generally retaliate with their own hands, rather than apply to the government; and often do so with disgusting cruelty, and even insult and mangle the corpse of their victim. The relations of a homicide usually fly from their own to another village, for protection.’

Vol. I., p. 124.

The law which ordained for theft, above a certain small amount, the chopping off hands and feet, one successively for each transgression, is superseded in practice for beating, and death for the fourth offence.

It is a striking and nearly universal characteristic of false religion, that it accounts no civil or moral crime so aggravated and inexpiable as a change of opinion to the true. The bad passions recognising their most congenial ally in a bad religion, are furious against a desertion from *it* as a declaration against *them*.

'*Apostacy* from the Mahomedan faith is considered a most heinous sin, and must be punished with death, unless the apostate will recant on being thrice warned. I once saw a woman paraded through the streets of Cairo, and afterwards taken down to the Nile to be drowned, for having apostatized from the faith of Mahomed, and having married a Christian. Unfortunately she had tattooed a blue cross on her arm, which led to her detection by one of her former friends in the bath. She was mounted upon a high-saddled ass, such as ladies in Egypt usually ride, and very respectably dressed; attended by soldiers, and surrounded by a rabble, who, instead of commiserating, uttered loud imprecations against her. The *cadi*, who passed sentence on her, exhorted her, in vain, to return to her former faith. Her own father was her accuser! She was taken in a boat into the midst of the river, stripped nearly naked, strangled, and then thrown into the stream. The conduct of the lower orders in Cairo on this occasion speaks sadly against their character. A *song* was composed on the victim of this terrible law, and became very popular in the metropolis. The Europeans residing there regretted that the pasha was then at Alexandria, as they might have prevailed on him to pardon her. Once before they interceded with him for a woman who had been condemned for apostacy. He ordered that she should be brought before him: he exhorted her to recant; but, finding her resolute, reproved her for *her folly*, and sent her home, commanding that no injury should be done to her.'—*ib.*, p. 126.

Under the article Religion, it should be noticed that the *imams* are by no means so exclusively sacerdotal, consecrated, privileged, and endowed a class as our Christian clergy are constituted. One point of distinction is (rather hard on the *imams*, in the comparative adjustment), that they 'enjoy no respect but what their reputed piety or learning may obtain them.' Besides this, they are liable, for misconduct, to be displaced, with loss of salary. And while in the service of the mosque, of which the emolument is very small, they gain their livelihood chiefly by other employments, as tradesmen, schoolmasters, &c.

In looking at the chapter on Government, we must congratulate Mr. Lane on Mahomed Ali's inability to read English. Otherwise we should think that if, in case of his being introduced into the Presence, he were to catch sight of his own book, lying on table or divan, it would be rather an alarming spectacle. His rapid glance would alternate between the book and the visage of despotic power—the *vultus instantis tyranni*. For this part of the work is the picture of a nation tormented, plundered, exhausted, crushed down to extreme misery, under the hoofs of the whole troop of centaurs in authority. The pasha himself performs in grand fashion, and each subordinate official does his part. The people have never read of the locusts, and what became of them, in Pharaoh's time; or they would look with some passionate wishes toward the Red Sea.

It is needless to say that the term Government in this instance means nothing of theory. Nor is it a well-organized tyranny. Its chief possesses, in the exertion of an iron force of will, sufficient ascendancy to make the disordered consistence of the state work to his own purposes; but not enough to reduce it to a system, in which the parts should work together as commodiously, with as little secondary mischief, as possible, in maintaining and perfecting the one imperial mischief of a relentless despotism. Indeed it would seem that he does not care, as long as that can be maintained, what it may cost to the human mass over which it is exercised. As a matter of feeling merely, that is nothing wonderful; but it *is* somewhat strange that, in simple policy and foresight, he should not be more economical of the harassment and consumption of the living and all other materials which are to constitute his state; and the ruin of which must render his domination worthless to him. By a rapacious monopoly, and a taxation which watches every thing that grows just in order to crop it, he extinguishes all the incentives to industry and improvement, in the agricultural interest especially, but those applied by brute force. One of the most iniquitous, and at the same time reckless, of the measures in unsparing prosecution is, that of making himself lord paramount, plainly the absolute owner, of the land, by taking it away from the proprietors, with a semblance of giving them an equivalent or compensation in pensions for life; which he pays as long as he pleases or finds convenient; and which at all events leave the families of the once rightful possessors consigned at last to the condition of serfs, or of total destitution. He has laid his talons also on the endowments of religious and charitable institutions. His revenue is understood to amount to three millions sterling.

But the section is occupied chiefly with an account of the several courts of law, and other offices of administration. And it just tells how every thing is managed as rogues would have it; by bribery, falsification, perjury, oppression of the weak, and collusion, as far as the respective corrupt interests of the parties will admit of it, among the strong. There is a curious detailed relation of a concerted plan to defraud a merchant's orphan daughter of her father's property. It had been brought, through all due legal formalities, to a prosperous consummation—the villains in actual possession—when it was blown up by so rare a thing as the resolute intervention of a high public officer of inflexible integrity. Another story describes an act of summary retribution, not surpassed in fantastic barbarism by any judicial transaction in the whole annals of rude tribes and times. We are sorry not to have room to insert it at full length, because the admirably graphic and dramatic effect is lost in a bare statement of the facts; which are these: The nazir (collecting officer of a village)

demanded of a poor peasant sixty riyals, equal to about thirty shillings, which he was wholly unable to pay, his sole property being a cow, which at once supported his family by her milk and ploughed his small piece of ground. The officer seized the cow; had it cut up in sixty pieces, and summoned sixty peasants, with a command to take each a piece and pay down a riyal, the butcher receiving the head in payment for his work. Thus the required sum was realized. The ruined peasant went with his lamentable tale to the superior officer, Defterdar, of the district, who instantly ordered before him all the parties, the collector, the sixty purchasers, and the butcher. After due, but short inquisition, he ordered the butcher to serve out the collector as he had the cow, cutting the body in sixty pieces. As the cow had been sold at but half its value, he commanded each of the former purchasers to take his piece of the collector and pay two riyals; the butcher receiving, as before, the head for his trouble. Not a man, during the proceeding, had presumed to utter a syllable in remonstrance. The hundred and twenty riyals were then given to the poor peasant.

The mode of living, that is to say, the system (for so it may claim to be named) of eating and drinking, with the adjunct and supplementary luxuries, is set forth in all its apparatus, varieties, and ceremonial, as in practice in the higher classes of the city people; an affair of careful interest and study; though falling far enough short of the sumptuousness and waste of certain Christian capitals. This must always be the chief resource of combined ignorance, indolence, and wealth. The Egyptian gentry, all who can afford to have nothing to do but indulge and amuse themselves, are a lazy tribe. Nor is it said that they suffer, in any great degree, the plague and punishment of laziness in the shape of ennui. It does not appear but they get life along with tolerable complacency, between their refectations, their gossiping visits and lounges, their religious formalities, and their pipes. This last article is a favourite and inseparable companion, seen in close fellowship with the Moslem all the day long, in his hand, or placed beside him, or carried by his attendant when he walks or rides. Even the women, the ladies, are in great familiarity with it, but have a refined sort of tobacco, of which the smoke serves as a kind of perfume. Like other favourites the pipe is made an object of vanity and a subject of decoration, the mouth-piece often costing, between material, and ornamental device, from two to three pounds sterling.

The tranquillity of indolence and luxury is not so entire but that the stimulus of some bustling occasion is highly welcome. As if for the purpose of contributing this benefit on the widest scale, the marriages of persons of any account are celebrated in a succession of public shows, processions, and racket, in most

barbarian contempt of all that good taste would dictate in such an affair—if we may be allowed to apply that epithet after being reminded that, in society pretending to the most finished civilization, that transaction is sometimes profaned with proclamation, parade, and noisy hilarity. In odd contrast with this flaring and vociferous publicity, described through all its shows and changes by our author, is the circumstance that the bridegroom is not permitted to see the face of the bride, absolutely cannot know whether he shall like her or not, till the contract is affirmed and the whole ceremonial, after several days of it, coming to an end. He is then introduced to see her without her veil; and there is a party waiting outside for an appointed sign that he is pleased or content with this first glance of what he is to be—we were unwittingly going to say—looking at for life. But no; he may rid himself of her whenever he has a mind. The facility of cutting the tie has been mentioned already; but Mr. Lane goes into ampler detail in the chapters on marriage and the harem.

‘The depraving effects of this facility of divorce upon both sexes may easily be imagined. There are many men in this country who, in the course of ten years, have married as many as twenty, thirty, or more wives; and women not far advanced in age who have been wives to a dozen or more men successively. I have heard of men who have been in the habit of marrying a new wife almost every month. A person may do this though possessed of very little property: he may choose, from among the females of the lower orders in the streets of Cairo, a handsome young widow or divorced woman, who will consent to become his wife for a dowry of about ten shillings; and when he divorces her he need not give her more than that sum to maintain her during her ensuing *eddeh*.* It is but just, however, to add, that such conduct is generally regarded as very disgraceful; and that few parents in the middle or higher classes will give a daughter in marriage to a man who has divorced many wives.’—*ib.*, p. 230.

The slenderness of the conjugal bond yields to the men the substantial advantage of variety and change, without the trouble and expense of polygamy, for which the Mahomedan law gives so large a privilege. The pluralists in this line are chiefly among the lower order, where, instead of incurring an expense, the man may turn the venture to a profit, by taking wives who will consent to work for him. But, taking all together, Mr. Lane thinks ‘that not more than one husband in twenty has two wives.’ Sometimes, in addition to the one, a slave is held in the combined capacity of servant and paramour. In exposing the arrange-

* An interval of three or four months, during which a widow or divorced woman must wait before she can marry again.

ments of the harem, the author represents the condition of the inmates as not so consciously unhappy as is commonly imagined; the wretchedness incident to mental vacuity being averted by employment in ornamental works, by much real gaiety, and by the liberty, under precautionary attendance of course, of going on visits and little rides about the city. As to the husband's vigilance, we are told that any obvious deficiency of it would be deemed by an Egyptian lady an affront, as betraying a want of due regard for her. It is needless to mention that all females, but those of the lower order, are veiled up to the eyes when they appear in public; and in the house also, whenever there would be a chance of their being seen by any of the other sex, except the very few who are privileged by relationship. What a degraded estimate of half the race of rational creatures is implied in this whole system of precaution, preclusion, and concealment!

The description of the indolent and voluptuous life of the higher classes, inhabiting the metropolis and great towns, stands in flagrant contrast with the condition of those at the bottom of the scale; especially the peasantry, who are sustained in their ill-rewarded toils by a diet on which we may wonder how they can preserve strength to labour at all, or even to live. But how earnestly this poor lot of existence is clung to in preference to the military service, may be seen in the expedients employed by parents to save their sons from that destination.

‘There is now (in 1834) seldom to be found, in any of the villages, an able-bodied youth or young man who has not had one or more of his teeth broken out (that he may not be able to bite a cartridge), or a finger cut off, or an eye pulled out or blinded, to prevent his being taken for a recruit. Old women and others make a trade of going about from village to village, to perform these operations on the boys; and the parents themselves are sometimes the operators.’—*ib.*, p. 246.

It is fortunate for these Moslems not to have a great variety of subjects to study; for the tax on their time and faculties for the complete mastery, in knowledge and practice, of the code alone of salutations, compliments, and other verbal civilities, would leave little chance for their proficiency in other learning. There are settled classical forms of speech for all manner of social occasions and incidents, even down to that of yawning; on which occurrence the true believer is to apply the back of his left hand to his mouth, and say, ‘I seek refuge with God from Satan the ‘accursed.’ The ungraceful act, however, is rather to be avoided as much as may be; and for a much better reason than any thing against it on the score of grace or politeness; ‘for it is believed ‘that the devil is in the habit of leaping into a gaping mouth.’ It is not stated whether that incursion be in any degree attracted

by the circumstance that the Egyptian mouth is always filled with smoke. 'The ordinary set compliments in use in Egyptian society,' says Mr. Lane, 'are so numerous that a dozen pages of this work would not suffice for the mention of those which may be heard almost every day.' Very inconvenient and onerous as this appears in one view, it is commodious in another, as saving the trouble of any strain on the inventive faculty.

Still this prescriptive and mechanical formality of politeness does not, it seems, imply the total absence of a more genuine urbanity.

'The Egyptians are extremely courteous to each other, and have a peculiar grace and dignity in their manner of salutation and their general demeanour, combined with easiness of address; which seem natural to them; being observable even in the peasants. Affability is a general characteristic of the Egyptians of all classes. It is common for strangers, even in a shop, after mutual salutation, to enter into conversation with each other with as much freedom as if they were old acquaintance; and for one who has a pipe to offer it to another who has none; nor is it unusual, nor is it generally considered unpolite, for persons in a first casual meeting to ask each others' names, professions or trades, and places of abode. Lasting acquaintances are often formed on such occasions. In the middle and higher ranks of Egyptian society, it is very seldom that a man is heard to say any thing offensive to another in the company; and the most profligate never venture to utter an expression meant to cast ridicule on sincere religion: most persons, however, in every class, are otherwise more or less licentious in their conversation, and extremely fond of joking. They are generally very lively and dramatic in their talk, but scarcely ever noisy in their mirth. They seldom indulge in loud laughter; expressing their enjoyment of any thing ludicrous by a smile or an exclamation.'—*ib.*, p. 260.

Cairo, as being reputed the best school of Arabic literature and Mahomedan theology and jurisprudence, draws numerous students to its college—mosque El-Azhar. There are large libraries attached to that and other mosques. The greater part of what is taught is necessarily founded on the Koran. To philology, history, and poetry, is added a very small allowance of what should be called science. Its soundness and extent may be estimated from the information that 'to say that the earth revolves round the sun, they consider absolute heresy.'

'Of geography, the Egyptians in general, and, with very few exceptions, the best instructed among them, have scarcely any knowledge; having no good maps, they are almost wholly ignorant of the relative situations of the several great countries of Europe. Some few of the learned venture to assert that the earth is a globe; but they are opposed by the great majority of the Oolama. The common opinion of

all classes of Moslems is, that the earth is an almost plane expanse, surrounded by the ocean, which, they say, is encompassed by a chain of mountains called *Ckaf*.—ib., p. 281.

The void of knowledge is occupied by an ample order and disorder of superstitions, to the greater portion of mankind a more acceptable mental possession; inasmuch as it is a thing far more easy and of more lively excitement to indulge the imagination than to exercise the understanding. Superstition, besides, has the advantage over sober truth of bringing its false creations into more intimate contact with the passions of hope and fear, especially the latter—except in the case of persons of the most extraordinary piety. Nay, it presses closer on the mind than all the objects of the senses, and in many instances constitutes the impressive force of those very objects. For example, our author represents the belief of these Islamites in *Ginn* (Genii) as subjecting them to a perpetual haunting of their effective good or evil (but especially evil) intervention, in all times and places, and in every thing they do. These invisible agents, some of them 'true believers,' some of them malignant infidels, denominated *Effreets*, and being the more powerful order, are deemed to pervade the earth and the sky, and to be ready to take offence at the most common actions of life; so that it is prudent to exclaim or mutter, 'Destoor,' that is, 'Permission!' by way of deprecation, on letting a bucket down into a well, lighting a fire, or throwing water on the ground. They are the actuating spirits of some of the dangerous commotions of the elements, such as the whirlwinds of sand. Against the *ginee* approaching in that fashion, the most approved charm is to bawl out, 'Iron, thou unlucky!' as the genii are supposed to have a great dread of that metal. Some of them are believed to assume, occasionally or constantly, the form of dogs, cats, or other brutes; and among a number of characteristic anecdotes is the story of what one of the most illuminated sages of the country, recently deceased, who had written several works on various sciences, used to relate (if seriously, which is implied) of his attendant *ginee* in the person of a cat; evincing a debility or perversion of intellect almost incredible.

The veneration among the Mahomedans for *idiots* is better accounted for than we had imagined; the case being that 'the mind of the idiot is (literally) in heaven, while his grosser part mingles among ordinary mortals; consequently he is considered 'an especial favourite of heaven.' The order of persons holding the repute of *saints* forfeit none of their respect by taking a practical dispensation from the rules of morality, decency, and religion. At the head of them is a personage of peculiar and pre-eminent sanctity, denominated *Ckootb*; who is believed to be here, or to be there, but nobody can certainly tell where; for he

is never seen so as to be recognized at any of the stations supposed to be favoured with his presence. There is so strong a presumption of his being ensconced behind the constantly turned-back half of one of the city gates, that

‘Numbers of persons afflicted with the head-ache drive a nail into the door to charm away the pain; and many sufferers from the tooth-ache extract a tooth, and insert it in a crevice of the door, or fix it in some other way, to insure their not being attacked again by the same malady. Some curious individuals often try to peep behind the door, in the vain hope of catching a glimpse of the Ckootb, should he happen to be there, and not at the moment invisible. He is believed to transport himself from Mecca to Cairo in an instant, and also from any one place to another. He wanders throughout the whole world, among persons of every religion, whose appearance, dress, and language he assumes; and distributes to mankind, chiefly through the subordinate *welees* (saints) evils and blessings, the awards of destiny.’

There is a notion among many that the ckootbs are appointed in succession by Elijah, whom they consider as the Ckootb of his time, and acknowledge that he never died. Some amusingly ridiculous stories relating to the powers, vocations, and habits of the *welees* are recited by Mr. Lane, who says they are believed by persons who, in many respects, evince good sense; and that to laugh, or express discredit, would give great offence.

The coveted honour of being reckoned among the *welees*, or saints, is conceded, in repute, to a few only of a numerous and less sacred order, the *Durweeshes* (dervises); who still are made of some better material than ordinary mortals; have rites of initiation; some not very defined connexion with religious offices; and are classed under four distinctive denominations. Some of them figure in the exercise of repeating the name of Allah, with a few other words interjected, as long as the vocal organs can sustain the task; ‘accompanying their ejaculations or chants with a motion of the head, or of the whole body, or of the arms. From long habit they are able to continue these exercises for a ‘surprising length of time without intermission.’ Some of them excel in mountebank feats, of thrusting iron spikes into their bodies, eating glass or burning coals, and live serpents. But the majority seem to employ themselves chiefly in the more ordinary, honest, and useful occupations. On some public occasions the author witnessed the most ambitious exploits of the fine performers. The dancing and whirling exhibition does not appear to have equalled what is described as seen in Constantinople. But that of fire-eating with impunity was a more wonder-making spectacle than any feats of agility could have been. In the middle of a ring of these gentlemen was placed a small chafing-dish

of tinned copper, full of red-hot charcoal. After divers antics exhibited by one of them,

‘—he seized a piece of live-charcoal, which he put into his mouth; then did the same with another, another, and another, till his mouth was full; when he deliberately chewed these live coals, opening his mouth very wide every moment, to show its contents, which, after about three minutes, he swallowed; and all this he did without evincing the slightest symptom of pain; appearing during the operation and after it even more lively than before.’ Another, after due preparatory and most violent freaks,—‘took out one of the largest live-coals and put it into his mouth. He kept his mouth wide open for about two minutes; and during this period, each time that he inhaled, the large coal appeared of almost a white heat; and when he exhaled, numerous sparks were blown out of his mouth. After this he chewed and swallowed the coal; and then resumed his dancing.—ib., p. 213.

The chafing-dish being ‘handed to the dancers as if it had been a dish of cakes or sweetmeats, a third vulcanist took a large piece of brilliantly hot coal; placed it between his teeth, and kept it so for a short time; then drew it upon his tongue; and, keeping his mouth wide open more than two minutes, violently inhaled and exhaled, showing the inside of his mouth like a furnace, and breathing out sparks;’ and ended by quietly sending the high-seasoned delicacy down his throat. The author says, ‘I narrowly watched his countenance; but could not see the least indication of his suffering any pain.’

But something much more strange than this is done in Egypt, and probably no where else. Mr. L. had heard from English residents in Cairo such accounts of a modern Jannes or Jambres that it would have evinced an inexcusable want of curiosity not to seek an interview. There was introduced to him a fine looking man, affable and unaffected in his conversation, who had no reluctance or fear to put his powers to the test before the most shrewd or suspicious inspector. The preparatory ceremony was to write on a paper in Arabic (which he readily showed to Mr. Lane, who has given a translation) an invocation to two *genii*, his ‘familiar spirits,’ named *Turshoon* and *Turyooshoon*.* This was cut in slips, which were successively thrown together with some incense, on the fire in a chafing-dish, while the process of incantation was going on, in an indistinct muttering by the magician—not, to be sure, a very imposing kind of spell, and more adapted to excite suspicion than create credulity. It was necessary there should be

* In a note Mr. Lane says, ‘He professed to me that his wonders were effected by the agency of good spirits; but to others he has said the reverse; that his magic is satanic.’

an intermediate person between him and the inquisitive observer. And this might be 'a boy, not arrived at puberty, a virgin, a 'black female slave, or a pregnant woman;' a rule of fitness seemingly odd and arbitrary enough. A boy was brought in from the street, by a chance selection, made by Mr. Lane himself, from a number who were returning from a manufactory. He is very particular and positive in asserting that there was not, and could not be, any manner of collusion. A reed-pen and ink were supplied by Mr. Lane himself (as the paper for the charm and the scissors for cutting it had also been) at the request of the magician; who then drew 'a magic square' in the palm of the boy's hand, with Arabic numerals marked on its margin, and a blot of ink, less than a sixpence, in the middle. So far in sight of Mr. Lane, who has given the diagram on his page; what might come next was not to be seen by him, but described by the boy. The spot of ink was to become the ground, or scene, or mirror, of the objects required to appear. The room being filled with smoke of the incense, the magician interrupted his muttering to ask the boy whether he saw any thing, and was answered, 'no;' but soon after, with signs of fear, the boy said, 'I see a man 'sweeping the ground.' He was then directed to call, in succession, for a long series of spectacles, some of them consisting of a variety of objects and movements; and he described them distinctly, in form, colour, number, and change of action, in such prompt, plain manner, as to leave no doubt that they were actually before his eyes. One example may suffice :

'The boy was directed to say, 'Bring the sultan's tent, and pitch it.' This he did; and in about a minute after, he said, 'Some men have brought the tent; a large green tent; they are pitching it;' and presently he added, 'They have set it up.' 'Now,' said the magician, 'order the soldiers to come and pitch their camp around the tent of the sultan.' The boy did so; and immediately said, 'I see a great many soldiers, with the tents; they have pitched the tents.' He was then told to order that the soldiers should be drawn up in ranks; and he presently said that he saw them thus arranged.—*ib.*, p. 353.

But if it might be suspected that all this, however inexplicable, was merely a predetermined show of phantasmagora, an adjusted course of spectral illusion, the magician presently went beyond any conceivable reach of such an artifice.

'He now addressed himself to me; and asked me if I wished the boy to see any person absent or dead. I named Lord Nelson; of whom the boy had evidently never heard; for it was with much difficulty that he pronounced the name, after several trials. The magician desired the boy to say to the sultan, 'My master salutes thee, and desires thee to bring Lord Nelson; bring him before my eyes that I may see him,

speedily.' The boy then said so, and almost immediately added, 'A messenger is gone, and has returned, and brought a man dressed in a black suit of European clothes. The man has lost his left arm.' He then paused for a moment or two; and, looking more intently, and more closely, into the ink, he said, 'No; he has not lost his left arm, but it is placed to his breast.' This correction made his description more striking than it had been without it; since Lord Nelson generally had his empty sleeve attached to the breast of his coat: but it was the *right* arm that he had lost. Without saying that I suspected the boy had made a mistake, I asked the magician whether the objects appeared in the ink as if actually before the eyes, or as if in a glass, which makes the right appear as the left. He answered that they appeared as if in a mirror. This rendered the boy's description faultless.'

The author mentions in a note that the term here translated *black* is equally applied by the Egyptians to *dark blue*.

Mr. Lane next called for a native Egyptian of his acquaintance, then and during many years before residing in England, wearing the European dress, and who had, at the time of Mr. Lane's going to Egypt, been long confined to his bed by illness.

'I thought that his name, one not very uncommon in Egypt, might make the boy describe him incorrectly; though another boy, on the former visit of the magician, had described this same person as wearing an European dress, like that in which I last saw him. In the present case the boy said, 'Here is a man brought on a kind of bier, wrapped up in a sheet.' This description would suit, supposing the person to be still confined to his bed, or if dead. The boy described his face as covered; and was told to order that it should be uncovered. This he did; and then said, 'His face is pale; and he has mustaches, but no beard;' which was correct.'

Several other persons were named, but the boy's descriptions became 'imperfect, though not altogether incorrect; as if his 'sight were becoming gradually dim.' Another boy was tried, but could see nothing; the magician said he was too old.

Mr. Lane confesses that he was somewhat disappointed, because the performances fell short of what had been witnessed, in many instances, by some of his friends and countrymen, of unquestionable authority as deponents. We wish that, to accumulate the largest amount of evidence and illustration, he had recorded the detail of a number of those instances, with the same particularity as the following:

'On one of these occasions, an Englishman present ridiculed the performance, and said that nothing would satisfy him but a correct description of the appearance of his own father, of whom he was sure that no one of the company had any knowledge. The boy, accordingly,

having called by name the person alluded to, described a man in a Frank dress of warse, with his hand placed to his head, wearing spectacles, and with one foot on the ground, and the other raised behind him, as if he were stepping down from a seat. The description was exactly true in every respect: the peculiar position of the hand was occasioned by an almost constant head-ache; and that of the foot or leg by a stiff knee, caused by a fall from a horse, in hunting. I am assured that on this occasion the boy accurately described each person and thing called for. On another occasion Shakspeare was described with the most minute correctness, both as to person and dress; and I might add several other cases in which the magician has excited astonishment in the sober minds of Englishmen of my acquaintance.'— p. 356.

Now, these statements being assumed as accurately true to matter of fact—and the testimony appears to be such as to preclude all doubt—what are we to think of the art or power which so prodigiously surpasses all known resources of mechanical ingenuity and physical science? Mr. Lane declines to adventure an opinion, resigning the affair to impenetrable mystery. But there will be no lack of confidence to pronounce, and the authority so pronouncing will assume the name and tone of philosophy, that there was nothing more in the whole matter than artful contrivance; that there was no intervention of an intelligent agency extraneous to that of the immediate ostensible agent. But can this assumption be made on any other ground than a prior general assumption that there is no such preternatural intervention in the system of the world? But how to *know* that there is not? The negative decision, pronounced in confident ignorance, is a conceited impertinence, which ought to be rebuked by that philosophy whose oracles it is affecting to utter. For what any man knows, or can know, there may be such intervention. That it is not incompatible with the constitution of the world, is an unquestionable fact with the unsophisticated believers in the sacred records. And not a few occurrences in later history have totally defied every attempt at explanation in any other way.

And now take the facts before us, as described by Mr. Lane. First, those that may be called the inferior class;—in the day-time, without concert, without machinery, unless the burning and smoke of incense may be named so, and on a ground in all appearance unfit, to the last degree, for the spectacles, there were brought, not a vague dazzlement of something like imagery (which, however, it is an extreme supposition that the excited state of the young seer under the influence of perfumes and strange rites might seem to create) but a series of distinct scenes of persons and transactions, each remaining long enough to be plainly described, but succeeded, at the interval of a few moments by another, different and also of precise delineation. It is easy

to fling off the difficulty by saying it was all done by some juggling device. *This* cheap philosophy may be quietly put aside. But let the greatest adept in all that real philosophers know of science and art point out an ascertained principle in nature, by the action of which he deliberately believes that he, or any philosopher, can—nay, rather, by which the philosopher shall practically prove that he can—at his mere will, as unaided by optical apparatus as the Egyptian, command the elements into the sudden formation of such a series of images, rapidly but definitely presented to the eyes, or can impart to the eyes themselves the power of instantaneously shaping them. But the philosopher!—the thing was done by a person whose philosophical qualifications our adept would despise.

But next the stronger cases: the statement is, that, immediately on being called for, there were presented the images of persons, unknown to the Magus, far absent, or dead, in conspicuous portraiture, with various and very particular marks of correspondence to what was known of those persons by the challengers of his mysterious faculty. Now put it to any rational man, who has not attained the wisdom of an *a priori* rejection of the supernatural, whether he can believe that such an effect was within the competence of some curious art, or some resource of science, in the possession of the unschooled Mahomedan; or within the competence of any art or science in the possession of any man in the world. If the professor of science shall think so, he will do well to go and seek the Egyptian, acknowledge his superiority to all the learned world, and solicit to be admitted into the inner recesses of the temple of knowledge.

We are well enough aware that we are exposing ourselves to ridicule by these observations. But what signifies the ridicule of men whose pride turns exactly on their ignorance; who deride the idea of any preternatural intervention when their utmost faculty cannot reach to apprehend the very possibility of effects which are placed before them as facts? It would be amusing to see the shifts to be resorted to in this total ignorance on the one hand, to authorize a confident affirmation of certainty on the other. Of course any thing rather than admit the occasional activity on earth of any other actors than man and what is called nature.

In a kind of summary estimate of the Egyptian character, the author observes that it is considered among the Moslems as the highest honour to be religious. Hence no small measure of Pharisaim and hypocrisy. Hence also the profane habit of ejaculating the name of the Supreme Being on all manner of occasions, even the most trifling or indecent. The only real reverence seems to be for the prophet, for whom the feeling is idolatrous. His name is held so sacred that the pasha has been

reproached for the impiety of having it, as being one of his own names, branded on his horses and camels. Their regard for the sanctity of the Koran is manifested in every imaginable way, except that of conformity to what there may be of most value in its precepts. There are but few, Mr. Lane thinks, who are really unbelievers. There is no disposition now to make converts; they say 'the number of the faithful is decreed by God, and no act of man can increase or diminish it.' The belief in predestination has the effect, in men, of producing a wonderful degree of resignation, or apathy, in all distresses and calamities, and in the approach to death. Not so, he says, with the women, who give vent to their grief in the most extravagant cries and shrieks; whether because they are not taught the doctrine, or will not believe it, or cannot understand what consolation it is to be told that misfortune which must be, must be, is not said. There is much benevolence and charity to the poor; this, however, is on a calculation of being paid, and overpaid, for it elsewhere. Generosity and cupidity are oddly combined, a disposition to overreach and extort, with a readiness to afford relief in distress. A consequence of the latter is a superabundant swarm of beggars. In spite of the formidable penalties to female infidelity, there is a strong propensity to licentious intrigue. Several curious stories are related of illicit adventures, involving plenty of adroitness, ludicrous incident, hazard, and revenge. The women, while on the one hand kept under rigid restriction and guardianship, are on the other systematically, and Mr. Lane says, even intentionally, incited to a voluptuous disposition, by the spectacle of lascivious dances, and the hearing, screened from sight by lattices, of immoral songs and tales. The humanity of the people, toward both human beings and brutes, is asserted by him to have suffered a great deterioration since his former visit to the country; acts and habits of cruelty, to animals especially, having now become obtrusively offensive, and robberies and murders being of much more common occurrence. 'The increased severity of the government seems, as might be expected, to have engendered tyranny, and an increase of every crime, in the people.'

The account of the popular amusements, many of them frivolous, and some worse, goes, however, into a very long description of the more mental one of listening to the recital of romances, by men who make it their profession, and qualify themselves by a lively and dramatic manner of narrating. The author has sketched out the course of surprising adventures through several of the eventful and fantastic stories, reminding us of the Arabian Nights. They will tend to retain something of the imaginative and poetic, among a people whom so many circumstances have operated to reduce to a depressed, coarse, and slavishly fixed con-

dition, so much in contrast to the wild and boundless freedom of the Arabs. The monotony of life is relieved at intervals by the annual return of several great festivals, especially that which distinguishes the beginning of the Mahomedan year, and that which celebrates the birth of the prophet. But the most lively excitement seems to be that occasioned by the return of the caravan of pilgrims from Mecca. The author has described much at large, and in a very picturesque manner, the signs of eager expectation, the mingled joy and apprehension at the arrival of the intelligence and the precursors of its near approach; the rush of the inhabitants out of the city to meet their friends, or to see whether they and their friends are ever to meet; the delight of some on receiving them back, and the passionate grief of others, chiefly the women, on finding that those they inquired for had been arrested by death, or (the year in which the description was written) the hardly less disaster of the seizure of a thousand of them for the army. There are passed in view the varied appearances of the masses and groups as they came on; the pompous procession of a kind of ark or chest, containing nothing, but considered as an emblem of royalty, always accompanying the caravan, by a custom perpetuated on the strength of a story of a queen of Egypt, who, many centuries since, had travelled in such a vehicle; and lastly, the excitement and bustle in the city, on such a new influx of holiness as these pilgrims had brought back from the birth-place and tomb of the prophet.

But here a consideration of the disproportionate space we have already occupied, compels us to make an abrupt conclusion, leaving a large portion of the work for the curiosity of indefatigable readers. We are so far from the end of the Hercynian forest, that we have nothing for it but to make a resolute bolt sideways to get clear. There remain the subjects of trades, games, music, festivals, funeral rites, measures, weights, and monies, female ornaments, Jews, Copts, late innovations, and various others. We cannot enough admire the untiring and unlimited inquisitiveness, accurate observation, and patience of detail, which have wrought out so complete a panorama of the nation.

There is one observation which it would hardly be right to forego. It respects the *price* at which our author obtained a knowledge of some things not ordinarily accessible to the inspection or inquiries of the Christian *djowrs*. We shall not impute to him an indifference to the question of what is the true religion; but we think the *accommodation* in which he seems to have habitually allowed himself, to the extent sometimes of a direct practical conformity to the prescribed formalities of Mahomedism, was not compatible with fidelity to the religion with which that hateful imposture is at mortal enmity.

Art. II. *Sir Thomas Browne's Works, including his Life and Correspondence.* Edited by SIMON WILKIN, F.L.S. 4 vols. 8vo. London: 1836.

OF all the republications which have been hazarded of late years, this is to us the most gratifying. The works of a man who, if not one of the most profound thinkers, was one of the most striking and original writers of our country, were dispersed in different forms, in some instances difficult to obtain, and seldom occurring but with the dirt and damage of an hundred years and as many readers. We owe it to Mr. Wilkin that they are now accessible in an unexceptionable shape, well arranged, excellently printed, and with all expedient graphic illustration, including an expressive portrait. The work is, indeed, in all respects well got up, and the only failures we have been able to detect in Mr. Wilkin's own handy work, have arisen from that rarest of editorial deficiencies, a want of fair confidence in his own powers. In respect of collection and collation he has left nothing to desire, and if it were at all reasonable to find fault with any thing that tends to make a text more accurate and complete, we should advert to an over-anxiety to correct those inevitable and unimportant slips which occur, as a matter of course, in all publications which are, like that before us, not only extensive but complicated. He is evidently a clear-headed and accomplished man; he writes with precision; he has given evidence of shrewd industry, as well in the manipulation of old editions, as in the quest and management of new materials; and he has employed these valuable qualifications in collecting and annotating the works of one of the most learned, interesting, and singular of authors. The only thing we miss in his valuable apparatus, is a full and compact life of Sir Thomas Browne, instead of the 'Supplementary Memoir,' to which Mr. Wilkin has restricted his efforts. The same materials, and the same faculty of using them effectively, might have tempted him to enter the lists even with Dr. Johnson, whose biographical essay, however spirited in composition, is meagre in detail. After all, however, this is too much like hypercriticism; when an editor has made exemplary proof of both skill and application, we have no right to complain if, in the exhibition of their results, he has chosen his own way rather than ours.

Sir Thomas Browne was at once a singular and a singularly gifted man. His knowledge extended itself, not only over the universal surface of things, but to some depth below it; nor did he suffer this mass of acquisition to lie a dead weight upon his faculties, but subjected it to the searching processes of an active and vigorous understanding. It is impossible to open, even

casually, a volume of his writings, without stumbling on some illustration of his universal range of study. Theology, metaphysics, medicine, botany, languages, are to him, in their knottiest points, 'familiar as his garter;' and, if his views be not always sound, nor his hypotheses firm enough to stand before the severer analysis and more cautious generalizations of the present day, we should recollect that it is in his case altogether unfair to judge by 'modern instances:' he was, on the whole, far in advance of his time; he was an independent thinker, and an eloquent reasoner; his contemporaries held him in admiration, and posterity has sanctioned their decision. But the occasional errors, whether of defect or excess, that may be detected in his facts or his reasonings, are more than compensated by the liveliness of his imagination, and the richness of his style. Here, indeed, lay his strength; he was a master of language; his store-house of apt phrase and vigorous expression was always full and open, and his composition is remarkable for that peculiar charm of musical construction of which the secret seems not to have survived the writers of a day long past. We still remember the impression produced upon us, by hearing, for the first time, the following passage admirably read:

'We term sleep a death; and yet it is waking that kills us, and destroys those spirits that are the house of life. It is indeed a part of life that best expresseth death; for every man truly lives, so long as he acts his nature, or some way makes good the faculties of himself. Themistocles, therefore, that slew his soldier in his sleep, was a merciful executioner: 'tis a kind of punishment the mildness of no laws hath invented; I wonder the fancy of Lucan and Seneca did not discover it. It is that death by which we may be literally said to die daily; a death which Adam died before his mortality; a death whereby we live a middle and moderating point between life and death. In fine, so like death, I dare not trust it without my prayers, and an half adieu unto the world, and take my farewell in a colloquy with God.'

It is not, however, meant to affirm that these are the invariable characteristics of Browne's composition. He has been reproached, and justly, with a tendency to tasteless and pedantic innovations in the use and collocation of words, but we think that Dr. Johnson, in his acute and elaborate criticism, has somewhat exaggerated the real circumstances of the case; representing as the rule, what is in fact the exception, and exhibiting those felicities as accidental, which are in truth the substantial qualities of both matter and expression. And this very propensity to the coinage of new words, and to the employment of a strange and whimsical phraseology, connected as it is with deep feeling and an excursive imagination, may be taken as one of the reasons why we never sleep over the writings of Sir Thomas Browne.

His 'Babylonish dialect' may sometimes amuse and sometimes provoke us, but that very provocation helps to stimulate the mind and keep attention on the alert. It should not be permitted to escape our observation that he exhibits, in this respect, considerable variation. In some of his works, these anomalous forms of expression, if not altogether absent, are either more sparingly introduced or more advantageously employed. Our special favourites among his multifarious productions, are the *Religio Medici*, and the *Hydriotaphia*; and, were we to follow our own inclination, the remainder of this article would be devoted to a systematic analysis of these tracts: we shall, however, deal more equitably, both by our readers, and by the work before us, if we take a wider range, and give a general, but summary view of the miscellaneous contents of the entire collection.

The first volume, a substantial mass of nearly 600 pages, contains the biographical matter, with a large appendix of letters and journals. Almost the whole of this is new and interesting. The 'Domestic Correspondence' is a curious melange, an odd and entertaining *olla* of home occurrences and travelling memoranda, of scientific suggestions and learned speculations, mixed up with the crude and credulous notions then prevalent on some of the most important points. There is a 'Tour in Derbyshire,' amusingly written by the elder son of Sir Thomas, that might, were it our cue, supply the materials of a curious comparison between its desolate plight at that period, and its present improved condition. Roads, inns, inhabitants, cultivation, seem to have been alike rough and repelling; and the natural features of the country furnished the young traveller with the text of a few coarse and unseemly jokes. But, to our mind, the communications of the younger son, a naval officer, are the most interesting papers in the series. He was evidently a seaman of the highest promise; his letters indicate an intense anxiety for professional improvement, and he appears to have been a favourite with his commanders. Prince Rupert gave him praise and advice, and the gallant Earl of Sandwich warmly commended him for valour and conduct. Mr. Wilkin's 'Supplementary Memoir,' contains every thing that is really worth knowing about Sir Thomas Browne and his family. There is one point, however, on which we differ from the biographer, though we admit that he has argued it with much skill, and that his observations on the abstract question are deserving of the most serious consideration. We refer to the evidence given by Sir Thomas, on the memorable trial for witchcraft, in 1664, at which Sir Matthew Hale presided. We will not contest the matter, so far as the existence or non-existence of witches may be involved in the inquiry, but we cannot think that the answer of Sir Thomas Browne was such as became a witness to give, or a judge to receive. 'He was de-

'sired,' says Mr. Wilkins, 'by my lord Chief Baron, to give his judgment in the case; and he declared that he was clearly of opinion that the fits were natural, but heightened by the devil's co-operating with the malice of the witches, at whose instance he did the villanies.' Now, on this showing, we contend that both parties were clearly in the wrong; the lawyer who asked the physician for his judgment in the case; and the witness who, instead of limiting his opinion to the single circumstances, took upon himself to decide the principal question. What right had Browne to affirm the agency of the devil or the instigation of the witches? The utmost extent to which he could legally go in his evidence, was the expression of his belief that the visitation was not to be accounted for on common principles, and that it bore a supernatural character. All beyond this was impertinent, and would not have escaped rebuke, had it not fallen in so unfortunately with the wretched prepossessions of the judge.

The second volume commences with the tract by which Browne is most extensively and favourably known, the *Religio Medici*, a composition of which we hardly feel it hazardous to say that, with some allowance for indiscretion, there is nothing of the kind extant that goes beyond it in beautiful expression and weighty sentiment. The subject was a *ben trovato*: it admitted of that loose and excursive treatment which was so peculiarly suited to the genius of the writer; and it gave a fair opportunity for the display of that universal knowledge with which he had so amply stored his mind. It is a rich common-place book of curious reading, not indeed always strictly 'germane to the matter,' but exceedingly amusing and exciting, and set forth in language which might give attraction were the materials worthless. It was his first publication, and made its appearance originally in an imperfect and surreptitious form. The sarcastic way in which Dr. Johnson alludes to this circumstance, seems to indicate a want of faith in the sincerity of Browne's disavowal; but Mr. Wilkins has clearly shown that no fair ground exists for the doctor's scepticism. Even in its mutilated shape, the book obtained immediate favour with the public, and that singular personage, Sir Kenelm Digby, employed 'one sitting' in writing a series of 'Observations,' which, crude as they are, have merit in their way, and do no discredit to the treatise, of which they have become the inseparable appendix.

Were such our purpose, it would not be easy to analyse so subtle and slippery an affair as the *Religio Medici*: we cannot, however, persuade ourselves to pass on without giving a sample or two, for the information of such among our readers as may not know the book, and for the gratification of those who do. We have already cited one admirable passage, and we shall here produce two or three brief extracts in illustration of that peculiar

and impressive quality in Browne's style, which might give him claim to share with Peter Lombard, the distinctive title of *Master of the Sentences*. An Enchiridion of such pithy, and pregnant sayings as the following, might be compiled from his works :

‘Wisdom is his most beauteous attribute : no man can attain unto it ; yet Solomon pleased God when he desired it. He is wise, because he knows all things ; and he knoweth all things, because he made them all : but his greatest knowledge is in comprehending that he made not, that is, Himself.

* * * * *

‘His actions are not begat with deliberation ; his wisdom naturally knows what's best : his intellect stands ready fraught with the superlative and purest ideas of goodness : consultation and election, which are two motions in us, make but one in him : *his actions springing from his power at the first touch of his will.*’

At the same time, the *Religio Medici*, while it contains much that is wise and instructive, with more that is vigorously and eloquently expressed, exhibits, it must be confessed, a few things that are of doubtful discretion, and others in which the writer betrays too much of his besetting propensity to confound exaggeration with strength. Browne has been somewhere called a humourist ; perhaps without regard to any thing beyond a vague and conversational usage of the word. He has too much universality, both of intellect and feeling, for a fair application of the term, in the restricted sense to which some writers, Ben Jonson for instance, would confine it. Concentration is neither his forte nor his fault. His mind was essentially discursive. He has, indeed, singularities and caprices not a few, and it is in this sense, if in any, that he may claim such distinction as the epithet confers ; for mere jesting he was always too much in earnest. But if the *Religio Medici* be free from these more objectionable peculiarities, it is yet impressed with the fanciful and irregular habits which distinguished the author both as a writer and a reasoner. There is the same disproportioned mixture of strong feeling and deep reflection, with imagination dominant instead of ancillary, that we find in his after works, although its effect in the present instance is more in harmony with the subject, than in some of his other productions. The following extract may serve as an example of the way in which he mixes up speculation with reality ; the wild but beautiful fancies of his own mind, with the eloquent exposition of sound and salutary truth. After an attempt to derive philosophy from ‘magick,’ and an intimation that ‘we do surely owe the discovery of many secrets to the discovery of good and bad angels,’ he goes on :

‘I do think that many mysteries ascribed to our own inventions have

been the courteous revelations of spirits ; for those noble essences in heaven bear a friendly regard to their fellow-natures on earth ; and therefore believe that those many prodigies and ominous prognosticks, which forerun the ruins of states, princes, and private persons, are the charitable premonitions of good angels, which more careless inquirers term but the effects of chance and nature. Now, besides these particular and divided spirits, there may be, (for aught I know) a universal and common spirit to the whole world. It was the opinion of Plato, and it is yet of the hermetical philosophers. If there be a common nature, that unites and ties the scattered and divided individuals into one species, why may there not be one that unites them all ? However, I am sure there is a common spirit, that plays within us, yet makes no part of us ; and that is, the spirit of God ; the fire and scintillation of that noble and mighty essence, which is the life and radical heat of spirits and those essences that know not the virtue of the sun ; a fire quite contrary to the fire of hell. This is that gentle heat that brooded on the waters, and in six days hatched the world : this is that irradiation that dispels the mists of hell, the clouds of horror, fear, sorrow, despair ; and preserves the region of the mind in serenity. Whosoever feels not the warm gale and gentle ventilation of this spirit, though I feel his pulse, I dare not say he lives ; for truly without this, to me there is no heat under the tropick ; nor any light, though I dwelt in the body of the sun.'

Imaginative always, sometimes fantastic ; a teacher of wisdom, yet too often pushing speculation to the very edge of absurdity ; Browne seems to have startled some of his readers by the boldness of his intrusion into perilous regions. It is not very easy to understand the grounds on which the charge of irreligion could be made, yet such was the accusation brought against a man whose writings bear, throughout, the marks of a clear belief and a consistent profession. The charge obtained, it should seem, a partial credence. It appears to have been mainly founded on certain imprudent passages in the *Religio Medici*, in which he assumes an air of bravado rather than of modest firmness, when expressing his firm faith in the mysteries of the Christian creed. 'Methinks,' he exclaims, 'there be not impossibilities enough in religion for an active faith.' 'This,' he says elsewhere, 'I think is no vulgar part of faith, to believe a thing not only above, but contrary to reason, and against the arguments of our proper senses.' Yet he confesses to have been inclined to 'strange doctrines ;' the first was a quasi-mortality of the soul, that it 'perished with the body,' yet was a partaker with it in the resurrection. The second was the error of Origen, that all lapsed intelligences should be restored. The third he speaks of as rather a wish than a conviction, that it were lawful to offer prayer for the dead. In nothing of all this, however, can there be found any reasonable pretext for questioning the sincerity of his orthodox belief in the doctrines of

Christianity. He professes himself a conscientious member of the Church of England. 'I condemn not,' he says, 'all things 'in the Council of Trent, nor approve all in the Synod of Dort. 'In brief, where the Scripture is silent, the church is my text; 'where that speaks, 'tis but my comment; where there is a 'joint silence of both, I borrow not the rules of my religion from 'Rome or Geneva, but from the dictates of my own reason.' The prayer with which he concludes his work is of itself enough to vindicate him from the absurd imputation of 'atheism.'

'Bless me in this life but with the peace of my conscience, command of my affections, the love of thyself and my dearest friends, and I shall be happy enough to pity Cæsar! These are, O Lord, the humble desires of my most reasonable ambition, and all I dare call happiness on earth: wherein I set no rule or limit to thy hand or Providence; dispose of me according to the wisdom of thy pleasure. Thy will be done, though in my own undoing.'

Our readers, those among them, at least, who have not previously made acquaintance with Sir Thomas Browne's writings, will by this time be able to form their own estimate of his characteristic excellences. It now only remains that we take a general survey of the farther contents of these volumes, and this part of our task must be performed with all expedient brevity, since we have been delayed beyond our intention by the first, and in some respects, the most interesting of his publications. It is followed, in the remainder of the second volume and the greater part of the third, by the far-famed 'Pseudodoxia Epidemica; or, 'Enquiries into very many received Tenets, and commonly presumed Truths, which, examined, prove but Vulgar and Common Errors.' Who is there that has not, at one period or other of his life, met with this marvellous book; and who, having once taken up the volume, has suffered it to pass from his hand till he had exhausted its contents, or been compelled by circumstances to lay it aside? For such a task, few, as Mr. Wilkin correctly states, 'will hesitate to admit that he was peculiarly qualified. 'It was in his very nature to inquire, and he was not content 'to receive any thing without scrutiny. . . . his very 'curious and extensive reading,—his daily and ardent pursuit of 'every branch of natural history,—the labour he was constantly 'willing to pay for truth, in patient and reiterated experiments 'upon even the most trifling or absurd questions. . . . 'All these supplied him with copious materials for the exercise 'of his inquisitive propensities.' His Correspondence, and the extracts from his Common-place Book, for both of which we are indebted to the active and judicious research of the present editor, supply ample evidence of his unwearied efforts for the acquisition of knowledge; and of that which he was thus la-

borious in procuring, he was equally liberal in communicating. Science, however, was not, in the seventeenth century, what it has become in our own times, and Browne has not always been successful, either in the exposure of 'common errors,' or in the endeavour to ascertain their antagonist truths. With all its defects, however, the work is a noble monument of learning and industry, while in the present edition its value is much increased by the corrective and illustrative annotation furnished by the editor and his friends.

In the 'Garden of Cyrus,' Sir Thomas Browne seems to have amused himself by throwing the reins of his fancy loose, and to have aimed at giving interest to an apparently limited subject, by the strangest imaginable mixture of learned reference and fantastic illustration. It consists, in great part, of a chase after quincunxes, an endeavour to trace the quinary relation in all the forms of nature. 'Quincunxes in heaven above, quincunxes in earth below, quincunxes in the mind of man, quincunxes in tones, in optic nerves, in roots of trees, in leaves, in every thing.' At the close of his tract Browne complains of drowsiness,—the quincunx of heaven (*the Hyades*) runs low, 'and 'tis time to close the five ports of knowledge to keep our eyes open longer, were but to act our Antipodes. 'The huntsmen are up in America, and they are already past their first sleep in Persia.' It was well commented on this, when Coleridge wrote in the margin, 'Think you that there ever was such a reason given before for going to bed at midnight: to wit, that if we did not, we should be *acting* the part of our Antipodes! And then, 'THE HUNTSMEN ARE UP IN AMERICA,'—what life, what fancy! Does the whimsical knight give us, thus, the *essence* of gunpowder tea, and call it an *opiate*?' An interesting illustration of the Quinary System of Macleay, is given by Mr. Brayley in an appropriate note.

The treatise on 'Christian Morals' might stand as an appendix to the *Religio Medici*; and notwithstanding Mr. Wilkin's objection to Dr. Johnson's 'Review' of the work in the *Literary Magazine*, we really think it is fairly enough characterized as a 'little volume,' consisting of 'short essays, written with great vigour of sentiment, variety of learning, and vehemence of style.' It opens rather startlingly with a recommendation 'to tread softly and circumspectly in this *funambulatory* track and narrow path of goodness;' and closes with an intimation that 'if any have been so happy, as personally to understand christian annihilation, extacy, exolution, transformation, the kiss of the spouse, and ingression into the divine shadow, according to mystical theology, they have already had a handsome anticipation of heaven; the world is in a manner over, and the earth in ashes unto them.' There are other passages of the same

sort, but there are also others where eloquence and force recommend the soundest and clearest instruction.

‘He who must needs have company, must needs have sometimes bad company. Be able to be alone. Lose not the advantage of solitude and the society of thyself; nor be only content, but delight to be alone and single with Omnipresency. He who is thus prepared, the day is not uneasy, nor the night black unto him. Darkness may bound his eyes, not his imagination. In his bed he may lie like Pompey and his sons, in all quarters of the earth; may speculate the universe, and enjoy the whole world in the hermitage of himself. Thus the old Asiatick Christians found a paradise in a desert, and with little converse on earth held a conversation in heaven; thus they astronomized in caves, and, though they beheld not the stars, had the glory of heaven before them.’

The remaining contents of the fourth volume are too miscellaneous for classification, and too numerous for separate notice; they are, however, all of them characteristic of their author—learned, lively, and original. The *Musæum Clausum* is an admirable, though somewhat laborious, *jeu d'esprit*. Among the ‘unpublished papers’ is a ‘Fragment on Mummies,’ which, were not its authentication unexceptionable, we should suspect. We can hardly say why, but it has to us the air of an imitation—such a one as Charles Lamb might have struck out in a genial moment. It has the design and colour of Browne, but not the *mossa coli* ‘ombrar. We lay no stress, however, on this suggestion, and conclude with a short specimen of this striking composition:

‘Time sadly overcometh all things, and is now dominant, and sitteth upon a sphinx, and looketh unto Memphis and old Thebes, while his sister Oblivion reclineth semisomnous on a pyramid, gloriously, triumphing, making puzzles of Titanian erections, and turning old glories into dreams. History sinketh beneath her cloud. The traveller, as he paceth amazedly through those deserts asketh of her, who builded them? and she mumbleth something, but what it is he heareth not.’

We cannot lay aside these volumes without again expressing our conviction, that the works of Sir Thomas Browne could not have fallen into abler hands. It would have been well for our fine old writers, or rather for us their readers, if every reprint had been as skilfully conducted.

Art. III. *The Epistle to the Hebrews. A New Translation, in Sections; with Marginal References and Notes, and an Introductory Syllabus. Intended to facilitate the Devout and Profitable Perusal of the Epistle, by Elucidating its Scope and Argument.* 12mo. London: Holdsworth and Ball. 1834.

IT is not without pain, nor without some surprise and self-reproach, that we look at the date of this remarkable work. It is indeed remarkable in every point of view. Externally, it possesses a peculiar attraction in a beauty of form, which, not having a sufficient knowledge of the technical language of printers to enable us to describe, we can only say is most attractive. Its small and convenient size, and the adjustments of the paper, the type, and the mode in which the contents are disposed, have a gracefulness of appearance, and an effect in assisting the understanding, which we cannot express more suitably than by calling it *delightful*. Internally, we meet with a perception of the plan of the Epistle; a comprehensive and exquisite feeling of its sentiments, distributively and in their connexion; a critical insight into the meaning of the original; and a faculty of English expression, simple, dignified, and in general striking us with its appropriateness. The translator (we hope he will not remain anonymous) appears to have entered with much similarity of spirit into the mind of the sacred writer. But we cannot so well express his design, and the mode in which he has proposed the attainment of it, as in his own prefatory words:

‘As this translation is designed, not for public, but for private use, as a companion to the authorized version, not a substitute for it, the author is not concerned to determine how far the freedom of his rendering comes within the canons which ought to govern a public translator. It has been his aim to give the *literal sense*, rather than the *literal phrase* of the original; without having recourse to the awkward expedient of diffuse paraphrase.’

Then he gives further explanation of his plan, and adds:

‘After all, the anxiety of the translator is less to obtain approbation of his performance, than to promote the better understanding of the inspired writer; and, while he does not shrink from candid criticism, his aim has been, not to please the scholar, but to present to the English reader this beautiful and divine Epistle in perspicuous language, faintly reflecting the elegance of the original.’

A Syllabus of the Epistle is prefixed; but it is too closely consecutive to allow of any citation. We shall select a few passages of the Epistle itself, persuaded that they will be both pleasing and

edifying to our readers, and will furnish a just specimen of the general work.

‘Ch. i. 1—5. Manifold and various were the communications which God made of old to our ancestors through the prophets; in these the last days, He has spoken to us through the Son, whom He has constituted Lord^a of all; by whom also He formed the universe:^b Who, being the radiance of his glory,^c and very representation of his essence, and governing all things by his omnipotent word, having in his own person expiated our sins, has assumed his throne at the right hand of THE MAJESTY, in the highest heavens; being exalted as far in honour above the angels, as the name with which he is invested is pre- eminent above theirs.’^d

‘MARGINAL NOTES. ^a Κληρονομος. sovereign proprietor and ruler. See Matt. xxviii. 18; Eph. i. 21; Acts x. 36.—^b John i. 3; 1 Cor. viii. 6; Col. i. 16.—^c Col. i. 15; John i. 14. There is an allusion to the Shekinah.—^d Phil. ii. 9.’

‘Ch. vi. 1—6. Therefore, leaving behind the initiatory elements of the Christian doctrine, let us advance to perfect knowledge;^t not again laying the foundation in the doctrines of repentance from deadly deeds^u and faith in God,—the instruction belonging to baptismal rites and imposition of hands,^x or of a resurrection of the dead and eternal judgment. And this we will do, if God permit. For it is impossible^y that those who have once been enlightened,^z and have experienced the heavenly benefit, and have been made partakers of the Holy Spirit, and have known the excellency of the divine promise, and the miraculous powers of the future economy,^a and yet have apostatized, should a second time be restored so as to be brought to repentance; when they thus crucify in themselves the Son of God, and expose him to ignominy.’^b

‘MARGINAL NOTES. ^t Phil. iii. 12—14; Eph. iv. 13.—^u Dead, i. e. causing or tending to death, or vicious. See ch. ix. 14.—^x Acts ii. 38; xix. 4, 5; xx. 21; xxvi. 20.—^y Matt. v. 13; 2 Pet. ii. 20; 1 John v. 16; Heb. x. 26.—^z Eph. i. 18.—^a Ch. ii. 5. The Christian dispensation, embracing all futurity. Others render, the powerful influence of a future state.—^b i. e. bring the name and religion of Christ into contempt in their own person; give new occasion for reviling the Saviour.’

We shall now select a few passages *without* the Notes.

‘Ch. vii. 18, 19. There is thus, on the one hand, an abrogation of the preceding ordinance, on account of its feebleness and inefficiency, (for the law could consummate nothing,) and, on the other hand, a superinduction of a better ground of hope, whereby we draw near to God.’

‘Ch. ix. 15—17. And for this reason, of a new covenant has he become the mediator, that so, his death having taken place for the expiation of the transgressions committed under the first covenant, the chosen heirs might obtain the promised blessing of the eternal inheritance. Now, wherever there is a covenant, there must necessarily take

place the death of the victim [του διαθεμενου, the appointed sacrifice ;] for a covenant is confirmed over the dead ; whereas it is of no force while the victim still lives.'

'Ch. x. 26—29. 'For, should any among us be guilty of deliberate defection, after having embraced the knowledge of the truth, there remains, as an expiation for sin, no more sacrifice, but a sort of fearful expectation of doom, and flaming wrath that shall consume the adversaries [of the faith]. Any despiser of the law of Moses suffered without mercy, on the evidence of two or three witnesses. Judge ye, how much severer punishment shall he be deemed to merit, who has trampled upon the Son of God, and has counted as pollution the blood of the covenant by which his sins were expiated, and has insulted the Spirit of grace.'

'Ch. xii. 17. Ye know, indeed, that afterwards, when desirous of obtaining the blessing, he was rejected ; for he found no room for a change [a reversal of the prophetic blessing ;] although with tears he implored it.'

We have longed to cite more passages, but we must desist. The Additional Notes are very interesting and valuable, discussing some of the questions, which critics and interpreters have felt to be so difficult, in relation to this Epistle. Upon the subject of its *authorship*, the learned translator writes with cautious judgment and moderation. We select the concluding paragraph :

'If conjecture were in such a case allowable, (a conjecture warranted perhaps, in some degree, by the opinion of Origen above referred to,) the writer would submit, whether the difference of style observable between this sublime treatise and the [acknowledged] Pauline Epistles, may not be accounted for on the supposition, that the argumentative part, as far as chap. xii. 29, was composed, in pursuance of his instructions, by one of his immediate companions, (either by Luke, his faithful companion, 2 Tim. iv. 11 ; or by Timothy, before his departure ;) and that St. Paul himself supplied with his own hand the 'few words' of exhortation in the thirteenth chapter: these having certainly a supplemental character, differing very perceptibly in style from the rest of the book, and much more closely resembling the Apostle's manner. Upon this supposition, the authorship would not be strictly St. Paul's ; yet it would have all the sanction of his authority, and every critical objection would be obviated. Its inspiration and canonicity, even if placed on a level with the writings of St. Luke, could not be questioned. And to whomsoever may be ascribed the composition, the conclusion to which Calvin comes, is that to which every candid and devout inquirer must be conducted alike by the external and the internal evidence: 'I indeed receive it without controversy among apostolic writings.' It is enough to know that, in this Epistle, we have, at all events, the doctrine of Paul and '*the mind of Christ.*''

the Messiah (vol. i. p. 311), we find this passage, which may certainly furnish an argument of probability, springing out of the known predispositions of the persons referred to. ‘Heinrichs, after giving full weight to the opposing considerations, concludes that the preponderance of evidence is in favour of affirming that the Epistle is the work of Paul. Even the patriarch of the Anti-supranaturalists, Dr. Hen. Eberhard Gottlob Paulus (now in his 76th year), who has shot so many daring bolts of infidelity and impiety in his numerous writings, has declared himself convinced of the Apostle Paul’s being the author; and he represents it as ‘almost painful’ to him to depart, in this instance, from the general opinion of his Neologist confederates.’

Art. IV. *The Letters of Charles Lamb, with a Sketch of his Life.*
By THOMAS NOON TALFOURD, one of his Executors. 2 vols.
London: Edward Moxon.

THESE letters are delightful reading. If we did not feel it our bounden duty to extract as large a portion of them as possible, and to render this article merely one of amusement, we should feel strongly inclined to avail ourselves of the tempting opportunity which the above publication affords, of entering into a critical analysis of the very peculiar intellectual character of the author. But, for the reasons just now assigned, this would be improper; we have here more pleasant matter. These are Charles Lamb’s *familiar* letters, accompanied with a brief notice of his early life from the accomplished editor, Mr. Talfourd, and such other remarks, (interspersed with the correspondence,) as were necessary to give coherence to the several portions of it, to render some of the more obscure allusions intelligible, and to furnish us with the principle incidents of the author’s life. If therefore we were ever so much inclined to *dissert*—and we are not at all so inclined—we could not find it in our hearts to do so. We know indeed, that there is an ingenious plan sometimes adopted in modern periodicals by which a writer may write any thing he pleases on any subject, by merely prefixing the name of some pamphlet or book on some matter not above five hundred leagues remote from that on which he designs to hold forth; of course, without saying one syllable good or bad on the luckless book professedly under review. For our own parts we candidly confess we do not like this method, and if we did, who would forgive us for so treating the original letters of a great author and splendid genius? a species of literature—if we except first-rate poems and romances—about the most delightful which can be

presented to us. We shall, therefore, content ourselves without playing the critic at all, or at least to a very moderate extent; we do not know that it will be possible absolutely to refrain. Old habits are not easily subdued. As far as in us lies, however, we are resolved to act in this instance with that practical wisdom which rarely falls to the lot of critics;—enjoy without puzzling ourselves *why*, and be content to be amused without prying into the mechanism of the mind which has amused us.

We by no means, however, relinquish the intention of one day investigating the peculiarities of this amiable and highly-gifted genius. His idiosyncrasy is certainly as marked and peculiar as that of any man of his time. For the present, we shall content ourselves with making the single remark—and it is a remark suggested in a great measure by the identity of the style of these familiar letters and of our author's more deliberate productions—that Lamb affords the most astonishing proof we ever met with, of the extent to which we may insensibly imbibe the manner and the style of the class of authors with whom we heartily and daily converse. Lamb had so deeply imbued his mind with our older writers, had acquired such an intimate familiarity with their modes of thought and expression, that his own were insensibly formed upon them. This influence was so strong—these habits so deep and inwrought, that they extend, as these letters show, to his ordinary phraseology—the every day dress of his mind—his most careless and unpremeditated utterances. Except that there is an entire absence of the bad taste and want of refinement which characterize so extensively our older literature, we might in these letters sometimes imagine that we were perusing the letters of a man who lived in the reign of Elizabeth or the first Charles. Yet Charles Lamb's mind was eminently an original one. There is most evidently nothing of direct and servile imitation in his composition. It is purely the result of that silent, insensible transformation which passes on the mind from intimate and habitual converse with the productions of men admired and loved. *Formal* imitation, however successful, always repels and disgusts; but it is directly otherwise with the resemblance of manner which results merely from that imperceptible and gradual assimilation of character to which we have just referred. In the latter case, there is no affectation and no mere copying; nor is the originality of the mind which has been thus operated upon, destroyed or even impaired. The fact is, its own elements have been blending with those which have been thus introduced from without—and the result is, not a cold, formal imitation, but a *new product*. It is not an *artificial* flower, but a new variety of the species, and possesses all the freshness and fragrance of nature. In order to render this intellectual amalga-

mation complete, there ought to be, no doubt, an original aptitude in the mind itself for such an assimilation, a conformation which pre-disposes it to admire and love that class of minds which are destined to modify it. So it was with Charles Lamb. It is easy to see in the original structure of his mind, in the character of his imagination, and his vein of humour, much which prompted him to the admiration and intense study of our older writers, while they again re-acted most powerfully on the development of his intellect, and the formation of his style.

But we have promised to banish criticism, and shall henceforth *keep* our promise. It was but a momentary obliviousness, gentle reader; the result of inveterate habit. Let it be forgiven.

We shall therefore proceed to condense into a few paragraphs the principal facts of the interesting, and elegantly written, though too brief memorial of Lamb's early life, which Mr. Talfourd has prefixed to the letters, and then enrich our article by some of the most valuable and characteristic of the letters themselves.

Charles Lamb was born in Crown Office Row, in the Inner Temple, on the 18th of February, 1775. His father, Mr. John Lamb (the original, it appears, of 'Lovel,' in one of the best essays of Elia, entitled, 'The Old Benchers of the Inner Temple,') was in the service of Mr. Salt, one of the benchers. Of this gentleman, Lamb's father became the *factotum*; or, as he is described in the characteristically quaint language of his son, his 'clerk, his good servant, his dresser, his friend, his flapper, his 'guide, stop-watch, auditor, treasurer.' Charles remained at home till he was seven years of age, when he was admitted to the school of Christ's Hospital. Here he remained till he was fifteen. He was diffident and timid, but the amiability and gentleness of his disposition won him the favour both of his masters and school-fellows. The following is the interesting description given of him at this period, by one of his *quondam* school-fellows, Mr. Le Grice. 'Lamb,' he says, 'was 'an amiable gentle boy, very sensible and keenly observing, indulged by his school-fellows and by his master on account of his 'infirmity of speech. His countenance was mild; his complexion 'clear brown, with an expression which might lead you to think 'that he was of Jewish descent. His eyes were not each of the 'same colour, one was hazel, the other had specks of grey in the 'iris, mingled as we see red spots in the blood-stone. His step 'was plantigrade, which made his walk slow and peculiar, adding 'to the staid appearance of his figure. I never heard his name 'mentioned without the addition of Charles, although, as there 'was no other boy of the name of Lamb, the addition was unnecessary; but there was an implied kindness in it, and it was a 'proof that his gentle manners excited that kindness.' Every

half-holiday, and these blessings came twice a week, he visited his home in the Inner Temple, where he was also indulged with free access to Mr. Salt's library. 'Here he was tumbled,' to use his own (as usual, characteristic) expression, 'into a spacious closet 'of good old English reading, where he browsed at will upon that 'fair and wholesome pasturage.'

Thus passed the first fifteen years of his life; nor is it difficult to trace to the manner in which they were spent, some of the most prominent traits of his character. All his *early*—with every man the most powerful—associations were connected with his antique school, and the not less antique Temple; with London, to which he had been confined all his days; while he must have had glorious recollections 'of the spacious closet full of the good 'old English reading.' All these things go far to account for his 'gentle love of antiquity,' as Jeremy Taylor would call it; his attachment to London, and comparative indifference to rural life; and, above all, his intense admiration of our older literature.

When he left Christ Church he was in the lowest division of the second class. In the classics he had read Virgil, Sallust, Terence, and some selections from the more easy Greek authors; he had discovered no mean taste for Latin composition, both in prose and verse; and one or two droll and not inelegant Latin letters inserted in these volumes, both show that his aptitude for such exercises must have been at one time great, and that the taste and love for them never wholly deserted him. Mr. Talfourd says that his 'docility and aptitude for the attainment of classical 'knowledge would have insured him an exhibition, but to this 'the impediment in his speech proved an insuperable obstacle—'as the exhibitions were given under the implied, if not expressed 'condition of going into the church.' Of course no *other* obstacle would have presented itself. If it had not been for this 'impediment' he would in all probability have been a clergyman! Alas! for this miserable system, in which boys are destined for the church without a thought of any moral qualifications, or at least, before their character has at all developed itself.

He quitted Christ Church for the Inner Temple: after remaining at home for a short time, he was employed under his brother John, in the South Sea House; but, on the 5th of April, 1792, obtained an appointment in the Accountant's Office of the East India Company. In the East India House he remained for thirty-three years, and retired with a handsome pension in the year 1825. Though his salary at first was of course small, it contributed essentially to comfort the declining years of his parents, 'who now were unable by their own exertions to 'support themselves; his mother being in ill health, which confined her to her bed, and his father sinking into dotage.'

One of Lamb's earliest friends was young Coleridge, his

school-fellow. Coleridge repaired from the school to the University, but Lamb and he used to meet now and then in London, on which occasion they commonly visited a little public house, known by the singular sign of the 'Salutation and the Cat,' in the neighbourhood of Smithfield. There they used to sup and talk poetry. To these happy evenings several allusions are made in different parts of these letters.

But his most frequent companion was James White, familiarly called 'Jem White,' who seems, from Lamb's description, to have been a complete original—full of fun and humour. We should imagine, both from Lamb's strong regard for him, as well as from the contents 'of that thin duodecimo volume,' which 'is now the sole memorial of this facetious gentleman,' that the character of his mind must have resembled, in some measure, that of Lamb. That duodecimo volume (which has now for the first time reached our ears) was entitled 'Letters of Sir John Falstaff.' Mr. Talfourd says that, 'those who knew Lamb at the time believed the letters to be his.' Lamb took deep interest in the publication; he seems, however, with the partiality which is so natural to friendship, to have over-rated its merits—at all events the publication was a failure. The conduct of Lamb with regard to it, the pertinacity with which he always maintained its merits long after it had been forgotten by the public, exhibit his character in the most amiable light. But we will give the matter in Mr. Talfourd's own words:

'The work was neglected, although Lamb exerted all the influence he subsequently acquired with more popular writers to obtain for it favourable notices, as will be seen from various passages in his letters. He stuck, however, gallantly by his favourite protégé; and even when he could little afford to disburse sixpence, he made a point of buying a copy of the book whenever he discovered one amidst the refuse of a bookseller's stall, and would present it to a friend in the hope of making a convert. He gave me one of these copies soon after I became acquainted with him, stating that he had purchased it in the morning for sixpence, and assuring me I should enjoy a rare treat in the perusal; but, if I must confess the truth, the mask of quaintness was so closely worn, that it nearly concealed the humour. To Lamb it was, doubtless, vivified by the eye and voice of his old boon companion, forming to him an undying commentary; without which it was comparatively spiritless. Alas! how many even of his own most delicate fancies, rich as they are in feeling and in wisdom, will be lost to those who have not present to them the sweet broken accents, and the half playful, half melancholy smile of the writer!—Vol. I., pp. 13, 14.

Another of Lamb's intimates in early life was Charles Lloyd, the son of a quaker, a rich banker at Birmingham. Having renounced his quaker peculiarities, he went to Cambridge; there

he became acquainted with Coleridge, and by Coleridge was introduced to Lamb. The trio were associated in a publication of youthful poems.

Another of Lamb's intimates was Hazlitt. Lamb, Hazlitt, and Coleridge, were all in early life Unitarians. The two former had been *brought up* in that meagre system of negations. Lamb was the ardent supporter of it, and as he himself admits, almost an idolater of Priestley. Coleridge was a *convert* to it, and exhibited for a time all the enthusiasm common to that character. It is curious that all three, as Mr. Talfourd distinctly admits, relinquished their early faith; a singular indication of the feeble hold which that cold and unsatisfactory system has upon great powers of mind. It naturally leads either to an abandonment of all fixed religious opinions, or sends the soul back, eager for something more solid and stable, to evangelical truth. Coleridge, it is well known, was reconverted to orthodoxy. Hazlitt's history is but too notorious. Charles Lamb, it is to be feared, held, during the greater portion of his life, no fixed religious opinions. We have been told, indeed, by those who knew him well, (and we rejoiced in the information,) that he manifested, especially in the closing years of his life, an unfeigned reverence for religion, a profound respect for it wherever it appeared, and a deep admiration of the New Testament. But he never showed any regard for the doctrines of his *early* faith. 'Lamb,' says Mr. Talfourd, 'in his maturer life rarely alluded to matters of religious doctrine, and when he did so, evinced no sympathy with the professor of his once loved creed.' Still we ardently wish that we had something more satisfactory than this *negative* evidence of his religious feeling. His letters during the greater part of his life too plainly show that it had no controlling influence over him. The levity with which Scripture is too often quoted; the want of reverence with which allusion is frequently made to sacred things, and the occasional profaneness, are painful to the reader, and we could not but think that some of these passages, in which the humour is no compensation for the profanity, might have been omitted by his editor. We would sooner see here and there a few unmeaning asterisks, than the finest wit in the world, if that wit is to be attended with any thing which can outrage pious feeling.

Lamb's life was singularly monotonous. A great part of almost every day he was chained down to the drudgery of the desk; the sameness of his existence was varied only by occasional visits to the country, or by seeing his friends in town. He was never married, and but once *in love*, and then only for a very short time. He and his sister lived alone, and only for one another. The affection they entertained for one another, and the devoted-

ness with which they studied each other's happiness, were worthy of Orestes and Electra.

The principal incidents of Lamb's life are connected with his literary intimacies and the history of his own productions. These are told in the present volumes in the most pleasant shape in which they could be told—in the familiar letters of the party. But we must now proceed to lay before our readers as large a portion as possible of the amusing contents of these volumes. The first shall be extracts from letters to Coleridge, at an early period of their correspondence. They are more serious than the letters of subsequent years generally were, and serve to exhibit Lamb's character in the most amiable light.

‘ My brother, my friend,—I am distress for you, believe me I am ; not so much for your painful, troublesome complaint, which, I trust, is only for a time, as for those anxieties which brought it on, and perhaps even now may be nursing its malignity. Tell me, dearest of my friends, is your mind at peace, or has any thing, yet unknown to me, happened to give you fresh disquiet, and steal from you all the pleasant dreams of future rest ? Are you still (I fear you are) far from being comfortably settled ? Would to God it were in my power to contribute towards the bringing of you into the haven where you would be. But you are too well skilled in the philosophy of consolation to need my humble tribute of advice ; in pain, and in sickness, and in all manner of disappointments, I trust you have that within you which shall speak peace to your mind. Make it, I entreat you, one of your puny comforts, that I feel for you, and share all your griefs with you. I feel as if I were troubling you about *little* things ; now I am going to resume the subject of our last two letters, but it may divert us both from unpleasanter feelings to make such matters, in a manner, of importance. Without further apology, then, it was not that I did not relish, that I did not in my heart thank you for those little pictures of your feelings which you lately sent me, if I neglected to mention them. You may remember you had said much the same things before to me on the same subject in a former letter, and I considered those last verses as only the identical thoughts better clothed ; either way (in prose or verse) such poetry must be welcome to me.

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‘ The fragments I now send you, I want printed to get rid of 'em ; for, while they stick burr-like to my memory, they tempt me to go on with the idle trade of versifying, which I long, most sincerely I speak it, I long to leave off, for it is unprofitable to my soul ; I feel it is ; and these questions about words, and debates about alterations, take me off, I am conscious, from the properer business of *my* life. Take my sonnets, once for all, and do not propose any re-amendments, or mention them again in any shape to me, I charge you. I blush that my mind can consider them as things of any worth. And, pray, admit or reject these fragments as you like or dislike them, without ceremony. Call 'em sketches, fragments, or what you will, and do not

entitle any of my *things* love sonnets, as I told you to call 'em ; 'twill only make me look little in my own eyes ; for it is a passion of which I retain *nothing* : 'twas a weakness, concerning which I may say, in the words of Petrarch (whose life is now open before me) 'if it drew me out of some vices, it also prevented the growth of many virtues, filling me with the love of the creature rather than the Creator, which is the death of the soul.' Thank God, the folly has left me for ever ; not even a review of my love verses renews one wayward wish in me ; and if I am at all solicitous to trim 'em out in their best apparel, it is because they are to make their appearance in good company. Now to my fragments.—ib., pp. 43—46.

He again makes allusion to the same topic in a subsequent letter. After speaking of his wish to dedicate a portion of the joint volume already mentioned to his sister, and transcribing the dedication, he goes on :

'This is the pomp and paraphernalia of parting, with which I take my leave of a passion which has reigned so royally (so long) within me ; thus, with its trappings of laureateship, I fling it off, pleased and satisfied with myself that the weakness troubles me no longer. I am wedded, Coleridge, to the fortunes of my sister and my poor old father. O ! my friend, I think sometimes, could I recall the days that are past, which among them should I choose ? not those 'merrier days,' not the 'pleasant days of hope,' not 'those wanderings with a fair hair'd maid,' which I have so often and so feelingly regretted, but the days, Coleridge, of a *mother's* fondness for her *school-boy*. What would I give to call her back to earth for *one* day, on my knees to ask her pardon for all those little asperities of temper which, from time to time, have given her gentle spirit pain ; and the day, my friend, I trust, will come ; there will be 'time enough' for kind offices of love, if 'Heaven's eternal year' be ours. Hereafter, her meek spirit shall not reproach me. O, my friend, cultivate the filial feelings ! and let no man think himself released from the kind 'charities' of relationship ; these shall give him peace at the last ; these are the best foundation for every species of benevolence. I rejoice to hear, by certain channels, that you, my friend, are reconciled with all your relations. 'Tis the most kindly and natural species of love, and we have all the associated train of early feelings to secure its strength and perpetuity. Send me an account of your health ; *indeed* I am solicitous about you. God love you and yours.'—ib., pp. 51, 52.

The following is amusing. He had indulged in some criticism on a poem of Coleridge's. His friend, like most other poets, impugns the critic's judgment, whereupon, Lamb recants in the following droll manner :

'Your poem is altogether admirable—parts of it are even exquisite. I perceived all its excellencies, on a first reading, as readily as now you have been removing a supposed film from my eyes. I was only struck

with a certain faulty disproportion, in the manner and the *style*, which I still think I perceive, between these lines and the former ones. I had an end in view, I wished to make you reject the poem, only as being discordant with the other, and, in subservience to that end, it was politically done in me to over-pass, and make no mention of merit, which, could you think me capable of *overlooking*, might reasonably damn for ever in your judgment all pretensions, in me, to be critical. There—I will be judged by Lloyd, whether I have not made a very handsome recantation. I was in the case of a man, whose friend has asked him his opinion of a certain young lady—the deluded wight gives judgment against her *in toto*—don't like her face, her walk, her manners; finds fault with her eyebrows; can see no wit in her; his friend looks blank, he begins to smell a rat—wind veers about—he acknowledges her good sense, her judgment in dress, a certain simplicity of manners and honesty of heart, something too in her manners which gains upon you after a short acquaintance,—and then her accurate pronunciation of the French language, and a pretty uncultivated taste in drawing. The reconciled gentleman smiles applause, squeezes him by the hand, and hopes he will do him the honour of taking a bit of dimer with Mrs. — and him,—a plain family dinner,—some day next week; ‘for, I suppose, you never heard we were married. I'm glad to see you like my wife, however; you'll come and see her, ha?’ Now, am I too proud to retract entirely? Yet I do perceive I am in some sort straitened; you are manifestly wedded to this poem, and what fancy has joined let no man separate. I turn me to the *Joan of Arc*, second book.—*ib.*, pp. 69, 70.

The following is a most ludicrous ‘bill of lading.’ It is a list of certain ‘goods and chatels’ of Coleridge, which he had left in London after he had quitted the *Morning Post*. Some of the satirical hits are inimitable.

‘Dear Coleridge,—I have taken to-day, and delivered to L. & Co., *in primis*, your books, viz. three ponderous German dictionaries, one volume (I can find no more) of German and French ditto, sundry other German books unbound, as you left them, ‘Percy's Ancient Poetry,’ and one volume of ‘Anderson's Poets.’ I specify them, that you may not lose any. *Secundo*, a dressing-gown (value, five-pence) in which you used to sit and look like a conjuror, when you were translating *Wallenstein*. A case of two razors, and a shaving-box and strap. This it has cost me a severe struggle to part with. They are in a brown-paper parcel, which also contains sundry papers and poems, sermons, *some few Epic Poems*,—one about Cain and Abel, which came from Poole, &c. &c., and also your tragedy; with one or two small German books, and that drama in which Got-fader performs *Tertio*; a small oblong box containing *all your letters*, collected from all your waste papers, and which fill the said little box. All other waste papers, which I judged worth sending, are in the paper-parcel aforesaid. But you will find *all your letters* in the box by themselves . . . Thus have I discharged my conscience and my lumber-room

of all your property, save and except a folio entitled 'Tyrrell's Bibliotheca Politica,' which you used to learn your politics out of when you wrote for the 'Post,' *mutatis mutandis*, i. e. applying past inferences to modern *data*. I retain that, because I am sensible I am very deficient in the politics myself; and I have torn up—don't be angry, waste paper has risen forty per cent. and I can't afford to buy it—all 'Buonaparte's Letters,' 'Arthur Young's Treatise on Corn,' and one or two more light-armed infantry, which I thought better suited the flippancy of London discussion, than the dignity of Keswick thinking. Mary says you will be in a passion about them, when you come to miss them; but you must study philosophy. Read 'Albertus Magnus de Chartis Amissis' five times over after phlebotomizing,—'tis Burton's recipe—and then be angry with an absent friend if you can.'—ib., 151, 152.

The following is the pleasant introduction to a letter to his friend, Mr. Manning, then at Cambridge. It is very characteristic of Lamb's style.

'*Ecquid meditatatur Archimedes?* What is Euclid doing? What hath happened to learned Trismegist?—doth he take it in ill part, that his humble friend did not comply with his courteous invitation? Let it suffice, I could not come—are impossibilities nothing?—be they abstractions of the intellect?—or not (rather) most sharp and mortifying realities? nuts in the Will's mouth too hard for her to crack? brick and stone walls in her way, which she can by no means eat through? sore lets, *impedimenta viarum*, no thoroughfares? *racemi vinium alte pendentis*? Is the phrase classic? I allude to the grapes in Æsop, which cost the fox a strain, and gained the world an aphorism.'—ib., pp. 183, 184.

The following to the same person is equally characteristic.

'Dear Archimedes,—Things have gone on badly with thy ungeometrical friend; but they are on the turn. My old housekeeper has showed signs of convalescence, and will shortly resume the power of the keys, so I shan't be cheated of my tea and liquors. Wind in the west, which promotes tranquillity. Have leisure now to anticipate seeing thee again. Have been taking leave of tobacco in a rhyming address. Had thought *that vein* had long since closed up. Find I can rhyme and reason too. Think of studying mathematics, to restrain the fire of my genius, which G. D. recommends. Have frequent bleedings at the nose, which shows plethoric. May be shall try the sea myself, that great scene of wonders. Got incredibly sober and regular: shave oftener, and hum a tune, to signify cheerfulness and gallantry.

'Suddenly disposed to sleep, having taken a quart of peas with bacon, and stout. Will not refuse Nature, who has done such things for me!

'Nurse; don't call me unless Mr. Manning comes.—What! the gentleman in spectacles?—Yes.'—ib., pp. 188, 199.

The following is to the same friend, in reply to an invitation to visit him at Cambridge and to sup on *snipes*.

‘Man of many snipes,—I will sup with thee, on Monday night the 5th of January, in the new year, and crush a cup to the infant century.

‘A word or two of my progress. Embark at six o’clock in the morning, with a fresh gale, on a Cambridge one-decker; very cold till eight at night; land at St. Mary’s light-house, muffins and coffee upon table (or any other curious production of Turkey, or both Indies), snipes exactly at nine, punch to commence at ten, with argument; difference of opinion is expected to take place about eleven; perfect unanimity, with some haziness and dimness, before twelve.—N.B. My single affection is not so singly wedded to snipes; but the curious and epicurean eye would also take a pleasure in beholding a delicate and well-chosen assortment of teals, ortolans, the unctious and palate-soothing flesh of geese, wild and tame, nightingales’ brains, the sensorium of a young sucking pig, or any other Christmas dish, which I leave to the judgment of you and the cook of Gonville.’—*ib.*, p. 203.

The next letter shall be one to Wordsworth. It beautifully describes his passion for London, and is full of profound philosophy.

‘I ought before this to have replied to your very kind invitation into Cumberland. With you and your sister I could gang any where; but I am afraid whether I shall ever be able to afford so desperate a journey. Separate from the pleasure of your company, I don’t now care if I never see a mountain in my life. I have passed all my days in London, until I have formed as many and intense local attachments, as any of you mountaineers can have done with dead nature. The lighted shops of the Strand and Fleet-street, the innumerable trades, tradesmen, and customers, coaches, waggons, playhouses; all the bustle and wickedness round about Covent Garden; the watchmen, drunken scenes, rattles;—life awake, if you awake, at all hours of the night; the impossibility of being dull in Fleet-street; the crowds, the very dirt and mud, the sun shining upon houses and pavements, the print-shops, the old book-stalls, parsons cheapening books, coffee-houses, steams of soups from kitchens, the pantomimes—London itself a pantomime and a masquerade—all these things work themselves into my mind, and feed me without a power of satiating me. The wonder of these sights impels me into night-walks about her crowded streets, and I often shed tears in the motley Strand from fulness of joy at so much life. All these emotions must be strange to you; so are your rural emotions to me. But consider, what must I have been doing all my life, not to have lent great portions of my heart with usury to such scenes?

‘My attachments are all local, purely local—I have no passion (or have had none since I was in love, and then it was the spurious engendering of poetry and books,) to groves and valleys. The rooms where

I was born, the furniture which has been before my eyes all my life, a book-case which has followed me about like a faithful dog (only exceeding him in knowledge,) wherever I have moved,—old chairs, old tables, streets, squares, where I have sunned myself, my old school,—these are my mistresses—have I not enough without your mountains? I do not envy you. I should pity you, did I not know that the mind will make friends of any thing. Your sun, and moon, and skies, and hills, and lakes, affect me no more, or scarcely come to me in more venerable characters, than as a gilded room with tapestry and tapers, where I might live with handsome visible objects. I consider the clouds above me but as a roof beautifully painted, but unable to satisfy the mind; and at last, like the pictures of the apartment of a connoisseur, unable to afford him any longer a pleasure. So fading upon me, from disuse, have been the beauties of Nature, as they have been confinedly called; so ever fresh, and green, and warm are all the inventions of men, and assemblies of men in this great city. I should certainly have laughed with dear Joanna.*

‘Give my kindest love, *and my sister’s*, to D. and yourself. And a kiss from me to little Barbara Lewthwaite.† Thank you for liking my play!—ib., pp. 212—215.

But he *did* visit his friend at the lakes, and the result shows how deeply he was affected with the noble scenery.

‘My dear Manning,—Since the date of my last letter, I have been a traveller. A strong desire seized me of visiting remote regions. My first impulse was to go and see Paris. It was a trivial objection to my aspiring mind, that I did not understand a word of the language, since I certainly intend some time in my life to see Paris, and equally certainly intend never to learn the language; therefore that could be no objection. However, I am very glad I did not go, because you had left Paris (I see) before I could have set out. I believe, Stoddart promising to go with me another year, prevented that plan. My next scheme (for to my restless ambitious mind London was become a bed of thorns) was to visit the far-famed peak in Derbyshire, where the Devil sits, they say, without breeches. *This* my purer mind rejected as indelicate. And my final resolve was, a tour to the lakes. I set out with Mary to Keswick, without giving Coleridge any notice, for, my time being precious, did not admit of it. He received us with all the hospitality in the world, and gave up his time to show us all the wonders of the country. He dwells upon a small hill by the side of Keswick, in a comfortable house, quite enveloped on all sides by a net of mountains: great floundering bears and monsters they seem’d, all couchant and asleep. We got in in the evening, travelling in a post-

* Alluding to the Inscription of Wordsworth’s, entitled ‘Joanna,’ containing a magnificent description of the effect of laughter echoing amidst the great mountains of Westmoreland.

† Alluding to Wordsworth’s poem, ‘The Pet Lamb.’

chaise from Penrith, in the midst of a gorgeous sunshine, which transmuted all the mountains into colours, purple, &c. &c. We thought we had got into fairy land. But that went off (and it never came again; while we stayed we had no more fine sun-sets); and we entered Coleridge's comfortable study just in the dusk, when the mountains were all dark with clouds upon their heads. Such an impression I never received from objects of sight before, nor do I suppose that I can ever again. Glorious creatures, fine old fellows, Skiddaw, &c. I never shall forget ye, how ye lay about that night, like an in-trenchment; gone to bed, as it seemed for the night, but promising that ye were to be seen in the morning. Coleridge had got a blazing fire in his study, which is a large, antique, ill-shaped room, with an old fashioned organ, never play'd upon, big enough for a church, shelves of scattered folios, an Eolian harp, and an old sofa, half bed, &c. And all looking out upon the fading view of Skiddaw, and his broad-breasted brethren: what a night! Here we staid three full weeks, in which time I visited Wordsworth's cottage, where we stayed a day or two with the Clarksons (good people, and most hospitable, at whose house we tarried one day and night), and saw Lloyd. The Wordsworth's were gone to Calais. They have since been in London, and past much time with us: he is now gone into Yorkshire to be married. So we have seen Keswick, Grasmere, Ambleside, Ulswater (where the Clarksons live), and a place at the other end of Ulswater; I forget the name;* to which we travelled on a very sultry day, over the middle of Helvellyn. We have clambered up to the top of Skiddaw, and I have waded up the bed of Lodore. In fine, I have satisfied myself, that there is such a thing as that which tourists call *romantic*, which I very much suspected before: they make such a spluttering about it, and toss their splendid epithets around them, till they give as dim a light as at four o'clock next morning the lamps do after an illumination. Mary was excessively tired, when she got about half way up Skiddaw, but we came to a cold rill (than which nothing can be imagined more cold, running over cold stones), and with the reinforcement of a draught of cold water, she surmounted it most manfully. O, its fine black head, and the bleak air atop of it, with a prospect of mountains all about and about, making you giddy; and then Scotland afar off, and the border countries so famous in song and ballad! It was a day that will stand out, like a mountain, I am sure, in my life. But I am returned (I have now been come home near three weeks—I was a month out), and you cannot conceive the degradation I felt at first, from being accustomed to wander free as air among mountains, and bathe in rivers without being control'd by any one, to come home and *work*. I felt very *little*. I had been dreaming I was a very great man. But that is going off, and I find I shall conform in time to that state of life to which it has pleased God to call me. Besides, after all, Fleet-street and the Strand are better places to live in for good and all than amidst Skiddaw. Still, I turn back to those great places where I

* Patterdale.

wandered about, participating in their greatness. After all, I could not *live* in Skiddaw. I could spend a year, two, three years among them, but I must have a prospect of seeing Fleet-street at the end of that time, or I should mope and pine away, I know. Still, Skiddaw is a fine creature.'—*ib.*, pp. 221—225.

We can find room for only one more extract; it is from a letter to his friend Mr. Manning, who had taken it into his head to visit China, whither he went some years afterwards.

'I heard that you were going to China, with a commission from the Wedgewoods to collect hints for their pottery, and to teach the Chinese *perspective*. But I did not know that London lay in your way to Peking. I am seriously glad of it, for I shall trouble you with a small present for the Emperor of Usbeck Tartary, as you go by his territories: it is a fragment of a 'Dissertation on the state of political parties in England at the end of the eighteenth century,' which will no doubt be very interesting to his Imperial Majesty. It was written originally in English for the use of the *two* and *twenty* readers of 'The Albion,' (this *calculation* includes a printer, four pressmen, and a devil); but becoming of no use, when 'The Albion' stopped, I got it translated into Usbeck Tartar by my good friend Tibet Kulm, who is come to London with a *civil* invitation from the Cham to the English nation to go over to the worship of the Lama.'—*ib.*, 208, 209.

We have now exhausted our space, and yet have got no further than the first volume. The second is equally full of amusing matter, and Mr. Talfourd gives us reason to hope that we shall hereafter see more. 'Many letters,' he tells us, 'yet remain unpublished.' We shall hail their appearance.

Art. V. *The Principles of English Grammar*. By DAVID BOOTH, Author of 'The Analytical Dictionary.' London: Charles Knight. 1837.

AN English Grammar ought to be of one of two kinds—either practical or scientific; either adapted for school-use, and exhibiting chiefly the results of research, or adapted for the student, and proceeding step by step through all the stages of the analysis. An attempt to combine these two ends must fail: a Grammar cannot be made fit for elementary school-use and at the same time contain all the researches by which the results are arrived at.

Of the former kind Mr. Booth says (Pref., p. i.) he knows no work fitted for children: he does not recommend his own for them. Of the latter kind it is to be presumed he knew of no good work until he had written his own; otherwise he would

have spared himself the trouble of writing it. That he was not competent to write a *practical* English Grammar will be clear from the following sentence in his Preface: 'Grammar, in its *'simplest form, is a critical examination of languages.'* How far he has succeeded in producing a *scientific* work, which will supply the want now felt, remains to be seen.

If it were fair to judge of a book from the Preface, we should not augur very favourably of the work before us. 'Prefaces,' says Mr. Booth, 'are postscripts; for though placed *before*, they are written *after* the books to which they belong. This is especially the case in the present instance; *for*, now that I have concluded the volume, I am at a loss to find any thing further to add to what I have already written.' If this sentence mean any thing, it means that the Preface was written after the book, *because* the author was at a loss what to say. It was written after, *for* he was at a loss what to add, when the book was written. We are very shy of *buts* and *fors*, *therefores* and *becauses*: they very often conceal a fallacy. We are *butted* and *therefores* into a conclusion, before we have understood the premises. But a book ought not to be judged of by the Preface. A Preface often is (though it ought not to be) written in haste, and often, as a matter more of form than of necessity. We shall examine some passages, as a specimen of the whole.

We are told, p. 37, that 'adjectives and adverbs are the same kind of words.' This is a cockneyism which ought to be avoided in a Grammar. It should have been, 'are words of the same kind.'

The following passage occurs in page 39, marked as a quotation. From the closing remark of the Preface, and from the passage itself, we suppose Mr. Booth is quoting from himself: 'The Latin *quis* is evidently $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \omicron\varsigma$, and the Latin terminations *us*, *a*, *um*, no other than the Greek article, $\omicron\varsigma$, η , $\omicron\nu$.' Where did Mr. Booth ever see the Greek article $\omicron\varsigma$, η , $\omicron\nu$? Perhaps in his own Analytical Dictionary. The Greek *article* is, $\acute{\omicron}$, $\acute{\eta}$, $\tau\omicron$, in the nominative case. But perhaps the Greek *relative* was intended—then it should have been, $\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, $\acute{\eta}$, $\acute{\omicron}$. Whichever was meant, the matter is not mended. For the base or crude form of the article is $\tau\omicron$, and that of the relative $\acute{\omicron}$: the root, the only part of the relative which remains through all its inflections, is the aspirate, answering to the Latin *qu* and the English *wh*; and the root of the article, which is lost in the nominative singular, and plural, masculine, and feminine, is τ . The truth is, that *quis* and $\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ are the same word, and in both *s* (ς) shows the case. The *o* and ς are the same in $\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ as in $\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$. In the latter word $\kappa\alpha\lambda$ is the root, in the former the aspirate (*h*) is the root. To say that *us*, *a*, *um*, are the forms of the Greek article, is no more absurd than it would be to maintain that the *is* in *dulcis* is the pronoun *is*, he.

We are informed, p. 42, that 'to give distinctive names to every object in nature would be impossible.' This is not good English. The author, we presume, meant to say that, 'to give a distinctive name to every object in nature would be impossible:' he might also have said—'to give distinctive names to all the objects,' &c. If he meant one name to each object, he did not express his meaning. An error of the same kind occurs in page 244: *terminations* is used where it should be a *termination*. Another of the same kind occurs in page 314, where *every* adjective is said to have *three* forms answering to *each* of the genders.

Mr. Booth's account of the English plurals is very confused. He appears to have no notion of the three ways in which our nouns are made plural. He remarks—'goose has the plural *geese*; louse has *lice*; mouse, *mice*.' No hint is given of what makes these words plural. *Tooth, teeth*; *foot, feet*; are given half a page farther on, as another and insulated class of words. They ought to have been classified with *goose, geese*. The simplest way of forming the plural is by modifying the vowel of the word—thus, *man, men*. So in German, *männ, männer*. From the class of words which are made plural by this change, we may see that not *any* vowel in the singular becomes *any* vowel in the plural, but that there is a system prevailing here. For example, *ou* becomes *i* in *louse, lice*; *mouse, mice*; *oo* becomes *ee* in *foot, feet*; *goose, geese*. If the class were larger we should doubtless be able to add to each of these lists. We were glad to see that our author had separated the plurals in *en* as a distinct class; but what was our surprise to find *man, men*, included in the number: for uniformity he should have classed *ease* with the plurals in *s*. Surely an ordinary school-boy knows that in *men* the *n* is an integral part of the word, and the least reflection or comparison with other words would show that the change of the vowel indicates the plural. Yet this is the way in which we find it introduced: p. 45, 'Man has *men*, ox has *oxen*, and woman *women*.'

The following passage is curious, p. 52: 'Verbal substantives have often an affix expression of being an agent. The Saxon *wer*, a man, or the German *er*, he, may be taken as the origin of the English termination *er*, which, added to a noun of action, refers to the *man*—that *he* who acts. Thus a *lover* is he who loves,' &c. 'It is sometimes written *or*, as in *author, actor, doctor*; the *or* being a like affix in the Latin language, from which these and other words of similar formation are derived.' *It*, we are told, that is, the affix *er*, is sometimes written *or*, as in *doctor*. Now the affix in *doctor* is not *or*, but *tor*; and if it were *or*, it would be absurd to speak of *er* being written *or*. The affix in *doctor* is *tor*; *doc* is 'teach,' and *tor* answers to the English *er*: hence *doc-tor* means *teach-er*. The

Saxon *wer* we are told, or the German *er*, may be *taken* as the origin of the English *er*. Who gave Mr. Booth liberty to 'take' *wer* or *er*, German or Saxon, as the origin of the English *er*? With respect to the Saxon *wer*, 'a man,' has Mr. Booth forgotten that in some Latin authors there occasionally occurs such a word as *vir* with a very similar meaning? or does he suppose that *vir* is the same word as *er* in the English nouns? We suspect the truth is, that our author had not a very distinct conception of what he meant himself. The resemblance of *wer* and *er*, Saxon and English, struck him probably as a good idea, and the filiation was instantly decided. Perhaps it would be well for gentlemen who write on such subjects to consider that clumsy puns are not sound derivations; that etymology is, like other sciences, a thing to be studied and investigated, requiring collections of examples, diligent classification and comparison; that etymology is not a thing of chance or caprice, not a thing that comes by inspiration or a lucky hit—but a difficult pursuit, demanding extensive learning and *some* degree of penetration, directed by great patience and great caution. The belief in chance must be wholly and utterly discarded; nothing must be rested in but sound principle, and our general deductions must be supported by analogy. The phenomena of language are not insulated and capricious, but are the results of certain laws, and may be reduced to system; and whatever facts are found to stand forth or jut out, from the system, only show that the system is deficient, and that there are yet other laws to be ascertained, which occasion these apparent anomalies. That an etymology is called ingenious, is no praise: it is a presumption against it: ingenuity is frequently only another and more specious name for clumsiness. Unconnected, fragmentary, random conjectures, unsupported by any rational evidence, derived from history or the laws of linguistic science, are generally dignified with the epithet ingenious. On the other hand, correctness is the highest merit of an etymologist, and the more hidden the truth lies, the greater merit belongs to him who discovers it. The difficulty of the science ought to deter us from rash or hasty decisions.

In page 81, the word *that* is said to be derived from *the it*. We might as well say *the* was derived from *this he*, or *nose* from *no eyes*, or a thousand other ridiculous things. It is no wonder that etymology is laughed at when it is played with in this way.

In page 84 the following passage occurs: 'To is, by us, applied to verbs; but it was the neuter article (*the*) among the Greeks. The Danish *al*, which marks the infinitive in the same manner as our *to*, is also the neuter pronoun *that*.' Has our author forgotten the German *zu*? We suppose he will not deny the identity of the English *the* and the German *der*, *die*, &c.

Are we then to understand that the preposition *zu* (our *to*) is the same as *der, die, das*? If so, let us have historical evidence, without which, and that very strong, we shall not allow that *to*, the preposition, is the same word as *the*, the article. It is true the word *the* becomes *to* in the phrases *to-day, to-night, to-morrow, &c.*; but this is not a sufficient proof—in fact, it is no proof whatever, it is only a presumption of its identity. Has our author never in his travels arrived at the same point by different roads? It is no uncommon phenomenon in language. We frequently find the same combination of letters, produced by very different processes. While on the one hand we may, *cæteris paribus*, expect the same results from the same causes (and we must be sure that other things are equal before we conclude that the causes are the same); on the other hand, we shall be deceived if we expect that different causes will invariably produce different results. One example, and that a familiar one, will be sufficient: it is only a specimen of a large number. *Cover* in the words *discover* and *recover*: *dis* and *re* are common prefixes: both words, *discover* and *recover*, are derived from the Latin—*recover* from *recuperare*; *discover* from *discooperire*. The latter is a barbarous word, belonging to the *media et infima Latinitas*; both words have come to us through the French. Now *recuperare*, contains the root *cup*, seen in *occupare*, and another form of *cap* in *capere*, meaning *take*. Other words in *era* might be given—such as *tol-era*, inf. *tolerare*; so *re-cup-era*, inf. *recuperare*. On the other hand, *discooperire* contains the crude form *operi*, inf. *operire*: the *dis* and *co* are prefixes like *re*. The French of *discooperire* is *decouvrir*; and of *recuperare*, *recouvrier*. In English both become *cover*, re-cover and dis-cover—looking like compounds of the same word, but in reality wholly unconnected. *Cup* and *operi* are not liable to be confounded; but the derivatives in our language are. We give this simply as a warning against the errors into which etymologists are liable to fall without great circumspection and care.

Page 248: 'It were needless to multiply examples:' the author means it *is* needless, or it *were* (a pragmatistical way of saying *would be*) useless. P. 261: the French *ne point* is called a 'double negative:' it would be just as absurd to call *not at all* a double negative: *point* is no negative. We might as well call *button* a negative in the common phrase, *caring not a button for a thing*. We might as well call *jot* a negative in the phrase *not a jot*; or *iota* in the phrase *not an iota*, or *hilum* in the Latin *ni-hilum*, not a bean-speck, nothing. Page 266, we read: 'The Apocalypse, or Revelations of St. John, is a noun,' &c. Is they? Did Mr. Booth mistake Apocalypse for a plural, or has he found another Revelation of St. John not included in the canonical books? Page

267, we are told that ‘anarchy denotes the want or absence of ‘all government, and therefore implied confusion.’ *Implies* or *denoted* would be more correct: but probably the sentence was meant to illustrate the anarchy or confusion described. Page 270, an attempt is made to draw a distinction between *en* and *in* in the English compounds, and we are gravely favoured with the information that ‘*inclose* signifies (or ought to signify) to close ‘in or to close a space; and that to *enclose* is simply to make ‘close.’ Has Mr. Booth found any *material* difference between Barclay and Co.’s Intire and Barclay and Co.’s Entire? ‘Signifies, or ought to signify,’ forsooth! *In* ought not to signify any thing different from *en*; *en* is the Greek, and *in* the Latin preposition: the French has changed *in* to *en*, and in English we have both forms. We do not remember to have read even in the works of English etymologists greater twaddle than we find in page 271, respecting the particle *in*. The author actually attempts to give a philosophical explanation *how* ‘in’ and ‘en’ are identical with the Greek $\epsilon\nu$, *one*. We deny the fact. *In* and *one* have no more connexion than *to* the preposition and *two* the numeral. Let Mr. Booth compare the following sets of words together, and he need not puzzle himself or his readers with explanations of imaginary difficulties—*αεν*, *av*, (*a*), *in*, (*i*), *un*— $\epsilon\nu$, *unus*, French *un*, English *one*. The Greek negative is not *a* but *av*: the *v* is dropt in certain circumstances. The Latin negative is *in*: the *n* is dropt in certain circumstances, as *i-gnotus*, *α-γνωτος*. The English is *un*. These words have no more to do with the numeral *one* than with the verb *win*. Page 275: we read of the verb $\gammaαμειο$, *to marry*: it might be worth while to correct this misprint: no doubt it is a typographical error. Page 275: *magnanimous* is analysed *magna nimous*. It is worth considering whether the *a* does not belong to the latter part and not to *magn*; the author will find the word *animus* in Latin. Page 280: we find the old heresy of the interposed *t* in French; the *t* in *aimat-il* is not put in to prevent two vowels coming together: it is the sign of the third person in Latin, which is retained in other tenses in French and in the interrogative form is retained in the class of verbs to which *aimer* belongs. Page 285: we are told that ‘from *pro* we have *porch*, a gate; and *port*, an entry, from ‘the Latin *porta*.’ A school-boy of a low form ought to know that *porch* is derived from the French *porche*, which is derived from the Latin *porticus*, and that *porticus* is a derivative of *porta*. *Porch* and *port* (a gate) are the same word, then, in origin. How any one could be careless enough to be so far misled as seriously to suppose that *porch* was derived from *pro*, it is difficult to tell. Pages 298 and 299, we learn that ‘the Latin *male*, ill, is from the ‘Greek $\muελας$, black; that $\muελας$, *black*, is a compound of $\muη$, *not*,

‘and ελη, *the light of the sun* ;’ that ‘in a figurative sense μελας ‘is evil or depraved ;’ that ‘the Latin *ater*, black, dark, gloomy, ‘has an origin similar to our word black ;’ that ‘*ater* is the Greek ‘adverb, *ατερος*, *without* or wanting,’ and that ‘*black* is contracted ‘from *be-lack*, a compound of *lack*, want.’ These clauses contain as many errors as could easily be brought within the same limits. Every assertion here made is wrong. The derivation of μελας from μη and ελη, betrays an ignorance of the first and cardinal principles of etymology. Μελας is not used in the figurative sense mentioned. The derivation of *black* is thought important enough to be repeated in page 302. In page 169 we learn, that ‘the *abundance* of those compound epithets *give* a ‘grace and elegance !’ &c. Do it? In page 305 we find a conjecture which is thrown out also in page 95, that *did* is only a repetition of the root, *do-do* ; the repetition implying that the act is *past*. It might as well be said that *singing* is only a repetition of the root, *sing-sing* ; the repetition implying that the act is *not past*. Page 314, we are told that ‘*every* Latin adjective has ‘*three* forms answering to *each* of the genders.’ This sentence contains two errors : in the first place, Mr. Booth did not mean, we presume, *three* forms answering to *each* of the genders, but *one* answering to *each*, or *three* answering to the *three* genders. In the next place, *every* adjective has not *three* forms answering to the three genders. The *i* declension has only two. The masculine and feminine are the same. Take *brevis*. Mr. Booth’s mode of reckoning would take nine forms to make an adjective, just as it takes nine tailors to make a man.

In page 316 we are told that ‘the *study* of the Latin has *undated* our mother *tongue* with numerous *inversions* and forms ‘of phraseology that are far *removed* from genuine English.’ A glorious confusion of metaphors ! Page 317, we read of two words being unfortunately *disjoined* by a *copula*. What is the meaning of *copula* ? In page 102, we are told that the phrase, ‘I *have* to see him to-morrow,’ considers the speaker as holding the *right* of seeing him. The question of *right* is not contemplated in the phrase : ‘I have to see him,’ means, ‘it is my business to see him,’ ‘I must see him,’ ‘I have it to do.’ Page 96, we are told that ‘for some time past *the bridge is being built*, and ‘other expressions of a like kind, have pained the eye and ‘stunned the ear,’ and that, ‘instead of *the stone is falling*, and ‘the man is dying, we shall next be taught to say *the stone is being fallen*, and *the man is being dead*.’ Will Mr. Booth help us to a more correct, or, if he pleases, a less barbarous, phrase to express the same thing in as definite a way ? If we say, *the boy is kicking*, we mean, ‘is kicking some body or some thing,’ and we should never be understood to mean that some one else is kicking the boy. That the phrase *the boy is being kicked* is

ugly, we are not prepared to deny; but the same may be said of many other phrases, which yet are in common use. That a need of the phrase in question, or of some equivalent one, is felt, is sufficiently proved by the extent to which it is used by educated persons and by respectable writers. Until the phrase in question was introduced into our language, we had no mode of translating the present passive of the Greek or Latin without some indefiniteness or some circumlocution. But is any good reason to be given why we should always be in want of so necessary an article? In the Grammar of the Dublin Education Commissioners, it is inserted as one tense of the verb.

In page 135 we find the sentence, 'I was obligated to have done it,' given as correct. In the first place, *obligated* is an ugly, clumsy word; and in the next place, the sentence is sheer nonsense. Let us apply the phrase to a particular case. Mr. Booth was obligated, in 1837, to *have* written an English Grammar in 1836! He was bound by a promise last year to have done something three years ago! We intended yesterday to have come the day before! I was able last week to have paid you a visit three months ago! I was willing last Thursday to have done as you wished on the preceding Monday, but I was obligated to have done otherwise! Some years ago a pamphlet appeared with the singular title, 'a Speech intended to have been spoken at such-and-such a Meeting on such-and-such a day,' which was followed by a 'Reply, intended to have been written in answer to a speech intended to have been spoken.' We wonder what work Mr. Booth is now intending to *have* written in the year eighteen hundred and thirty.

An honest observance of the rule of Juvenal has obliged us to say much in dispraise of the volume before us.

'Mentiri nescio: librum
Si malus est, nequeo laudare et poscere.'

After all, the gravest charge we have to bring against it, and one which is the most unpardonable in an English Grammar, is the frequent violation of grammatical accuracy. We shall now confine ourselves to the errors we have noticed in one point only.

No construction in our language is more common or more simple than the construction of *either* and *or*, *neither* and *nor*; yet in the volume before us there are, we should think, at least twenty errors. The following we note down at random: page 211; page 63, two instances; page 262; page 229; page 172; page 116; page 134. The application of a very simple test to sentences constructed with *either* and *or*, *neither* and *nor*, will show whether they are correct or not. Strike out *either* and *or*, *neither* and *nor*, and all the words between, and the sentence should

make a complete sense, not perhaps *the* sense intended, but still *a* complete sense. If the sentence will not form a complete sense, it is incorrect. Let us try this on some of Mr. Booth's sentences. Page 262: 'the same association of letters may be *taken a preposition.*' Page 53: 'to the mind of man, all *are of memory.*' Again: 'it *must that* concerning which the speech *is made.*' Page 211: 'the alternation *of his being of becoming* a traitor.' Page 134: 'the reason is to be *found the succeeding* part of the sentence.' There can be no apology for such inaccuracy of style. In a Grammar it is desirable, in our opinion, to have every thing expressed in as clear and simple a manner as possible. The volume before us seems to have been written under a different persuasion. It abounds with instances of unhappy and inappropriate phrases, offensive jests, and the lamest attempts at wit. In page 74, the word *that* is called a 'Proteus word:' page 67, the practice of writing *ye* for *you* is said to 'be in *desuetude:*' page 253, we learn that 'the Greek *θυγα* had no *preposition usage!*' Page 260: 'Our ancestors were accustomed to clinch every expression which seemed indefinite.' This must have been an amusing sight. Page 90: 'Certain *little vocables termed auxiliary verbs, as it were analyze the complicated chains of other tongues.*' Page 55: the gender of a substantive is said to be '*prostituted to ordinary prose!*' Page 329: concord and government are explained as '*the war cries of the classic tongues.*' Page 333: substantives which stand in apposition to another are called '*cognomens, like the aliases of the Old Bailey, or the titles of a Spanish grandee.*' Page 339: 'You are not in fault, neither am I,' it is said, would have saved the head of Priscian. Page 239: a solution (referred to) is said to '*introduce, to use an Irishism, a new idiom into the language.*' Page 341: *inversion* is said to be 'the chief *ornament of poetic diction.*'

We have neither room nor disposition to enumerate all the blunders, and wrong-meaning or unmeaning passages, which we have met with: it is sufficient to say that there is scarcely a page in which we have not found several. Mr. Booth informs us in his Preface that he has 'endeavoured to be intelligible'—we suppose, to the *meanest* capacities: and certainly, as South says, if to any, it must be to the meanest. Does our author remember in *which* of Cowper's Poems the following couplet occurs:

'A shallow brain behind a serious mask;
An oracle within an empty cask?'

The following passage occurs in page 256: 'To whatever *depth* we may push our metaphysical abstractions, and however *much, from the play of words, we may imagine ourselves to*

‘be wise when we are only profound, a slight inquiry into the ‘origin of terms would easily point out the path to reason and ‘nature.’ Whether Mr. Booth imagined himself to be wise or profound, or both, when ‘pushing his metaphysical abstractions’ to so great a depth in the volume before us, we are unable to conjecture; it is clear, that he has got entirely out of his depth.

We have already referred to the closing remark in our author’s Preface: ‘In the composition of this work,’ he says, ‘I have ‘made liberal use of the introduction to my Analytical Dictionary ‘—*I have borrowed very little from any other source, and nothing ‘without acknowledgment.*’ Mr. Booth, the Grammarian, has been chiefly indebted to Mr. Booth, the Lexicographer! He has sat at his own feet. What opinion this frank confession is calculated to convey respecting the merits of the Dictionary, our citations from the Grammar will render it easy to conjecture. Our author is anxious to vindicate to himself the entire and undivided praise due to his extraordinary discoveries: he scorns the idea of having borrowed from others. Whether it would have been any serious disparagement to Mr. Booth to borrow from the Grammar of Dr. Priestley, or whether his high claims to originality would have been materially impaired by his deigning to take shelter under the name of Louth, we will not now inquire: we will content ourselves with remarking that, what is new to Mr. Booth is not necessarily original. The imbecile wonder of the infant at some simple but to him new discovery, is something different from the *eureka* of the scholar.

Art. VI. *Instinct and Reason Philosophically Investigated, with a view to ascertain the Principles of the Science of Education.* By THOMAS JARROLD, M. D. London: Longman & Co. 8vo.

METAPHYSICAL science, which was never altogether popular, has of late much declined in public favour; nor is it difficult to account for the fact. The practical interests of life are now uppermost in men’s thoughts, and what is speculative and abstruse is in consequence neglected. That which is not useful, or easily susceptible of a useful application, however magnificent its pretensions, or dignified its garb, is almost invariably put off with a compliment, or discarded with a sneer. Even chemistry, the favourite science of the age, owes its attractions to its having been embodied in those processes which serve and adorn the ordinary affairs of life; while geometry, no longer honoured as an idol of incommunicable attributes, is constrained to descend from its pedestal, to minister to arts mechanical, and handicraft.

The old philosophers, for the most part, deprecated usefulness as dishonour, and dreaded becoming intelligible to the common people, as the ruin of their reputation. Their object was to found a school in honour of themselves, and for the purpose of limiting knowledge to their own followers. They completely succeeded in darkening the confines of science, and rendering them impervious to the community; but they did little to enlighten and instruct their disciples. Darkness was their element; and they were closely followed by their scholars, who contrived to shut up in the accumulated opacity of their commentaries every ray of light which shone from the system of their masters. Even modern philosophers, much as they have laboured to dispel the darkness with which their predecessors had surrounded the science of mind, seem, for the most part, to have entertained no notion that it was capable of a practical application to the interests of human life. Their treatises exhibit it as well adapted to exercise and discipline the intellect, as tending to the removal of prejudices, explaining the phenomena of mind, and duly raising the metaphysician above the mere student of physics; but its application to terrestrial matters, and the usual occurrences of life, has been scarcely noticed, or most superficially passed over.

Dr. Jarrold, however, has entered on the subject with totally different views; and has succeeded in showing, not only that the science of mind is eminently and essentially useful, but in what services it may be best employed. In its application to the training up of children from infancy, he has laid it as the foundation of that which is practically important in life. He does not, like many of his predecessors, attempt to destroy some existing superstructure, that he may, out of the ruins, select materials wherewith to erect another of his own; but is altogether didactic, with no more observations on the theories of others, than are necessary to illustrate the principles and rules which he lays down and enforces.

‘Our object,’ he says, ‘will be to gain a knowledge of the laws of the mind in the same way that the knowledge of other laws has been obtained; not by inquiring into what it is in itself, but how it operates. The mind will ever be unknown to us in its elements, and can only be comprehended in its operations. Should there be any students who are undaunted by the defeat of others, they will here find ample scope for their concentrated powers. A much humbler course awaits us; we leave the inquiry into its essence or mode of acting to others; we presume on no system—all we aim at is to draw attention to the subject of education as a science, by which the mind is taught, elevated, and strengthened, and which naturally results from a practical inquiry into the powers of the mind. Believing that every operation in nature, whether physical or otherwise, is connected with one of its

laws, we venture to place the development of the mind in the number, and claim for it a certain and definite principle by which it may obtain the full exercise of its faculties.'

'The ignorance and imbecility of infancy are only to be overcome by instruction; and how is this to be rightly administered, if directed by caprice or accident? Facts already known point to some principle or law of the mind relating to education, by which it may acquire its full capacity, and the moral habits be confined to the good of society. We do not mean to say that man can, of himself, recover his moral rectitude. This, we know, he cannot do. But we contend that education may be greatly perfected, and its result insured, and made accessible and common to all mankind, by a right understanding of the laws of the mind.' pp. 8, 9.

Our author investigates with much sagacity and precision a variety of topics, bearing on his main theme, from the titles of which his reader will at once perceive the importance and appropriateness of the different subjects of inquiry. He will learn, likewise, the reference which they all have to practice and utility in the most interesting and responsible of all the relative duties of life. In fact, where other metaphysicians have proposed hypotheses, and advanced theories, this author has collected facts, which he traces to a law, and from which he derives principles and rules. As he well puts it,

'The astronomer did not bewilder himself in speculations on the nature and elements of gravitation, but he studied its effects; and so ascertained that a power exists in nature having an influence on matter; and, by similar means, other discoveries have been made, and the mind at the same time strengthened. That bodies gravitate or have weight, that every atom has its own express affinities, by which it unites with other atoms, and thus forms a substance of a specific character, are a part of such discoveries, all which refer to some laws which determine the qualities of natural substances, and are laws ordained for matter, and not for the mind. Is the mind, alone, of all the works of God, without a principle by which its powers may be elicited and directed?' p. 9.

We feel all the difficulty of giving, within our necessary limits, an adequate exhibition of the sentiments and argument of a work which presents many great physical and intellectual principles in an aspect altogether new, accompanied by ample elucidations and confirmatory evidence; because, in justice to the author, and in candour to the reader, the latter should not be separated from the former.

Dr. Jarrold first reviews the definitions which have been given of instinct by Locke, Reid, Paley, Smellie, and others, all of which he treats with great candour, but none of which he adopts.

He concludes this review of the hypotheses of his predecessors, by inquiring,

‘What is instinct? Is it a form or a substance—a faculty or an attribute? The answer is obvious. These are all subject to decay, and change, and vacillation, being derived from causes foreign to themselves, and therefore cannot constitute instinct—cannot be like it, a power ever perfect and complete. Distinguished from reason, by its being a limited faculty or endowment, it is also distinguished by its universality in operation, pervading all animated nature, and being, at its commencement, perfect and irresistible. Reason rests on its acquired strength; instinct, on the arm of Omnipotence, whose power it represents. Reason must be cultivated; instinct cannot be, because, as I hope to prove, its power is defined and invariable.’ p. 17.

The author’s own view of instinct is that it is one with life, as gravitation is one with matter; so that, while reason may be withdrawn from the living, instinct ceases only in death. Thus, an idiot, though not guided by reason, having never felt its power, eats and drinks, and does whatever is essential to life, because the law of life is instinct; he lives under its guardian care; before his pulse began to beat it was with him, and they will cease together. He distinguishes between instinct and sensation, with which it is commonly confounded, as in the case of animals suckling and cherishing their young; and confirms the distinction, by the fact that vegetables are the subjects of instinct equally with the animal tribes.

‘Has not,’ says he, ‘a tree as strong an instinctive propensity for water as the ox? and does it not drink it up with as great facility? Instinct is as independent of sensation as gravitation is of colour. Its influence is not directed by qualities and properties, but by the principle of existence. Its government is over all faculties, which it subdues, and over the whole organic mass, which it superintends. Instinct comprehends the wants of animals and vegetables.’ p. 41.

Reminding the reader, that every opinion is corroborated by a copious and various induction of facts, derived from the vegetable, animal, and human world, through all which, according to our author, the same principle diffuses itself as essential, and one with existence, we pass to the next subject of inquiry, which is reason. This he describes as differing from instinct, not accidentally, but really; not in mode of expression, but in principle of existence; so that, however they may co-operate, they cannot amalgamate and sink into each other. The utmost dependence of the mind upon the body, which he allows, is like that of the plant upon the soil, by which it is sustained, but from which it does not derive the germ of its

existence; the earth contributes the materials of its growth; it is the life which imparts its qualities. He holds, however, that unless the reasoning faculty be developed in infancy, it never can be fully so; and therefore brings his whole argument to bear, not only on a careful and well-regulated education but on the necessity of education, from the first moment of mental susceptibility. The morning of life, according to our author, has the sole direction of the character; a view which gives a transcendent importance to that period of existence.

On the practical uses of reason, Dr. Jarrold laments that the subject, instead of having had the advantage of public attention, has been treated only by men of rare talents, who, with all the impatience of genius, have incautiously, and without elementary knowledge, drawn conclusions, and advanced theories, which have fallen on being attacked; so that, after the labour of more than two thousand years, nothing has resulted to increase the comfort and the power of man, though all that the mind can comprehend was created that it might be enlightened and instructed. He adds,

‘ Before any law has been discovered, many facts connected with it were well understood and familiarized to the mind. Newton spent his mornings and his midnight hours in the contemplation of facts known to the philosophers of his day, and on which he depended as his guide to a higher form of knowledge. Dalton was not less indefatigable; he also received and acknowledged the discoveries of others. In both cases, the world was prepared for an accession to its knowledge, by the efforts making to attain it, and the result was watched with solicitude by the public: but this cannot be affirmed of mental philosophy. It has excited no general interest, it has discovered no principle, it has conferred no benefit. Greater talents have not been exercised on any subject; but the want of system in their inquiries has disappointed the world, and left education an art. No master can assure to his pupil a given character—it is not within his power—on this subject he is irresponsible. What, then, is his duty? It is to teach by memory and by habit certain mental and mechanical exercises; and, in a great majority of cases, the obligation is well discharged; but the character is not formed, and it ought not to be demanded. The circumstances of the place do not favour the attempt, for to this end individual attention is necessary, which cannot be given—were it even the suitable period of life, the master cannot pay a parent’s attention to many scholars.’ pp. 193, 194.

Common sense, a subject of acknowledged difficulty, Dr. Jarrold treats in a manner new and highly interesting. He will have it, that common sense is neither an original faculty, nor an attribute of reason; that it is neither an impulse of nature, nor a mechanical result; but that reason lends to instinct its wisdom, and, thus united, they become one power, and act as one prin-

ciple. Common sense, therefore, is instinct acting under the influence of reason, and in conformity to its dictates; so that, while neither instinct nor reason, alone, could suffice for man, in his social capacity, because the former is utterly incompetent to many of the occurrences of life, and the latter would continue to deliberate until the occasion passed, or the opportunity ceased, their combination is the practical criterion of the conduct of human affairs. To the objection that common sense is another name for habit, he replies, that if so, it is a habit which no animal can form, but is one into which reason enters; and that, although the reason of man may impose on many of the animals tricks and habits which resemble reason, and indicate great sagacity, yet, in the animals themselves, they are as unconnected with thought as the merest instinctive action. This he confirms by the fact, that although a very little reason will supply common sense enough for the practice of the common arts, yet no art can be taught to an animal; because, where there is no rationality there can be no common sense. He sums up the matter in the following terms:

‘What is common sense? It is not a habit; or it might be taught to animals. It is not an original faculty; or all men would possess it. It is not an attribute of the mind; or it would admit of distinct cultivation. It is not an impulse; or its relation would be only to sensible objects: nor has it a mechanical origin; or its actions would be uniform. No one is ignorant of its character, especially when an action is destitute of it: but who has described its operations, or even pointed to its origin? An action may be wholly rational, or wholly instinctive; but neither can be an action of common sense. Reason devises, but cannot execute; instinct executes, but is unable to devise—but their compound action wears the impress of nature, and gains the highest place in the economy of life. Supplied from one common root, in their union there is no incongruity, no unfitness, they harmonize, and are in accordance with the wants and condition of man. By this union he rises above the animal, which is the creature of instinct, and imparts to its nature, existing in himself, a portion of his mental strength. The two principles flow, as one current, in the ordinary transactions of life; habits which reason suggests become to instinct as its own; and, when applicable to its wants, are adopted as such. Common sense, therefore, is the instinct of a rational being, in the pursuit of a rational object.’ p. 201.

To maternal influence the author ascribes not only a priority to, but also a great superiority over that of the father, and indeed over every other subsequent influence; insomuch that, he conceives, that what is done in the nursery can by no means afterwards be totally undone. He holds, that the mother is the constituted nurse and instructress of her children; and that she has

a power over their dispositions and talents, by which she holds their destiny; that, although she may forego her duty by delegating her power, she cannot vacate her responsibility; and that, when this is the case, the father's interposition comes too late to be effectual; the formation of the character having been commenced and its direction given, while he had no influence, he may instruct, but he cannot implant—he may strengthen, but he cannot eradicate. For these reasons, in the great business of forming the mind, he assigns the foremost place to the nursery, the secondary to the school. ‘Can,’ says he, ‘the school form a gentleman of a clown?—a benevolent man of a churlish boy?—a virtuous man of a child already corrupt? Can it efface the embossed lineaments of the nurse's mind?’

The chapter on ‘Hereditary Character,’ is the most elaborate of the whole; and, by its comprehensiveness and variety of illustration, forbids us to attempt a summary. He ascribes much of the distinctive character of individuals, families, tribes, and nations to organization, and to physical causes and influences, yet carefully guards the independence and predominance of mind.

‘In whatever light the subject is viewed, the same fact presents itself. The mind is one; nothing can change its nature or diminish its power. The body may seem to triumph over it; but it is by its passions, which afford no triumph. From behind the darkest and most adverse circumstances the mind reappears unshorn of its strength, unfaded in its beauty, bearing the stamp of immortality in its hereditary strength—a strength which cannot be broken. History is without an example of a nation being a second time hunters or shepherds. Nations have been exterminated, as the Egyptians, but none have lost the capacity of their forefathers; they may become more vile, but not less in the power of thought. The philosopher, who can rise no higher, because his body bars his progress, leaves to his posterity his capacity—mind knows no power by which it advances but mind.’ p. 273.

While we bear a willing testimony to the originality, candour, and ability displayed in this work, which we consider highly calculated to give a beneficial impulse and regulation to practical metaphysics, we would by no means be understood as vouching for the accuracy of all the opinions of the author, or as entirely approving of all his phraseology, some of which, indeed, does not exactly accord with our sentiments, either philosophical or theological. It is, however, only just to state that he fully recognises the depravity of human nature, and the absolute necessity of regeneration by the Holy Spirit. We hope the work will, as it deserves, soon reach a second edition; when the author will do well to make such arrangements as will purge his treatise from the typographical errors which discredit the style, and confound the meaning, of so many passages in his book.

Art. VII. *Letters from the South.* By THOMAS CAMPBELL, Esq.
2 vols. London: Colburn. 1837.

AS the reputation of Mr. Campbell has been acquired chiefly by his intimacy with the muses, even *he* probably will not be displeased at our saying that we would rather meet him in poetry than prose. He is indeed instructive as an essayist, and amusing as a traveller; but he is more than either as a poet. In the latter capacity he has undoubtedly exerted the utmost of his talents; in the former he has drawn from the stores of his knowledge, and displayed the brilliancy of his wit. Poetry is, in fact, his profession; prose, his amusement.

After all, however, in his proper business, he is, (we must in duty declare it,) indolent and fitful; and we cannot see why the common apology for such transgressions should be deemed available, namely, that these and similar qualities are inherent in imaginative minds. This is a position which we must be permitted to question. They are habits arising from the indulgence of public opinion, from the vanity of genius, and from the want of early mental discipline. The natural tendency of genius, which is compounded of taste and fancy, is to activity; and but for counteracting influences, which have no real connexion with genius itself, would be naturally fertile in its productions. Some of the very highest order, as Shakspeare and Milton, have actually been so.

We wish Mr. Campbell could feel the reproach more than the compliment in the above remarks; that he would be stimulated to action rather than consoled in repose. Some of the feelings we have now expressed have been elicited, we fairly confess, by the appendage to his name in the title of this book, a reference by which he will ever be distinguished—author of ‘The Pleasures of Hope.’ At our first entrance into life we were greeted with that poem, and, allowing for here and there a scanty gratification in ‘Wyoming,’ and a few other productions, we have ever since been living on the pleasures, if indeed we may not rather say with regard to our author, we have been suffering the *pains*, of hope. He who can write as he has done ought to write more; if not for fame or profit, at least for the gratification of others.

But, although we would rather have had a poem than a journey, the latter must not be undervalued. Its adventures were actually first communicated in letters, and appeared in the Metropolitan Magazine, and are now collected in these volumes.

‘Letters from the South.’ But where is the South? We must own that when we heard the announcement we were for a long time puzzled in conjectures about the region through

which it would be our destiny to travel. We have been so accustomed to think about South America, and South Africa, and the South Seas, that we were absolutely surprised to find that the South meant the territory of Algiers. Still, as we felt somewhat interested, both in the man and the subject, and as moreover we are in general exceedingly indisposed to be querulous, we at once threw overboard the indefiniteness of the title, and determined, without further ceremony, to indulge in the pleasures of a short voyage and journey, instead of the Pleasures of Hope.

The modern regency of Algiers, extending from Oran on the west to Bona on the east, corresponds with a locality in the ancient world, which comprehended nearly the whole of Mauritania Cæsariensis, the whole of Mauritania Sitifensis, and the whole of what was strictly Numidia. This is the extent of the country coastwise, and in a direct line may be 480 miles; the sinuosities of the coast of course increase the distance, and make the voyage five or six hundred miles. The Roman dominion went deeper into Africa than has ever done that of the deys of Algiers. The breadth of the kingdom is unequal; in one part only forty miles between the Mediterranean on the north, and the Zahara or desert on the south; but to the eastward it is considerable, and Dr. Shaw thinks that the extent of what the Arabs call Tellic, or the land for tillage, may be sixty miles. The population probably does not much exceed a million and a half.

The city of Algiers Mr. Campbell describes as we anticipated he would describe it; with the exception of one or two streets, a labyrinth of the narrowest, gloomiest, and most crooked lanes that were ever inhabited by human beings. In many of them two persons can scarcely walk abreast; and though this narrowness may be some protection from the sun, and where there are projections, from the rain, the stagnation of air in 150 such streets, together with the continual accumulation of offal and decayed vegetable, must be dreadfully injurious to health, and often probably, by the production of putrid fevers, destructive of life. There are, however, large covered sewers, and the city is well supplied with water, having four aqueducts, which bring it from the neighbouring heights, and which feed sixty-four public fountains, besides seventy-eight in private houses.

‘I account for my continuing to be interested in this ugly place, only by the novelty of objects which it presents. The diversity of the people and of their costume is not only amusing to the eye, but it stirs up a curiosity in the mind respecting the history of so many races, and the causes of their concourse. The ‘Grande Place,’ as I have told you, affords the only tolerable promenade. Here, at the market-time of a morning, you see not only the various people, but the animal and vegetable productions of nature displayed in rich picturesqueness. It

has been a perfect treat to me, for several days, to lounge here before breakfast. How I long for the pencil of a Flemish painter, to delineate to you the human figures of all complexions and dresses!—the turbaned Moor—the Jew, with his sly face, and his spouse Rebecca, with her yard-long head-dress behind her. I could not pass even the Jew boys that blacken shoes, without being struck by the nimbleness of their tongues, and the comic play of their countenances. They all speak French, and seem the happiest creatures on earth; excepting, perhaps, the half-naked negroes, who are always chattering and laughing loudest, in proportion to the scantiness of duds upon their backs. I omit the Europeans, for they rather spoil the picture.

‘Peculiarly striking is the look of the Kabyles, the aboriginal highlanders of Barbary, who have all of them a fierce air, and many of them, legs and square forms that would not disgrace the grenadier company of the forty-second. Taller, and generally slenderer, are the Arabs, descended from those who conquered the country in the seventh century. They are distinguishable by vivid eyes, shaped like an almond laid sidewise; and though many of them look wretched and squalid, you see some among them whose better drapery and forms, and fine Old Testament heads, give them a truly patriarchal appearance. I thought myself looking on a living image of antiquity, as I stood this morning beside a majestic old Arab, whilst he made the camels he had led into the market kneel before him to be unloaded of their enormous cargoes of herbs and fruits. I felt ‘my very een enriched’ at the sight of the vegetable treasures around me, glowing with all the colours of the rainbow—splendid heaps of purple grapes in one pannier, and oranges, peaches, lemons, and pomegranates in another. Here were spread out in piles the huge and golden-hued melons and pompions, and there the white garlic, ‘and the scarlet and green pepper-pods,’ together with the brown melogines, an excellent pot-vegetable, in size, shape, and colour resembling a polished cocoa-nut.

‘Altogether the vegetable profusion here beats even that of Covent Garden; the only exception to its glory is, that their carrots, turnips, and potatoes are smaller and dearer, in proportion to general prices, than with us. I was particularly astonished at the cheapness of Barbary-figs—ten for a sou—in Scotch, a bawbee. It is a fruit entirely distinct from the true fig, and, though sweet, is insipidly flavoured; but still it is palatable and nutritious, especially if the stomach requires a slight astringent. I ceased to be surprised at its cheapness, when I found that it grows wild on the road-side, and may be had for the trouble of gathering. It is not an universal production over Barbary, but, where it grows, the poorer Arabs live on it almost entirely during the weeks when it is in season. It is about the size of an ordinary lemon, and grows on the cactus-bush.’—Vol. I., pp. 25—29.

Mr. Campbell visited the British Consul General, Mr. St. John, at his villa, an elegant old Moorish mansion, commanding a view to the range of Mount Atlas. On his way thither, he says,

‘I could not tread a step or look a yard around me without seeing floral treasures that were exotic to an Englishman. It is true that the ivy, the blackberry, and the daisy pleasantly reminded me that I had not dropped into another planet; yet, altogether, Nature appeared to me like an old friend with a new face; but it was a brightened face, and she was still *‘my goddess.’*

‘When I returned back to the road, I found my man Iachimo conversing with an Italian compatriot with whom he had met. I had taken out my new valet in not the best possible humour. For a few days that he had been with me, my service had appeared to him a sort of sinecure to his heart’s content; but when I told him one evening to be ready to come with me at sun-rise next morning to make a country excursion, he showed by his face that he greatly preferred the gentler exercise of brushing my hat at home to that of waddling on a mule’s back up the hills. At day-break he came to me with a musket on his shoulder, a brace of pistols in his belt, and a sword by his side. ‘My stars!’ I exclaimed, ‘Iachimo, you frighten me. With another gun you would look as formidable as Robinson Crusoe!’

‘Signor Campobello,’ he said, gravely, ‘you don’t know the country that you have come to. You may hear by their cries at night that there are jackals and hyænas all round Algiers; but what is worse, there are leopards and lions. Yes, a lion was killed not far from hence, and not long ago, who had teeth a foot long, and eyes as big as pompions. I know it for a fact, for I saw his skin with my own eyes.’ ‘Signor Iachimo,’ I replied, with equal solemnity, ‘I have heard the sweet voices of the jackals, and I know they would make a cold collation of us if we were dead; but they will never attack a living person. As to the leopards and lions, I engage not only to kill, but to eat all that we meet with. So lay aside, I pray you, your sabre and fire-arms.’ He complied with a bad grace. Coming under the shade of the trees, I overheard him speaking about me in terms that were not flattering to my vanity. ‘Only think,’ he said, ‘of that Englishman with whom I live (he did not deign to call me his master) going down yonder ravine to gather flowers, *like a bambino!*’—*ib.*, pp. 57—60.

The very name of Algiers and of Algerine slavery, has often struck horror into European hearts; and no wonder, for even the most mitigating circumstances which Mr. Campbell has in fairness adduced, prove the great extent and severity of the evil. The French took possession of this colony in 1830; whether they are willing or will be able to retain it, is a question of interest, and discussed at some length. One thing is certain, and grateful to commemorate, they have obliterated the last vestiges of Christian slavery. It is difficult to compute the number of those unhappy beings in times past. Leweson says that, in 1785 there were 2,000—though the French had ransomed all the natives of France. At the period of Lord Exmouth’s victory they had been reduced to 1,000, and England lost a mariner for every slave whom she delivered.

Mr. Campbell speaks of the Moorish ladies in no adulatory terms. He represents them, from all he could learn, as slatterns in their dress, as silly as children in their conversation, by no means remarkable for beauty, while their negresses giggle and gossip with them like equals. The highest subject of their discourse is about syrups and confections. But this degeneracy must not probably be attributed to nature, but to education. Were the means of improvement more equally distributed in all countries, it is unquestionable that we should become sensible of an unexpected degree of intellectual approximation.

A favourable account is given of the Moors in general, a race of multifarious origin, sprung from the oldest Africans, the Arabs, the emigrants from Spain, the Turkish Janissaries, with some mixture of Roman and Vandal blood. The French indeed accuse them of being fanatic and treacherous; but, 'what right,' asks Mr. C. pertinently, 'have the French to accuse them? Has 'a single Frenchman been assassinated by an Algerine Moor 'since the conquest of the country? And yet the Moors have 'seen their mosques and their church-yards violated by the 'French.' The Moors are frugal and temperate, extremely cleanly in their persons and houses, industrious, gentle and grave in their manners.

The Jews form a considerable part of the population in the capital, as well as at Oran and Bona; but are seldom found out of trading cities. They may have existed in the regency from the remotest period after their dispersion, but most of the present population are the descendants of those who fled thither after the expulsion of the Moors from Spain.

The following curious account is given in a note :

'The Arabs are distinguishable from the Moors by the harsh loudness of their voices. Accustomed, in their thinly-inhabited country, to hail each other at great distances, they acquire a habit of stentorian elocution, which they practise in the streets of Algiers, so that you might imagine the hearer was deaf. But no people in the world have a more acute sense of hearing than the Arabs. A person who has travelled among them says, that he has seen individuals who could literally erect their ears at will, and move them like a quadruped. I leave you to laugh at this traveller's story, or believe it, just as you please. But the following instance of the excellence of their auditory faculty was given to me by my gallant and intelligent friend, Captain Lagondie:—During the hostilities not far from Algiers, a troop of French cavalry was missing, and fear was entertained that they had been killed or captured. Captain Lagondie was sent out with two troops of horse to search for them, having with him an Arab on whom he could depend. After sun-set, when it was completely dark, they heard the trampling of horses' feet, and Captain Lagondie, joyfully concluding that his missing countrymen were coming up, ordered the

trumpet to be blown to welcome them. 'Stop, stop,' said the Arab guide; 'hush! no shouting, no trumpeting. These riders may be Arabs for aught that we know. Let us listen till we hear them speak.' Lagondie and his men listened and listened, but could not hear one word. But the Arab's ear was not so obtuse. In a few minutes he said, 'Yes—they are French—at least they are not speaking Arabic.' He could hear words articulated, where an European ear could not discern a syllable.'—*ib.*, pp. 170—172.

We must insert an amusing paragraph or two respecting the literature of Algiers.

'Leweson, who wrote about Africa some sixty years ago, says that it was then rare to meet with a *reading* Moor; if you did, his library consisted at most of the Koran, and some commentaries upon it, with a couple of prayer-books and some old Moorish chronicles: the last of these lucubrations, the chronicles, he describes in the most contemptuous terms. They are prolix, he says, and stuffed with the marvellous—more stupid even than the works of our monkish chroniclers. Notwithstanding all this, I wish I understood Arabic, and were young enough to sit down to study those Moorish chronicles. None of them, I understand, go farther back than the times of Barbarossa and his brother: those adventurers are the pet heroes of Algerine romance.

'Hearing, however, that there was such a thing as modern Algerine literature, I applied for information to the Professor who is appointed by the French government to teach Arabic here. He is an Egyptian, and his name, by a singular conjunction of the familiar and scriptural, is Johnny Pharaoh; but he is a worthy Johnny, and not in the least like his name-sake of Red Sea memory. When I asked him, if he could help me to any modern Arabic poetry that had been written in or about Algiers—'Modern Arabic poetry!' he exclaimed; 'why, there is no more a poet on the face of the earth.' Hem, I thought, Johnny, your truth is more plain than pleasant. 'But let me see,' he continued, 'perhaps there may be some slight exception to the general barrenness of modern poetry in a few of the popular songs, which are clever, but licentious.' 'That will not do for me,' I replied; 'you must help me to something *warranted moral*.' 'Oh, then, you must have something *warranted dull*.' Well, home his translations came to me, and sure enough, no fault of his, for I knew he translated them faithfully, they were somniferously dull.

'Canning was once asked by an English clergyman how he had liked the sermon he had preached before him. 'Why, it was a short sermon,' quoth Canning. 'Oh! yes,' said the preacher, 'you know I avoid being tedious.' 'Ah! but,' replied Canning, 'you *were* tedious.' In like manner, though those translated sonnets were but six in number, I thought them as wearisome as if I had clambered through a hundred. The poetaster concludes by saying, 'Write on my tomb that I have been murdered by my black-eyed Gazelle.' 'And she served you right, you caterwauler,' I responded.'—*ib.*, pp. 252—254.

Mr. Campbell adds in a subsequent page:

‘On a general view of the Algerines, I should not despair of their becoming one day a literary, scientific, and highly-refined people. Our common idea of the Moors is, that they are savage and unsocial, but that is as vulgar an error as blackening the visage of Othello. They are generally courteous and intelligent. Captain Rozet affirms * that the majority of them are better educated than the majority of Frenchmen,—i. e., that fewer of them are ignorant of reading and writing. It is true that their schools are not conducted on the Lancasterian system, as we were told by a would-be discoverer of mare’s-nests; but they diffuse a pretty general education, and every Moorish boy learns to read the Koran, to write, and to cast accounts by the four first rules of arithmetic. I have already alluded to an historical work by a living Moorish Algerine, entitled ‘The Mirror of Algiers,’ which, with all its faults, is not destitute of interest.’—*ib.*, pp. 259, 260.

We recommend Mr. Campbell’s publication as a book of amusement, and should do so with more satisfaction were it not for the occasional tinge of profanity in the language.—We must make room for one more extract.

‘A few days ago, by General Trezel’s invitation, I accompanied him and his staff at the head of his brigade, in an excursion into the interior. We met with no adventures worth relating, and, except at one spot, we saw none of the natives. For miles after you leave Oran, the chain of hills that run from the south to the sea, [is] bare and stony, and the plain itself is totally uncultivated, but it abounds in asphodel, so tall that I could pluck its tops as I rode; and there were here and there most beautiful patches of the tulip and bonglossa. We caught a glimpse of a white gazelle, that speedily hid itself among the asphodels; happily it was against military etiquette to pursue it.

‘At times, the trumpets of the cavalry played martial airs, that were delightfully unmingled with that din of drums which generally overpowers French military music. The echoes of the wild landscape gave a strange effect to the notes of the war-horn. Not a tent, nor an Arab, nor a camel was to be seen; every living thing seemed to have fled from before the French, except a majestic eagle, that hovered over the troops, and you would have thought exulted in hearing the military band. What a glorious fellow he was! I see him yet in my mind’s eye, towering up to the top-most heaven, then dropping plump down till his shadow was pictured on the sunny ground; at times, he would shoot before us, turning his crested head and splendid eyes completely back over his shoulders; anon, he would wheel in elliptic circles, or turn vertically, as if in sport, on his yard-wide wings. Now, I said to myself, can Frenchmen under arms see an eagle hovering over their trumpets without certain reminiscences? and I was not mistaken; looking round, I saw more than ordinary expression in all their Gallic faces: it was grave, and not gay expression; but it was, to my imagi-

* In his ‘Voyage dans la Régence d’Alger.’

nation at least, strongly intelligible. I said to an officer at whose side I was riding, 'Is it merely my fancy, or do the soldiers look at that bird with peculiar admiration?' '*Pauca verba,*' he replied, 'this is no place for making remarks, but you are perfectly right that the eagle is producing a sensation!' In spite of this caution, I kept behind, and observed to an elderly sergeant of cavalry, 'That is a noble bird up there.' '*Oui!*' he answered, emphatically, '*l'aigle vaut mieux que le coq.*'—Vol. II., pp. 172—175.

Art. VIII. *The War in Texas, Instigated by Slaveholders, Land Speculators, &c., for the Re-establishment of Slavery and the Slave Trade in the Republic of Mexico.* By a Citizen of the United States. 8vo. pp. 56. Philadelphia.

WHILE the British nation is occupied with domestic questions of deep import, there is great danger that it will neglect distant ones—distant in place, but near to British hearts, and capable perhaps of touching more directly the national quick, than any *merely* domestic question can.

Providence circumscribed us 'within this sea-girt isle,' to give us an expansion the more vigorous and vast. We were separated from the rest of the earth to be joined to it by the blessings of commerce, the communication of arts, science and religion, and the offices of benevolence. We were separated from nations to be joined to the world.

How our mission is fulfilled, the history of the world must determine. It is sufficient for our purpose, if it exist and have its duties.

Our colonial and other establishments at diverse points of each continent—in the East and West Indies, in North America and New Holland, in the Mediterranean and Mexican Seas, at the Cape of Good Hope, and the Isthmus of Darien; Terra Firma, Sierra Leone, and the islands of the Atlantic, Pacific and Indian Oceans, together with our merchants and emigrants, our missionaries, our Bibles, and our emancipation, form an assemblage of permanent and powerful means of influencing the destinies of men and nations, the like of which no people ever possessed before, and none other can possess for centuries to come. While in a spirit of candour, the absence of which would do no honour to our country, we admit that our course has not been exempt from error or crime; still we may stand before the world and ask, 'What nation has used power better?—Or as well?' In an especial manner we can reflect that, during the years, now not a few, of the nineteenth century, our policy has been as beneficent as it has been successful. Britannia has appeared in the

scenes of the great drama, to arrest injustice, not to do it; not to make war, but to restore peace and commerce; to raise the oppressed, and humble the oppressor.

Our friends, our soldiers, and diplomacy, contributed largely to sustain the infant States of South America, and British justice suggested, if it did not direct, the blow which, with one accord, they dealt to the slave trade. In respect to Mexico, occupying two-thirds of the shores of that noble basin, which has been justly denominated the 'Mediterranean of America,' in face of our West India possessions, our relations have been of the most kind and liberal character. British funds supplied her necessities in the struggle for freedom and independence—British skill, enterprise, and capital resuscitate her mines; and British merchants have laboured incessantly to confer order, activity, and prosperity, upon her commerce. She owes us an immense pecuniary debt, and all other nations together have not so great a stake in her preservation and the development of her immense natural resources, nor will be so much injured by the causes which now menace both, as Great Britain alone.

In Mexico it was not only in conformity with our settled policy, as in the other Hispano-American nations, but we believe also with a special arrangement with British commissioners, that the slave-trade was totally abolished; and this Act was followed up in a few years by another, abolishing at once and for ever slavery itself.

It is painful to reflect that, in one of her provinces those Acts have met, up to this day, with a fierce and successful resistance; and it is still more painful, and indeed humiliating, that this resistance has proceeded wholly from a people descended from us, and calling themselves republicans!

The province of which we speak is Texas. It is as large as France. It occupies, from east to west, twice as much of the coast of the Mexican sea as France does of the Mediterranean; and stretches from 28° to 35° of north latitude, precisely the extent of France in the same direction. For fertility of soil, temperateness and salubrity of climate, and variety and richness of productions, it is unsurpassed by any spot on the globe. Its cotton is of a quality superior to that of the United States, and its capability of producing sugar incalculable. To these capital articles we may add rice, indigo, tobacco, hemp, live oak for ship-building, together with wine, figs, lemons, oranges, grapes, olives, prunes, and other tropical fruits.

In order to understand the causes of this resistance to the humane laws of Mexico, it is necessary to enter into some details touching the origin and progress of the settlement in Texas of emigrants from the United States.

In the year 1820, the authorities of the Spanish government in

Mexico, by a singular, and in this instance disastrous, departure from the accustomed policy of that nation, granted to a citizen of the United States, the privilege of introducing into Texas, within certain prescribed limits, emigrants, to the number of 300 families, who were to be of the Catholic persuasion. These conditions being fulfilled, the grantee or contractor was to receive an absolute and liberal donation of land within the same limits. This arrangement was not acted upon until 1823, at which time the legislature of Mexico, then become independent, passed an Act confirming it. From that epoch emigration from the United States commenced. Other grants, of a like nature, were made to Americans, Mexicans, English, Scotch, Irish, and Germans; but most to Americans. We shall see in the course of these observations that a fraudulent fusion of a number of them subsequently took place, and that the mass came into the hands of Americans. These grants were in no instance a conveyance in fee simple, but merely a license to introduce settlers, the government reserving to itself the exclusive right to confer the titles, and receive the consideration, nominal only, but due, such as it was, to the state. To this extreme liberality was added an exemption during two years from duties upon all articles imported by the emigrants for their own consumption.

Besides the emigration which took place under the above mentioned grants, a large number of *squatters*, consisting of fraudulent debtors and fugitives from justice, had intruded from the United States. The settlers of every description were chiefly from the Southern or slave States; and they carried slaves with them, or subsequently procured them, from the island of Cuba, or the United States. In 1830 the whole population of Texas was estimated by one of the most intelligent inhabitants at 13,000, divided between 5,000 old Spanish, and 8,000 new American settlers.

Of course it was in violation of law that slaves were introduced at all, and it was by a new violation of law that they continued to be held after 1829, slavery having then been abolished in all Mexico; but the febleness and instability of the Mexican government caused these abuses to be winked at, and the emigrants continued to hold slaves and to pursue the traffic. They treated with equal indifference the revenue and all other laws, which it did not suit their interest or convenience to obey. Not at all scrupulous about taking more where so much was given, they smuggled largely for the Indian and other trade.

But the Mexicans, though compelled by untoward circumstances to brook the insubordination and ingratitude of the colonists, felt them with a keenness proportioned to the consciousness of their own generosity, and seized the first opportunity, which a period of internal repose offered, for re-establishing the

authority of the laws, and perhaps for inflicting vengeance. Some fighting took place between the Texians and the troops sent among them, but before any thing decisive had occurred, another of those unhappy revolutions in the capital supervened, and merged the affair of Texas. The Texians happened to be of that party which was victorious at the seat of government. Thus peace, that peace which is a sword, was restored in Texas; the slave trade and smuggling resumed their activity, 'Lynch law' its jurisdiction, and assassins flourished as securely as ever their Bowie knives. From this time law was prostrate in that part of the province inhabited by the Americans, and the custom-houses were closed.

Here it becomes necessary to review the policy of the government, and the conduct of citizens of the United States in relation to Texas.

The treaty with Spain, by which the Floridas were ceded to the United States, was concluded in the year 1819. In that treaty a pretence of a claim to Texas was formally relinquished by the latter in part consideration of the cession of the Floridas; and the river *Sabine* was established as the boundary between the United States and Mexico. The representatives and people of the slave states, were, or affected to be, extremely dissatisfied with the relinquishment of this supposed claim, although the idea of procuring to herself quiet in that quarter was undoubtedly a strong inducement with Spain to consent to the cession, chiefly for the benefit of the slave states, of the important provinces above mentioned. The claim, moreover, was entirely untenable in itself, and has since been acknowledged to have been so by the very statesman, Mr. J. Q. Adams, who was instrumental in setting it up, and rendering it available. The slave holders and traders charged that gentleman, a native of New England, with treachery to the country through jealousy of the preponderance of the slave states, and they never for a moment wholly abandoned the hope of one day obtaining Texas for the purpose of continuing and enlarging the market for the domestic slave trade, for furnishing new, fertile, and cheap lands for slave cultivation, and securing and perpetuating that preponderance.

Mr. Adams, President of the United States from March, 1825, to March, 1829, desirous, it may be presumed, of reconciling to his administration the slave states, which have always prevailed against the free in their political contests, so far yielded to the wishes of the South as to send a minister, *Mr. Joel R. Poinsett*, of South Carolina, to Mexico, with special instructions to propose the purchase of Texas. This proposal was odious to the Mexicans in the beginning, because, by their constitution all parts of the federal territory were inalienable. It was, moreover, prosecuted by means of scandalous intrigues with domestic factions, and finally by an attempt to obtain the province *in mortgage*,

or, to use the more just expression of the Mexican writers, 'in pawn,' as security for a loan of 10,000,000 dollars, which the minister officiously offered at a moment when Mexico was in unusual pecuniary distress, and under the imperious necessity of making instant preparation to meet an invading army, expected every day to pounce upon her from the island of Cuba. If it was possible, this proposal excited more indignation than any of the previous diplomatic manœuvres of the American envoy. It was universally regarded as a very transparent stratagem, by which possession was to be obtained of the country with the intention to sell the lands—fill it as fast as possible with emigrants from the United States, and never in any event to restore it. Mr. Poinsett became an object of such bitter detestation, that he was repeatedly in personal danger; and, in January, 1830, just after the defeat and capture of the Spanish invading army, left Mexico amidst the execrations of the people.

Some nine months before this event, and before the absurd, and probably perfidious, proposal last mentioned, Gen. Jackson had succeeded Mr. Adams as President of the United States. The real character of that distinguished personage, which has received, though it needed it not, a new illustration from his policy in relation to Texas, is so little known on this side the Atlantic, that we deem it absolutely necessary to detain the reader for a few moments with a sketch.

The late American President, then, is a person of as great cunning, dissimulation, corruption of principle, and power of wielding a populace, as the world ever saw. There is not a leading maxim of Machiavel which his public and political life has not amply exemplified. Among other traits he has that of making on all occasions the most imposing professions of integrity, patriotism, piety, and justice. When he has undertaken the vilest actions, in order to prevent the suspicion of the mischief intended, he has made the greatest pretence to what good men approve and really perform, extolling with the language of enthusiasm principles and conduct directly opposed to those he was pursuing, and imputing to his opponents, and stigmatizing as corrupt, selfish, ante-republican, and dangerous, the very things which, under the cover of this *ruse*, he was earnestly engaged in doing. He understands perfectly the tactics of the tyrant and usurper of the house of York:

‘I do the wrong, and first begin to brawl;
The secret mischiefs, which I set abroad,
I lay unto the grievous charge of others:

* * * * *

And thus I clothe my naked villany.’

With the popular talents, the intrepidity, the ambition, and the tyranny of Marius, he has far surpassed the Roman dema-

gogue in refinement and extent of intrigue. He has often been very violent, and many persons have committed the error of supposing that because he is passionate, he is therefore sincere; but the violence of General Jackson is *regulated*, and only let loose where he judges from the character of persons, or the crisis of affairs that it may be safe and useful to him. Where prudence and management are required, no man can be more meek and gentle. He 'can roar me like any sucking dove.'

Before he was elected President, he declared in a very solemn manner, before the two Houses of the legislature of Tennessee, then about to nominate him for the Presidency, and convened expressly to hear his speech, that 'corruption would become the 'order of the day if executive offices continued to be conferred 'upon members of Congress;' adding, that, 'he felt bound to 'practise upon the maxims which he recommended to others.' The drift of this was to denounce before the country *one* appointment by Mr. Adams of a member of Congress, Mr. Clay, to be Secretary of State; and yet, during his presidency, General Jackson appointed as many members of Congress to office as all his six predecessors together!

He also said to the Senate previously to his election, that, 'If 'the President of the United States should ever come to remove 'officers for the sake of creating vacancies and gratifying political 'partizans, then would the most heinous passions gain an uncontrollable ascendancy; corruption would be at its height, patriotism 'smothered, and the fair fabric of freedom, erected by the wisdom, 'and cemented by the blood of their forefathers, would crumble 'into dust.' And yet, as President of the United States, he removed several thousand officers, descending to the smallest village post-masters, precisely 'for the purpose of creating vacancies and gratifying his political partizans.'

With his foot upon the fragments of forty solemn treaties, of which the United States had received the full and immense benefit, and under his sad auspices refused to perform the conditions, he held forth in the face of Europe upon the sacred and pressing obligation to fulfil the stipulations of a treaty, especially when one side, relying upon the faith of that treaty, had performed their part! And, not to multiply instances, in his annual message, December, 1829, he affirmed that the imputations upon the minister to Mexico, of having interfered in the domestic politics of that country, were wholly unfounded. And yet this minister had made his house the rendezvous of a faction, which had deposed a constitutional President, and put an anarchist and rebel in his place.*

* When President Jackson's first cabinet was dissolved in 1832, the members dismissed by him, viz. Messrs. Berrieu, Branch, and Ingham, published

Upon this man, himself a slaveholder, and in one part of his life a regular slavetrader, devolved the management of the affair of Texas; and the idea of appearing in Mexico in the capacity

addresses to the country, in which they declared that the cause of their removal was, that their wives would not admit into their social intercourse Mrs. E****, the wife of another member of the cabinet, the biographer and favorite of the President. The lady in question was a person of disreputable character.

It was proved that Col. Johnson, now Vice-President of the United States, and probably indebted, as well as Mr. Van Buren, for his present office to his subserviency on that occasion, full as much as to his own merit, had sought interviews with the husbands of the refractory ladies, in which he informed them that the President would be satisfied, if they merely left cards at Mrs. E.'s, and invited her to their large parties; and the negotiator, to enforce the necessity of compliance, added, that the President upon this subject was 'like a roaring lion.'

The Republic was much scandalized at this passage in its history, which seemed to be a leaf from that of Louis XV., rather than of 'the most enlightened and virtuous nation upon earth,' and the President felt the necessity of a decisive answer. He made a bold push as follows:

1st. He caused Col. Johnson to state that what he had said to the gentlemen of the cabinet, as above related, was all of his own head, and that the President had nothing to do with it!

2dly. The President caused to be inserted in his official newspaper, a point-blank contradiction of all that the late ministers had published as to the cause of the dissolution of the cabinet; and then charged them with a conspiracy to 'drive' Mr. E**** from the cabinet, ('it was your bull that gored my ox;') and declared that *this* was the true cause of the dissolution of the cabinet. In support of this statement, he caused to be published, a document, purporting to be an extract from a paper, which *he had read to all his cabinet* some weeks before, and in which he stated that he was informed of the existence of such a conspiracy, or design, and threatened that he would look to it. The same extract also purported that the President utterly disclaimed any right or intention to interfere with the social relations of the ministers' families. ('Then it seems, ladies, that you have been looking for naughty words,' said Dr. Johnson.)

The bearing of this document, which in any common case it would be difficult to see, was, in the first place, to furnish a colour of evidence, something which might appear to the unwary in the nature of a record,—in proof of the conspiracy and of the policy of the statement of the ministers, that the President had attempted to interfere in their social relations, and had turned them out, because their wives were stubborn. And in the second place, it degraded the persons at whom it purported to be aimed, because, if they would remain in the cabinet after so gross an insult, they were unfit to remain in the society of gentlemen.

Each of those persons again took the field, and in reply to the above tissue, declared in the most positive manner that no such paper was ever 'read' to them or shown to them, by the President or by any other person.

But the country believed Gen. Jackson, and the ex-ministers, who were the most respectable and able that he ever appointed, sunk into oblivion!

Mrs. E**** was lately in London, where the exalted official character of her husband could not procure for her the courtesies of British matrons. We say of this spirit as of the constitution—for it is not less important—*Esto perpetua.*

of a pawnbroker, was probably one of the first conceptions of his diplomacy. To Poinsett, recalled from the perils which their joint labours had created, he appointed as successor a man whom some of the American newspapers described as 'lurking and 'running up and down,' in Arkansas; a man of so infamous a character, that all the respectable American residents in Mexico declined social intercourse with him, notwithstanding that his exalted official character would naturally, by the wishes and interest of all, have placed him at their head. Perhaps the President's selection in this instance was not made merely 'to gratify a political partizan,' but with some reference to the fitness of the party for the service on which he was to be employed.

This person, according to the authority before quoted, was also a *speculator* in Texas lands; a character, it would seem, not at all inconsistent with that of an absconding debtor.

It has already been remarked that the grants made by Mexico were simply licenses to colonize within certain limits. But those grants were represented by many of the persons who had obtained them, and by their numerous agents, as conveying a valuable and assignable interest in the extensive and fertile tracts, which they defined; and many of them were actually assigned to two or more associations in the United States, having their trustees established at New York, and at Nashville, in Tennessee, and their agents dispersed as occasion required, from Nova Scotia to California. These companies converted the pretended grants into a consolidated stock, if we may use that term, where there was nothing solid, called 'Texas Land Scrip,' a certificate of which represented certain acres, or rather uncertain acres of land in that province. Large quantities of these fraudulent titles were disposed of in New York, Northville, New Orleans, throughout the slave states generally, and in the large towns and cities of the free. These have been declared fictitious and void by the Mexican government, whereas they are recognized by the government of the insurgents, and are to be maintained if that government shall stand, or if the province shall be annexed to the United States.

Here then is a direct and powerful interest to engage a host of citizens of the United States to favour the revolt in Texas, and to procure its annexation, which undoubtedly was the original and is the constant plan. But to this the slave states are impelled by another interest, far more powerful and more deeply corrupt.

There are several of the older slave states, whose soil, once fertile, is now exhausted in all those districts adapted to the productions of the colonial articles. In the business of planting in America, the use of manure is scarcely known; and it would be impossible to procure it in sufficient quantities to have any sen-

sible effect upon the vast fields which slaveholders exhaust. Domestic animals are not kept by them in so considerable a proportion as by farmers. The natural fertility of the soil, and that too under a system of agriculture bad, independent of the absence of manure, is all that can be relied upon. Then, again, overseers are employed to take charge of the plantation and slaves, commonly for very short terms, on a contract to receive a certain proportion of the crop for compensation. It is, therefore, their interest, or they think it so, to abuse both land and negroes, and to make the largest possible crops for the time being, without the least regard to preserving the heart of the land or the life of the labourer. In England it has been found, by experience, that short leases are the worst enemies of agriculture, and that twenty-one years is not long enough for improvement.

The inhabitants of the old slave states have, by the effect of these circumstances, gradually become farmers, instead of being, as formerly, great planters; and they confine themselves to raising provisions for home consumption, or quantities of tobacco (excessively small, compared with the former production,) for exportation.

In this state of things slave labour is found to be unprofitable—and indeed a positive burden; but the labourers are so valuable as an article of merchandize in the markets of new slave states, that *it has become a regular business to breed them expressly for those markets!* Poor as the land may be, and bad as is the system of cultivation, a man can raise enough food of a cheap and simple kind to enable his master to ‘raise’ him, until he arrives at an age when he is fit to be driven to market. There his master, who is often also his father, for the ‘whitewashed’ race sell at higher prices in America than the jetty black, touches for him or her from £50 to £500, according to strength, capability, and sometimes according to personal attractions, and the particular shade of the skin.

This business is carried on to an immense extent in Virginia, Maryland, and North and South Carolinas; and to a less but increasing extent in Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia, and Alabama. It is ascertained that in Virginia, about half of the entire revenue, private and public, is derived from the breeding and sale of slaves. During the year 1835, the number which she sold, according to the statements of her newspapers, was 120,000 souls, of the value of £14,000,000. But in that year the demand was unprecedented, and the prices very high. The other slave-raising states sell altogether rather more than Virginia.

A market, therefore, for men is a matter of deep, deep interest to the slave states, at the head of which Virginia has always been, as she has likewise at that of the nation and government. A man’s wealth, a woman’s dowry, is estimated in slaves, as in

pounds sterling in England; thus, on the occasion of a mercenary match, it is common to say, 'such an one has married a hundred and fifty negroes.'

To illustrate the extreme sensitiveness of this property,—sensitive indeed! to the fluctuations in the market, i. e. the market within the United States, for out of those States the prices are so much lower, in consequence of the competition of the African trade, that there would be no inducement for American slaveholders and traders to resort thither, even if foreign laws permitted it,—we state that in 1832 the legislature of Louisiana passed a law prohibiting the introduction of slaves for sale into that state; and in forty-eight hours after the receipt of that intelligence in Virginia, slaves fell twenty-five per cent., making a loss to the slaveholders and traders, in that State alone, of £10,000,000 at least. Subsequently Louisiana repealed that law; but it is well known that all the slave states and territories within the present limits of the United States, will at no distant day become saturated with slaves; and that, with the progressive increase of births, and the progressive decrease of fertility, the slave states hitherto called 'new' will become sellers, rather than buyers of slaves. In fact, all of them, except Louisiana, Arkansas, and Florida, have already prohibited the importation of them.

The importance, therefore, to the old slave states, in which category all will soon be placed, of opening a new territory adapted to colonial cultivation, and affording new markets for slaves, is immense, immense! Texas is precisely suited to their purpose, in situation, soil, climate, productions, and facilities for exporting their produce. It is also capable of being cut up into half a dozen new states, to be admitted in due time into the Union, and to increase and perpetuate the preponderance of the slaveholding and trading interest in the legislature and government.

A stronger combination of personal and political motives, of avarice and ambition, cannot be found for the greatest crimes recorded in history.

The new minister of the United States in Mexico, never ventured to propose the renewal of the negociation, for the purchase of Texas; and having essayed without success all the ways of corruption and intrigue, (as Texas land agents have likewise done,) he communicated to a journal, published near his former places of residence, a paragraph, announcing to his countrymen that all hopes of obtaining Texas by treaty were at an end. And here commenced the operations for obtaining it by other means. There is great reason to believe that, about this time a regular conspiracy was formed at New Orleans, having its principal confederates in Texas and the slave states, but having ramifications, and embracing the land speculators and the proprietors of the

‘scrip’ in all the states. Thus much is certain, that, at the ensuing elections for the representatives to Congress, for the South Western States, i. e. those nearest to Texas, it began to be a test to demand of the candidates, ‘What in their opinion would be the effect of the acquisition of Texas upon the slaveholding interest? Whether they were in favour of that acquisition? And whether, *if Texas should rise*, they would be in favour of ‘giving her assistance?’ This was four years before Texas did rise.

Meantime, the emigration to Texas, the land speculations and the circulation of ‘land scrip’ increased; and editors of public journals, particularly in the commercial metropolis, New York, are known to have become proprietors of the titles and scrip of Texas. How far this may be the case with other editors it is impossible to say, as access to the books of the Company, for the purpose of ascertaining the names of the stockholders, was denied. But the editors, generally, some doubtless from ignorance, and others probably from interest, chimed in with the leading, and, we grievously suspect, corrupt journals of New York; and they set forth from week to week, with one accord, the great advantage which the nation would derive from the proposed acquisition. Some were of opinion that the United States ought to take possession at once, seeing that the holy cause of liberty was suffering there!

Previously to this, and a little before the supposed conspiracy was formed, one of the most intimate and devoted political friends of President Jackson, a member of the senate of the United States, had written a series of Essays, published generally in the slave journals, in which he undertook to dress up the old and relinquished claim of the United States to Texas.

Meantime, articles of an opposite character, could not find admission, without extreme difficulty, into the journals, and if admitted into one, they received none of that spontaneous circulation through the 2000 presses of that country, which is indispensable to the forming or correcting of public opinion. These facts show that the design of preparing the American public for the outrage meditated by the conspirators and President, had taken effect. A vast majority of the honest and disinterested people of the free states were persuaded, and firmly believe at this moment, that the cause of the Texians is the cause of *liberty*, and they compare it to that of the Poles!

We now revert to events in Mexico. President Santa Anna, having effected a pacification of the interior, sent his friend, Gen. Cos, with a few hundred men, to Texas, for the purpose of enforcing the revenue laws, and stopping the slave trade, and other systematic abuses. This was in the summer of 1835, and it became the signal of action to the conspirators, and of open rebel-

lion to the province. Gen. Cos, attacked from the moment of his landing, was soon captured, with all his men and military stores.

Meantime, arms, ammunition, men, and money, were sent from the United States, chiefly from New York, New Orleans, and the slave states; and officers of the government, high in the intimacy and confidence of the President, were concerned in raising and forwarding these supplies, being likewise concerned in the gigantic land frauds, whose success, as we have shown, would depend upon the success of the revolt. Companies and battalions were openly levied and embarked at the ports, or marched through the interior of the states, and public meetings were held and committees organized for collecting funds and preparing every species of aid. These meetings and organizations took place in all the principal cities, whether in the slave states or the free; and in respect to the former, they spread to the remotest parts. The proceedings were published in the newspapers generally, and particularly in the official of the President, either without comment or with marks of approbation. The names of committees were published as a mark of honour, and some of the members were, but not 'all, honourable men.' They appointed their rendezvous, giving public notice thereof in the newspapers, and of the times of their assembling, to transact the business relating to their war. The laws of the United States forbid, under heavy penalties, the undertaking, or setting on foot, or proposing, or providing the means of, any military expedition or enterprise, to be carried on from the United States against any nation, or province of a nation, at peace with the United States; but, through influence of the president, the intrigues of the land-trustees, agents, and speculators, and the popular favour towards the Texian cause, no enforcement of the law took place, nor was a serious attempt made to enforce it; and about this time the president became so confident of the success of these multifarious means, that he promised, as his manner was, the office of *Governor of Texas*, to one of his favourites, Mr. Hutchins G. Burton, of North Carolina. Burton is since deceased, and the letter of the president, containing this promise, was found among his papers. Burton had acquired a title, good or bad, to 40,000 acres of land in Texas.

A more desperate and sanguinary set of fellows were never piped to the deck of a pirate, than were now collected in Texas for the purpose of resisting the constituted authorities, and fighting for the perpetuation of slavery. Further, felons and adventurers from the United States, and from the four winds, were offered 600 acres each, of excellent land, on condition of joining their ranks, and fighting, as they blasphemously expressed it, in the cause of 'God and liberty.'

In the month of February, 1836, President Santa Anna entered Texas, at the head of an army of 8,000 men. Unfortunately he seems to have been lamentably deficient in knowledge of the character and position of his enemy. That enemy had the United States for the base of its operations. Santa Anna commenced the campaign with acts of unheard of rigor—pursued it without vigilance or foresight—and ended it with total discomfiture and disgrace. He was made prisoner, and the Texians glutted their vengeance; but it must be admitted that they were less inhuman than he had been. They did not massacre in cold blood those whom they had once received as prisoners, and the ex-president general is indebted for the saving of his life to contempt of his example. The exterminating policy with which he set out, may not have been very unjust to those bad men; but such indiscriminate butchery was unworthy the chief of a civilized nation, and of the age. It cannot be too strongly marked by the reprobation of mankind.

These events have been followed by continued accessions to the strength of the insurgents, from the United States, and an immense increase of the slave trade, which is now carried on directly between Texas and Cuba, and Texas and Africa itself; although the *constitution*, which the Texians have affected to form, prohibits it with all the world *except the United States*. The reader will require no comments to enable him to appreciate this clause.

In March last the government of the United States, in pursuance of an authority conferred by Congress, recognized the independence of Texas. Nothing is now wanting to crown the success of the conspiracy, but the formality of a treaty of union between the United States, and the nation of Texas. Its inhabitants voted more than a year ago that they would be annexed to the United States. We say they voted, because the result is taken as the expression of their will, though we have been assured that the industrious and respectable portion of them have taken no part in these transactions, but on the contrary, have been seriously injured, and felt deeply aggrieved by them. We know that it was matter of boasting to the army, which defeated Santa Anna, and which was commanded by a ruffian from the United States, another intimate friend of President Jackson, that ‘there were not fifty of the inhabitants of Texas in their ranks!’ And yet these men proclaim to the world that they have been forced to resort to arms by the tyranny and perfidy of *their* government! We have seen that the government of Mexico has treated the authorized settlers in Texas with a kindness and liberality absolutely without parallel in the history of mankind.

Gen. Santa Anna has been released, but not until he had so far abandoned all dignity, honour, and decorum, as to negotiate, though a prisoner of war, a treaty of peace with the rebels, in

which their independence was acknowledged. This treaty of course has been disavowed by the Mexican government; but it has since been reported by the American journals, that the same personage, while recently at the seat of government of the United States, concluded another treaty with President Jackson, by which it is agreed that the whole of Mexico, east of the *Rio Bravo del Norte*, shall be annexed to the United States. Such fatuity, to call it by a gentle name, in a man supposed to have some talent and a good deal of experience, but not a particle of authority to negotiate a treaty, seems incredible. Of course, if such treaty exist, it can have no force, except as a proof of the unbridled ambition, and the indecent, and at last undisguised cupidity of the slave-holders and traders to seize upon that noble country.

For the government of the United States, now under a northern president, but as much as ever, and if it were possible more, under slave-holding and slave-trading influence, there remains but a single step, and that comparatively simple. President Jackson, one of the authors and the most efficient promoter of the great conspiracy, having passed through his accustomed phases of dissimulation and hypocrisy, of virtuous abhorrence and indignant denial of the policy, which he was privately putting forth every faculty to effectuate, has had the satisfaction, as his last official act, of putting his seal to the independence of Texas—the independence of a band of Buccaneers; and their envoy appeared on the following day, at the inauguration of his successor, among the ambassadors of Europe.

We trust that this development has satisfied every British reader, that the mutual attraction between the United States, i. e. the slave States, which, like Louis XIV., are 'the State,' and those who have usurped the name and possession of Texas, is so strong that their Union is inevitable, if it do not meet a prompt and decided opposition from some quarter other than Mexico itself. The next regular session of Congress of the United States, which will commence on the 4th of December next, or possibly the special one which is called for September next, will see the last act of the plot completed.

It appears to us that such an event would be of the very worst augury for the peace and commerce of the nations occupying the West of Europe, and the West India Islands. It would extend a dominion already large enough for its own good or the good of others. It would enlarge that dominion much more than the partition of Poland did the Russian empire. It would effectually and for ever destroy the balance of power on the American continent; and extend, not civilization, but slavery of the most savage sort, and a kind of feudal barbarism, different from, but far worse than, that of Russia.

From what we have already said, it will have been perceived that society is so constituted in the American slave states as to be at once *transitory* and *permanent*. If it were not for the domestic slave trade, virtually *protected* by the humanity of Europe and the free states; and the gainful and fatal system of breeding slaves to supply that trade, a revolution favourable to peace and liberty would be wrought in the old slave states, in proportion as the traffic and migration proceed, and new states are formed and populated. The evil would pass away, more slowly, but not less surely, than a Tartar inundation from mere exhaustion of aliment. But, with the system of breeding slaves expressly for the market, and with a monopoly of that market, the evil is fixed in its hold, while it marches south-west to new conquests, like the Russian power in the south-east. Add to all the causes of hostility and usurpation, which we have enumerated, the wide and clashing differences of religion, race, and manners, and the most short-sighted must perceive the danger of permitting the established barrier between them from being broken down, and the ascendancy of the rapacious and usurping side overwhelmingly increased.

The soil, climate, and productions of Mexico, and of the states and colonies lying south of her along the shores of the Mexican Sea and the Atlantic Ocean, are, and will ever be, in the highest degree tempting to such a society as that of the American slave-holders, traders, and breeders, because they are better adapted to slave labour than even the most southern of the present possessions of the United States. About two years ago a large portion of the cane plants in Louisiana were destroyed by *frost*. This disaster reduced at one blow the production of indigenous sugar to one-third of the quantity to which it had attained, and caused to a considerable extent the substitution of cotton in lieu of it.

The warlike spirit, which exists in a high degree among the people of the slave states, a people disdaining labour, and having few excitements consistent with peace and civilization, now manifests itself in single combats, bloody street brawls, and even pitched battles, where the friends of the parties range themselves on the respective sides, and leave several dead on the ground! This spirit is greatly nourished by the constant and sanguinary cruelties, which they inflict, and see inflicted upon slaves. Should this spirit be once unchained in those fair regions, and should there learn to clothe itself with the power and the honours of conquest, who can tell where it would stop, or who could say to it, 'Thus far shalt thou come, and no farther.'

In its progress it would jeopard the existence of the British and other European establishments in the West Indies and upon

the Main; and strike at the most valuable supports of the commerce, revenues, and marine of the metropolitan countries.

Napoleon fell, but the effects of his policy remained. His 'continental system' imposed upon the nations of Europe the necessity of providing within themselves for wants, which they had been accustomed to look to Great Britain to supply. Necessity, as usual, proved a prolific mother, and those nations became suddenly addicted to manufacturing, and lost for ever the habit of dependence. A change of this kind, once wrought, is irrevocable. Manufacturing enterprise finds now comparatively little vent in Europe for its products. But the same train of events which closed in a measure the markets of Europe, opened to us and to the world the commerce and the magnificent resources of South America. We had a minister, who was capable of appreciating the importance of this opening, and who hastened in opposition to the Holy Alliance, still dreaming of putting down revolution, and restoring the anti-social system of Spain and her colonies, to take the new states by the hand, and offer them friendship. The same course, so far as commerce was concerned, was pursued in regard to the rich realm of Hayti, which calumny cannot prevent from becoming an inexhaustible source of wealth to Europe. France has discovered that her true interest and glory lie in that direction rather than in the legitimate imbecilities and diplomatic *fourberies* of the old continent. Are these two nations, with eyes thus open, prepared to see those new independencies, so much cherished, inspiring so much hope, and giving so much foretaste of the blessings they are capable of conferring, pass in rapid succession under the barbarous and blighting system of North American slavery?

But that system will not be satisfied with continental acquisitions, though it should have the entire range there: it is too jealous and too aggressive for that. It nurses and feeds a fierce hatred of the great moral and political revolutions, which have taken place, and are going on in the Antilles, and it longs to *lynch* them. The policy of negro emancipation may be considered as now fixed by the example of Great Britain, and the sentiment of Europe. It cannot be slow to pervade in practice all their transatlantic possessions, as it has already pervaded South America, except Brazil. The jealousy and hatred of American slaveholders and traders will increase in proportion as emancipation progresses in the French * and Spanish colonies; and the

* Count Molé, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and President of the King's Council, has recently announced in the French chambers, that at their next Session, the government will bring in a Bill for the Abolition of Slavery in the colonies.

coloured race acquires power, and, what is more unpardonable, respectability, in so near a neighbourhood. The well-known eagerness of the Americans to push their commercial speculations (sometimes at the cost of other nations) yields to nothing under heaven except their hatred of the negro, verifying the wise adage that men hate for benefits as well as for injuries. Up to this day they have not formed, nor do they appear to have *thought* of forming, the slightest commercial relation with Hayti!

The keenness of the Yankee publicans after 'the shiners' is also pretty well known; but it has in no instance induced them to open a door to a *Haytian*, though he were freighted with doubloons, unless he happened to have got in, and then it was to turn him out.

The same disposition on the part of the American slave-holders and traders, caused the abortion of the celebrated Congress of Panama; which, as a counterpoise to the Holy Alliance, once a terror to America, but now no longer redoubtable, since France has assumed a position worthy of herself, was warmly approved by good men and enlightened friends of liberty. But it was opposed by the slave-holders and traders with a fury arising almost to frenzy, particularly by him, (a senator of the United States from Missouri, Mr. Burton,) who subsequently wrote the essays to revive the ceded claim of the United States to Texas. Poinsett, so much mentioned already, and lately appointed American Secretary *at War*, was the active agent in effecting the failure of the assembly at Panama. The real difficulty, which very long speeches were made *to conceal*, was that Bolivar, who proposed the Congress, had written 'Negro Emancipation' upon his standard, and had commenced his remarkable career by emancipating his own slaves. It was apprehended by American slave-holders and traders that the proposed Congress might be made in some way subservient to that policy. Thus the greatest enemy of the Alliance of the Republics of the New World, was not Russia and the Holy Alliance of the Old World, but one of those very Republics! Who does not see that despotism is every where the same?

If there should be any who think that the events we have indicated, as likely to be the ulterior consequences of the annexation of Texas to the United States, are, even if probable, too remote to be made the subject of serious calculation—to them we reply, that such a sentiment is not justified by reason nor by facts. It is a mean and wretched spirit, which refrains from planting a tree, because he, who plants it, may not live to eat the fruit, or sit under the shade. But nations never die, except by suicide. They live to taste the fruits of their planting, be they sweet or bitter.

When the British government acquiesced, not without reluct-

ance, in the cession of the Floridas, involving as some compensation the perpetual renunciation of the claim on Texas, did any minister or any mortal dream of that, as ever possible, which has already come to pass; and if any one had then said that he foresaw that thus much would happen in a few years, would he not have been deemed mad or smitten with 'disease of prophecy?' And if a minister *had* foreseen what has occurred, would he have counselled that acquiescence? At this time there is more light, and it would be inexcusable not to see farther.

The American slave system selects for the application of its fatal industry the richest spots of the richest countries, and these it occupies with an incredible celerity. Each plantation consists ordinarily of six hundred to two thousand acres. It is the constant policy to keep out small proprietors, because the sight of a white man, doing his own work, would weaken the prestige of the negroes, that they were made to labour, and white men to be lords. When good land is cheap and easy of access, every considerable slave-holder makes it a point to give a drove of negroes, and land enough for a plantation, to each of his sons, and sometimes as dowries to his daughters. It may be easily conceived that young men, accustomed from childhood to the absolute domination, the unrestrained indulgence, and contempt of labour, to which slavery gives rise, must either be thus provided for, or with commissions in the army or navy, which are not yet large in the United States, (although the *officers* have been disproportionably increased for this very purpose,) or they must become outcasts and vagabonds, like a large portion of those persons who have seized upon the possession and government of Texas. There are many honourable, and some brilliant exceptions to this remark in the American slave states, but as a general rule it is unquestionably true.

The United States at the revolution were 'thirteen,' some of which, more particularly Georgia, a very large slave state, had but begun to be settled. They are now 'twenty-six.' Since the establishment of the government in 1787, the slave-holding population has taken possession of the new states of Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi, within the original limits of the United States. But this is not much.

In 1803, sixteen years after the foundation of the government, Louisiana was purchased. This territory was as large as Mexico, and larger than Spain, France, and Germany, together. It is certainly true that the slave-holders have occupied only the most fertile portion, lying on the banks of the Mississippi river, and comprehending the states of Louisiana, Arkansas, and Missouri; and that much the largest portion remains, and must always remain unsettled, unless it be by freemen. But this is only a new proof of the extraordinary rapidity with which the American

slave-holding population is destined, if not checked by European power, to overrun the continent.

Sixteen years after the acquisition of Louisiana, the Floridas were surrendered to the United States. They are as large as the island of Great Britain, but the proportion of land in them, which would be highly profitable to slave-holders, has been found not to be great, and they have for several years ceased to attract much emigration, and much traffic in men and women from the slave states. Yet such is the impatience in the American slave-holding community of the neighbourhood of any thing resembling independent power, however peaceful or insignificant, that the last of the unfortunate Aborigines of those provinces have been expelled from their beloved homes and hunting paths, at the expense of much blood and some millions of national treasure.

Sixteen years after the acquisition of the Floridas, the *revolt* (which is merely a change in the mode of acquisition) took place in Texas.

Again; compare the immense space, just described, most of which has been purchased by the United States for the accommodation of the slave-holding population, and all which, so far as it suited their purposes, has been occupied by them,—with that territory north-west of the Ohio, whither free labour, honoured and blessed by the accompaniments of religion, arts, and science, has turned its steps. The whole of this is four states, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan; all within the original limits of the United States, and none of them, with the exception of Illinois, so large as either of the above-mentioned slave states. They cover about *one-third* as much surface as the slave-holding population has occupied during the same period!

These four states have also received the entire mass of European emigration, and they are still regarded as ‘new,’ and are capable of receiving, with a proportionable increase of the general prosperity and of the productiveness and value of their lands, millions of industrious proprietors, and are actually receiving from Europe and the free states thousands every month.

On the other hand, their cotemporaries, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, and the territory of the Floridas, have almost ceased to be regarded as ‘new,’ i. e. states to which emigration tends, for they not only no longer absorb the stream of slave-holding emigration, but have become large tributaries to it, and have furnished a majority of the settlers of Texas. Arkansas, the most recent of the slave states above mentioned, had two years ago poured into Texas 16,000 from a population of 60,000. The entire population of Texas at the same date was estimated at 70,000, exhibiting an increase of 57,000 upon 13,000 in four years. If the accounts given by American journals of the late and actual augmentation

by the influx of emigrants and the importation of slaves, be correct, the whole number must now exceed belief.

Thus it is easy to perceive from the past how long, or rather how short a time Texas, with all its extent and rare fertility, will suffice for the slave-holding emigration, and for the slave trade. It is but *one-eighth* as large as the new territory acquired by the United States during the thirty-two years preceding the revolt in Texas. True it is that a larger proportion of Texas is supposed to be well adapted to slave cultivation; but it is to be observed also, that the most fertile tracts are already disposed of, and that, if the titles held in the United States are confirmed, which the case supposes, it will be found that there is not much land of any description, which is not disposed of. Texas, therefore, cannot for any great length of time, if it should ever do so, furnish plantations for sons and daughters at as cheap a rate as American slave-holders have been accustomed to. It is also to be observed, that the population of the slave states is now six millions, instead of being less than two millions, as it was when this series of acquisitions commenced.

How long then will Texas satisfy the insatiable demands of a society thus constituted? Will it be sixteen years or six? Our opinion is that it will be much nearer the latter than the former. Indeed the views of the aggressors are not even now confined to Texas, but extend to all that part of Mexico lying east of the Rio Bravo, comprehending, besides Texas, portions of the Mexican states of Tamaulipas, Coahuila, Cehihuahua, and Santa Fé, making, in addition to Texas, which is 165,000 square miles, 136,000 square miles belonging to other states; in all 301,000 square miles, equal to 192,240,000 English acres!

This is not quite all; the late American journals inform us that the Texian government was deliberating upon the question of seizing Matamoras, the principal city upon the *Western* bank of the Rio Bravo. This place is in the state of Tamaulipas, from one to two hundred miles south-west of the nearest point of Texas!

And with aid similar to that which they had already received, and which will infallibly be increased in proportion to the exigencies and to the bounties of six hundred acres, resembling strongly the distributions among Goths, Vandals, and Normans, and those which the emperor of Russia now makes to his officers in Poland,—they will take that city, and in succession the other cities and states of Mexico, as fast as they want them; if peradventure an awakened ambition, a taste of conquest, the excitement of adventure, and the love of gold should not move them to invade it sooner than necessity requires.

It is well known that Mexico possesses mines, which though

not yet thoroughly worked, supply most of the hard money of the world. Now, although the American slave-holders and traders are in the habit of deriding the 'Northern brethren' as mean and niggardly, because they use with prudence what they have obtained with toil; yet a true analysis of the slave-holding, and slave-trading character must evidently give *covetousness* as the basis. Is it a love of negroes, which they commonly pretend, or a thirst of gold, which they always deny, that makes them compel those negroes to cultivate the cotton, rice, and sugar plantations under the stimulus of stripes, instead of the stimulus of wages! Stripes cost nothing but bits of skin, and occasionally bits of flesh, from the backs of slaves; wages would take bits of silver from the pockets of the planters! Is all this whipping disinterested? If it be so, the slave-holders are the greatest philanthropists in the world.

The difference between the Virginia and the Yankee character, in point of meanness, may be summed up in a few words. The latter spends sparingly what is his own; the former lavishly, that which belongs to the poor.

The thirst of the slave-holders and traders for gold has been the immediate cause of the subversion of all the treaties of the United States with the defrauded and most injured Aborigines. Those treaties begun under Washington, after a deliberate examination by him and by the senate of the rights of the Indian nations, and continued and multiplied to the number of about forty under his successors, were religiously observed until the time of President Jackson; but at that time rich mines of gold had been discovered within the territories 'guaranteed for ever' to the native proprietors. This settled their fate; and they are now in strange places far west of the Mississippi, from which, when they shall have learned to love them, they will be again removed, if their poor homes shall be found to have anything, which slave-holding and slave-trading cupidity covets. On the other hand, tribes of Indians are still residing peacefully, and, in many instances, cultivating farms industriously, and living in plenty and respectability in the bosoms of some of the oldest free states.

There is another cause, already mentioned in another connexion, which though acting more slowly, would not less surely have produced the expulsion of the Indians. It is the rapid exhaustion of the soil, submitted to American slave cultivation, which having gone on for some time all around, would at length lead the slave-holders to seize upon the oases of the Indians.

Can the Christian and civilized powers of the West of Europe look with indifference upon the extension of this hideous system to exterior provinces, and the commencement of a new series of

similar robberies, which in their progress will not merely cause grief and scandal to the friends of freedom in Europe, but positive losses to those powers in particular?

Mexico, rich and magnificent as Providence has made it, would in its turn furnish but a proportion of land, whose productiveness would satisfy that avarice which begins by feeding on the flesh and blood of negroes; and would also, in its turn, be converted into breeding styes, to supply new shambles in the island and beyond the Isthmus.

Those who consult the history of the American Union, and reflect upon the character and position of the free states, will perceive in them elements too well disposed to combine with the barbarism of slave-holding society. They are merchants, manufacturers, ship-owners, under-writers, bankers, and navigators. The slave states, as the condition of their existence, furnish large quantities of raw materials, heavy and bulky, and employing an immense tonnage for their transportation, and an immense number of hands for their exchanges and manipulations. The classes above mentioned detest slavery—in the abstract, but ‘the pieces of silver’ are so pleasant in practice, that they continued to carry on the Africa slave trade for the South as long as the law permitted, and we believe a *leette* longer; and they have ever since carried it on coastwise from Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas to Louisiana; and they now carry it on from Cuba and Africa to Texas.

The profits of carrying the slave productions, exchanging them with Europe, and working them up at home to be returned to the slave states in manufactured goods, together with a prodigious quantity of other goods obtained in their commercial exchanges, or of which the materials are so obtained or found among themselves, are so great and so seductive to an industrious and enterprising people, placed to a great extent upon a poor soil, and under a severe climate, and the sentiment that those profits would be lost by a dissolution of the Union, is so deeply seated, that it has become a political dogma, superior to laws human and divine, that ‘the Union must be preserved.’

The slave-holders and traders, aware of the susceptibility of the North upon this point, menace fiercely the dissolution of the Union, if the latter do not stop the mouths and the presses, which are telling the secrets of American slavery. Hence, inasmuch as no law exists, or can constitutionally exist for that purpose,—the mobs, and the reign of terror, the murders, and the destruction of houses, churches, and seminaries of learning, and what is worst of all, the connivance of the public authorities, and the entire and perfect impunity of all these crimes in the United States.

This commerce and carrying trade are the most essential supports of the naval strength of America, which lies in the North. The inhabitants of this section of the Union are therefore eminently able, as we have already shown that they deem it imperiously their interest, to co-operate with the South in preserving, and, if necessary to the preservation, extending their system. Will Northern men become less eager for gain as luxury increases and wealth becomes more and more an instrument of power, and the only means of admission into a commercial aristocracy, which is tending to become hard and jealous, like that of Venice, just in proportion as the theory of liberty adopted among them puts it in the power of others to question their pretensions, or to attack their interests. Its spirit is already essentially the same. The mobs which it has excited and protected in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and other places under like influence, for the purpose of silencing or murdering those who write and speak against American slavery, are substitutes for the inquisition, and the subterranean cells of the proud merchants of the Adriatic.

Besides, the slave states control the government, and have done so ever since it was formed, except under the rigidly just and impartial administration of Washington.

Upon these facts we submit the question, whether the Northern states are not more likely to be used as sailors, soldiers, and taxpayers, for the purpose of continuing the acquisitions and conquests of the slave states, as in the enormous purchases above-mentioned, and in the expulsion of the Aborigines; than they are to detach themselves from the partnership, as some have anticipated, and break up the Union?

Are our apprehensions, then, for the peace and safety of the South American states, and the European colonies in the islands on the Isthmus and the Main, chimerical? Is it not manifest that maritime conquests will march *pari passu* with military? While an American army takes possession of the coasts of the Gulf of Mexico, the American navy will seize the *keys*. The acquisition of Cuba some day has long been a cherished thought of the American nation. Their vessels of war are now numerous, large, and well built; their seamen perfectly disciplined, and their officers skilful, brave, and burning to distinguish themselves.

But this view of the case is partial. It is indispensable to add to it, the sympathy and good understanding, which have ever subsisted between the slave-holding government of America and a great slave-holding power of Europe,—the analogy of their respective positions on two continents,—the absence of jealousy between them,—the existence of a common jealousy with other powers, and above all, of the maritime power of Britain,—the

formidable navies which float in two European seas, (if indeed they are still called *European*,) and the extreme probability of future alliance and co-operation in schemes ambitious and vast.

For the honour of America and of humanity, we feel bound to add, that all the measures of violence and rapacity to which we have referred, would meet with an able and strenuous opposition there; but we cannot be blind, and others ought not to be, to the fact that the slave states always carry their point, whether it be peace or war; or life or death, to the very interests which the North, as a whole, makes such sacrifices of principle to maintain. The last war with this country, ostensibly about questions, which would only be settled in a state of peace, and which peace found just where peace left them, was declared against the votes of two-thirds of the commercial states. And the hostilities against the bank of the United States, displaying so much ignorance and passion, and causing so much misery, may be distinctly traced to an original, and implacable hatred of that institution in the slave states.

The most powerful commercial states of Europe have had a specimen of the audacious spirit of American slave-holders in certain proceedings of South Carolina. In that state, ever since the year 1822, whenever a vessel of any other state or nation enters one of her ports, every coloured person on board, unless he be a slave, is seized without the charge of any offence, except being free, and cast into prison. There he must remain until the vessel is ready to depart, and then if the captain does not take him away, and pay the expenses of his seizure and imprisonment, such captain is fined not less than £200, and the seaman or other *detenu* is sold for a slave!

Although this law has been determined by the judiciary of the United States to be unconstitutional and void, as infringing upon the powers of the general government, and their treaties with foreign powers; and although the Attorney-General of the United States, Mr. William Wirt, upon a reference of the case of four British seamen, mewed up in the jail of Charleston, under that law, made a report to the same effect; and although Mr. Monroe, their President, earnestly requested South Carolina to repeal that law, still her legislature replied only by refusal and defiance, asserting a right to establish and maintain that law, superior to all constitutions and treaties, and reprimanding the President and Secretary of State because they had not done battle with the British government in behalf of that right! And this, which was thirteen years ago, was the satisfaction which the British nation obtained for the most high-handed violation of the persons and liberty of British subjects!

Several other states have imitated the successful audacity of South Carolina, and enacted similar laws; and it is stated in

several American publications that many thousand citizens of the free states, and more or less of all countries having commercial intercourse with the United States, are now pining in hopeless bondage upon unknown and jealously guarded plantations! Yet the governments and legislatures of the free states, though these facts have been pressed upon their attention, have taken no notice of them. The same remark applies to Congress, where a petition upon the subject has not obtained a report. Fatal result of the impious resolution to maintain the Union at all hazards, to the neglecting of the most sacred duties of government to the citizen, duties, without which government is a curse, and the participating in the most detestable crimes!

It is easy to perceive from this how much respect the barbarism of such a state of society, inflated by the pride of conquest, would pay to the law and the peace of nations, the rights of commerce, and the sanctity of treaties.

But the great point to which we would invoke the attention of the people and ministers of Great Britain, is that extension and perpetuation of slavery and the slave trade, which must be the inevitable result of the annexation of Texas to the United States, and of that train of mischiefs to mankind, of which that annexation will be the opening; because it is for the sake of extending and insuring the existence of those evils, that this great invasion of the rights and territory of a friendly and generous nation is undertaken.

Few Europeans can conceive of the tenacity and jealousy, with which American slave-holders and traders guard their peculiar institutions. There is no crime, there is no slaughter, through which they will not wade in pursuit of this paramount object; not that they are men destitute of honour or virtue in other respects, but in this under a gratuitous and mistaken idea of 'the right of self-preservation;' (which has become a pretence for murder, when their own safety is not in the slightest degree in question,) and in a reckless and inculcated disregard of all consequences affecting the rights and safety of others, they have broken away from the restraints of law, religion, and humanity. They have hung a considerable number of persons, both white and coloured, during the last two years, merely for being found in possession of tracts, of a religious and entirely peaceful character, against slavery, or for being suspected of entertaining sentiments unfavourable to the continuance of slavery, and even for being distinguished by acts of kindness to slaves. Incredible as it may seem, this was proved as a capital charge before 'a lynch committee,' and the accused was forthwith hung!

The name of 'abolitionist' is now a watchword for murder in the slave states, as that of 'royalist' was at one time in France.

And these things are not done by the rabble of low whites, the

ordinary instruments of slave-holding tyranny, but by the masters themselves; and so far from evincing remorse for them, they glory in them, and threaten with the same fate every opponent of slavery, whom they can get into their power. Slave-holding and slave-trading representatives have proclaimed this from their places in the hall of legislation, and without reproof or reply from a single representative of the free states.

Neither are there many Europeans, who can form an adequate idea of the strange cruelties inflicted by American slave-holders upon their unhappy bondsmen. They burn them alive by slow fires, with or without a judicial sentence. This has been done in private—it has been done in public, by mobs and by magistrates.

A nephew of the celebrated Jefferson, *Lewis* by name, caused one of his slaves to be extended and confined upon a meat-form, and then proceeded to cut him into morsels with an axe, beginning at the feet, casting the pieces into the fire, and lecturing his assembled slaves upon the duty of obedience. The boy uttered heart-rending shrieks, and besought his master to cut off his head! But this was too great a mercy, and his life, and the unutterable horror of this more than hellish operation, were protracted, until his master had hewn, and lectured, and burned up to the abdomen! Lewis was arrested and confined in jail, but a mob assembled and liberated him, and he went with impunity. In fact it is notorious that American slaves have no protection from law against the cruelties of their masters, nor, except as property, against that of other persons.

In 1834, an American woman, named *Lelaurie*, caused seven of her slaves to be chained in painful postures, some on their knees, some on tiptoe, and others suspended from the ceiling; and after torturing them five months, breaking the skull of one by blows, so that maggots were found generated in the brain, miserably lacerating them all, and compelling them, by forcing their mouths with iron instruments, to swallow sufficient meal and water to preserve their existence—she left them to perish in the flames of the building. Whether she set it on fire is known only by inference. When the flames broke out, and the people assembled, the doors were found securely locked; and the mistress being applied to for the keys, refused to deliver them. The crowd forced the doors, and found the slaves in the situations we have described. This woman, thus seen in *flagranté delicto*, was not even arrested, though the chief criminal judge of the city was present, and was the person who demanded the keys. In a few hours after their rescue, two of the slaves died. Their murderer, having traversed the Union from New Orleans to New York without molestation, quietly embarked for France, where she may be still, or may have returned to America. During those five months the neighbours heard the cries and groans of

the slaves, and remained passive! The first of these cases occurred in Virginia, the second in Louisiana.

A further and very powerful cause has existed, and must always exist in a society constituted as that of the American slave states, for the invasion of the territory and the subversion of the independence of neighbouring nations, if those nations have abolished slavery. Their slaves will fly from cruelty and bondage, and take refuge in such nations. They did so in the Floridas, and among the tribe of *Seminole* Indians, inhabiting those provinces. Hence the bloody wars waged by Jackson in person against that peaceable people, the murder by his orders of two British subjects, and the gross and palpable violations of international law committed by him, without authority even from his own government,—in invading the territory of Spain, a nation at peace with the United States. Hence, too, the fresh shedding of the blood, and final expulsion of the same tribe of Aborigines.

In a secret debate of the House of Representatives of the United States, upon the purchase of the Floridas, it was urged, as a reason for hastening the conclusion of the treaty, that the President of the United States was receiving innumerable letters from the inhabitants of Georgia and Alabama, in which they declared their intention to raise forces and take those provinces, if the government did not speedily obtain them by treaty, for that they were resolved to endure no longer the loss of the slaves, who were constantly eloping thither.

Not many years after the acquisition of the Floridas, similar language began to be held in relation to Texas. Public writers, men of the first distinction in the slave states, boldly took the ground that ‘the slave-holding south-west could not bear the *juxta-position* of an empire [Mexico], in which slavery was ‘abolished.’ This is a precious idea! This is an argument, which goes deep! This unlocks slave-holding designs in all their grandeur.

‘I thank thee, *Jew*, for the word.’

We think we have heard of fields of Indian corn in some of the old slave states, which had no outside row; but we never heard of two nations joining one another without *juxta-position*. Nor did these writers; they intended to express no such idea.

And will the *intolerable* nuisance cease when Mexico shall have been annihilated? It will cease at the boundary of Brazil; but the cupidity and rapacity of slave-holding, slave-trading, and slave-breeding Americans, will cease only where they shall meet the batteries of Europe, whether those batteries be formed on the Sabine or the Oronoque; whether they shall promptly frown in the Gulf of Mexico, or launch their thunders, perhaps too late, in the sea of the Antilles.

Art. IX. *Menzel on German Literature. Die deutsche Literatur. Von Wolfgang Menzel. 1836. Stuttgart.*

No. V.—Philosophy.

AS this series of papers must be concluded with our December number, we should have preferred, had it been possible, to omit the subject of German philosophy altogether; simply on the ground, that comparatively few English readers are either inclined to pay much attention to it, or qualified by any degree of familiarity with the uncouth terminology of the German systems, to understand it. Considering, however, the space which philosophy has always occupied in German literature; that this series of articles professes to give a summary view of all the principal departments of that literature; that there is a class in this country, though certainly not very numerous, who are anxious to obtain something like definite views of the principal characteristics of the chief German systems, and to ascertain, if only for their own peace and quietness of mind, whether they are deserving of much attention or not; and lastly, that Menzel, from his moderation, his sagacity, and above all that *practical* character of mind which distinguishes him above most German writers, would be more likely to give the desired information than any other man, we could not well do otherwise than give a brief abstract of the principal systems which our prolific neighbours have originated. We must premise, however, that such are the difficulties of the German terminology, such the impossibility of rendering it into correspondent English, which shall be generally understood, and such the subtle speculations in which every German writer, not even excepting Menzel, is apt to indulge on these subjects, that we can only hope to render the article interesting to such as have paid some degree of attention to them. The remark we made in introducing to our readers Menzel's view of the state of *religion* in Germany, is still more true when applied to his chapter on philosophy; we remarked that, 'he is now and then a little 'mystical, a fault from which no German, not even Menzel, can 'be expected to be quite exempt when he gets upon this topic.' It is proper to observe, however, that every thing has been done that *could* be done to render the meaning of our author as clear and perspicuous as the subject would admit.* The following is the introduction to the chapter :

'With the exception of the Hindoos, no people possess such

* This remark may sound odd. It is proper, therefore, to state that the *translations* in this article are the work of a friend of the present writer. His eminent capabilities for doing full justice to the subject, so far as it can be done, no one who knows him will doubt.

‘ stores of profound philosophical thinking as the Germans. Indeed this is admitted by other nations; and we are lauded for our absorption in thought, because it induces us to neglect business, at which our neighbours are so much the more *au fait*. Within the last fifty years especially, we have maintained uncontestably the first rank in philosophy.

‘ This high accomplishment we owe to the combination of two circumstances. In the first place, philosophy, since the Reformation, has emancipated herself from theology, metaphysics have thrown off the yoke of the creed. The century of church-controversy was followed by the century of philosophy, not only in Germany but throughout Europe. But secondly, this century coincided exactly with the period of the greatest inaction in the German history; the period of the extreme exhaustion consequent upon the religious wars, and of the most deplorable disorder throughout the whole German empire. Besides our natural propensity for abstract thinking, we had double cause for giving ourselves to meditation, and turning inwards the activity which was repelled from outward things. With us, however, the multifarious energies of thought turn necessarily towards the highest principles of philosophy: partly because pre-eminent power of thinking, like that of the Germans, always proposes to itself the most difficult problems; and partly because all the different paths of science into which the remotest branches of knowledge may diverge, tend towards a transcendental science as their ultimate boundary. Whenever a nation betakes itself to thinking, it begins to inquire into the laws of thought: when its thirst for knowledge accumulates an immense induction of facts, it seeks to discover their hidden causes; when it erects one science on the basis of another, it looks for the interior point of connexion common to them all. Whatever the circumstance which first awakens reflection, it ever tends to philosophy in the end. Whatever falls upon the sphere of knowledge finds itself attached to a radius and attracted towards a centre. In the progress of the understanding this is its inevitable course. But as a complete philosophy is invariably set before the thinker as prospectively his object, as he can of necessity have no other aim than to reach a perfect knowledge of every thing (like the omniscience of God); so the attainment of this knowledge, which would make us as God, is impossible. There is a radical contradiction not only in the method by which we philosophize, but in the very circumstance that we are philosophizing; and the *effort* is its own, and its only reward. There are many philosophies; but there can be no philosophy, i. e. no one of sole authority—and these philosophies are only methods for philosophizing, since they are constituted, not with immediate reference towards the end, but towards the means of attaining it.

‘Men put their questions, and answer one question by another, until they come to one which is final. At first philosophy was thought to be the science of giving answers; it is now more rightly considered the science of putting questions. To answer the first question you must ask a second, the answer to which alone can answer the first. Man asked, What exists? and found it necessary to ask yet further, What do I think exists? and then again, How do I come to think? and How is this process of thinking performed? In this way one German philosophy has built itself on the top of another. We have been seeking in philosophy for the principle of a truly transcendental science; and we have either converted the highest inquiry after such a science into our highest philosophy, or are still waiting for philosophy to answer that inquiry. And thus have inquiries both multiplied, and yet, by that very means, become at the same time more subtle and more simple.’

Menzel then proceeds to trace the *progress* of German philosophy. He remarks that, ‘in earlier times,’ that is before the revival of letters, ‘the Germans had not begun to cherish this love of philosophy;’ yet he thinks he can trace some symptoms of their metaphysical tendencies even in the character of their architecture and poetry. He says, ‘this propensity displayed itself only in a certain involuntary systematizing of fancy in their gothic architecture, and in their long allegorical heroic songs.’ Now this we think is a little specimen of that love of founding speculations on very remote and fanciful analogies, of erecting theories upon very slender data, which, in our opinion, has been one cause of the eminent unsatisfactoriness and profound obscurity of much of the German philosophy. One would think that the connexion must be slight indeed between the character of the architecture of a nation and their metaphysical tendencies. As an ingenious friend of ours observed upon this passage, it might be an amusing problem, which philosophers of the German school might not despair to solve—‘given the architecture of a nation, to determine its metaphysical tendencies;’ or, as we might add, ‘given the cut of their coats to find out their systems of philosophy.’ We are afraid that most Englishmen would give such questions up as on a par with the celebrated Cambridge problem, ‘given the length of the vessel and the number of the crew, to find the captain’s name.’

Menzel then proceeds to narrate the progress of speculative philosophy from the fifteenth century, and its connexion with the progress of physical science. Of Paracelsus as a natural philosopher, he speaks more highly than Hallam in his recent *History of European Literature* has done, or than justice, if Hallam’s account be correct, would warrant. Of Leibnitz, who has always been a great favourite of ours, it will be seen he speaks most highly.

‘A new direction was imparted to philosophy by the great geographical, astronomical, and physical discoveries of the 15th century. Men busied themselves in effecting a reconciliation between the principle of the spiritual life which they had previously sought in divine revelation with the principle of naturalism. They identified in a mystical manner the powers of nature which they discovered in astronomy and chemistry with the powers of the human soul. They sought for an alchemy in which the root of all material and immaterial powers should be concealed. Theophrastus Paracelsus cultivated physical science, as afterwards the deep-thoughted Jacob Boehme pursued psychology, according to the idea of a philosophy of nature. These men have been unjustly despised. The latter, especially, has been looked at as a theologian rather than an inquirer into nature; and hence the view has been entirely wrong. If they had not at their command the immense experimental information of the eighteenth century, they evidently possessed philosophic depth of thought, and the conception of a comprehensive system.

‘This method of philosophizing, the first that the new age adopted, could not then attain its end. The reigning bias towards astrology, alchemy, chiromancy, and all sorts of superstitions, drew this natural philosophy into absurdities, and placed it frequently in the most unworthy hands. Theophrastus Paracelsus made the transition to experimental science. His rich detail of physical experiments, combined moreover with the wonders of magical pharmacy and sympathetic cures, introduced a more exact and comprehensive inquiry into individual objects, which threw abstract philosophy into the back ground. Meanwhile, the more that the physical part of natural science was disjoined from abstract philosophy, the more closely it combined itself with mathematics. The mathematics suited well with understandings which were ever growing colder and colder, and if on the one side they shrivelled up abstract philosophy into a dry atomic theory, on the other they proved of the highest advantage to philosophical formalism.

‘The understanding, grown self-sufficient amidst the clear and sharply-defined conceptions of mathematics, and inspired with hatred against the old superstitions, engendered a systematic unbelief; and this, as soon as a dead, mechanical, atomic theory, together with sheer materialism and natural religion, prevailed in France and England, became a scholasticism of doubt, in opposition to the old, Roman Catholic scholasticism. The Germans were certainly infected with this, as they had been with the former; but they did not long endure either the one or the other. And as in former times the German mystics took the field against the old scholastic system, so now the German phi-

‘losophers appeared against the modern scepticism. The great ‘Leibnitz, who stood upon the confines of the old astrological age ‘and the new era of strictly demonstrative science, combined the ‘vital warmth of that former dark period, with the clear ‘light of our own. He was deeply penetrated with the feeling ‘of religion, and possessed at the same time the full vigour of the ‘thinking powers. A living faith in God was the rock on which ‘he built; but his pre-established harmony betrays nothing of the ‘dim religious light ‘of the old mystics. It stood forth in clear, ‘transparent light, like a marble temple on a mountain-top.

‘Among his followers Bilfinger went back again grubbing in ‘the depths of mysticism; while Wolff spread out Leibnitz’s ‘ideas in full breadth; indeed fairly measured them out, and cut ‘them up methodically. Of the rest none deserve a record. ‘Leibnitz was worn threadbare; and his spiritless disciples had ‘nothing to oppose to the materialism and scepticism which con- ‘tinued to gain ground. Here, as in all other cases, experiment ‘alone gave help to speculation. The world made great and as- ‘tonishing attainments in actual knowledge; and this re-acted ‘upon abstract philosophy. From every quarter of the outer ‘world light converged upon the then dimly-shining sun of ab- ‘stract speculation.’

Our author now comes to the history of that great revolution in German philosophy which dates from Kant, whose speculations for a considerable time gave the entire tone and character to it, and have modified the theories of all who have succeeded him; he has given a direction to their speculations, and determined the topics which they principally discuss, however much they may differ from him. It will be seen that Menzel speaks of Kant’s philosophy in a manner which very much reminds one of Robert Hall’s judgment upon it. ‘It is cer- ‘tainly no great loss,’ said Hall, ‘to be ignorant of Kant’s ‘works—his philosophy is a system of scepticism.’* We have only farther to remark that, if our readers would wish for more information on the subjects discussed in the following paragraphs, they may find it in Tennemann’s ‘Manual of the History of Philosophy,’ translated from the German by Johnson.

‘After men became bolder and bolder in proportion as the ‘Middle Ages receded, and the way of revelation was altogether ‘thrown aside as the last-adhering fetter; after men, by incessant ‘study, had become increasingly enlightened in physical science; ‘after they had learned to handle mathematics like virtuosi, and ‘had applied them to logic, and this again to ethics, which found ‘practical employment through means of Protestantism (as an-

‘ciently through the Roman jurisprudence); after the arts had bloomed out anew, and æsthetical inquiries were everywhere arising; in fine, after even the feelings began to be more minutely analysed, amidst the newly-created love of music, and amidst poetical and Moravian sentimentalism; there was sufficiently prepared a combination of all the various organs through which we observe both mind and matter, things temporal and things eternal,—a combination of all the hitherto undeveloped methods of philosophizing, and a criticism of them all. A host of acute psychologists, Mendelssohn, Reimarus, Platner, Meister, Zimmermann, Abbt, Garve, Sulzer, and others, sought to collect the facts of an Experimental Philosophy of the Mind. Kant, whose greatness arose out of his own intellect as much as from his elevated position on the summit of the pyramid of earlier thinkers, was the founder of that great epoch in German philosophy, from which the last hundred years derive their name of the philosophical century. Kant built his system upon *anthropology*. He investigated those faculties of man, by virtue of which he forms his judgment of every thing. He proved that we cannot discover what the world is in itself, but only what we apprehend it to be. His philosophy was truly the Criticism of Reason.’

After a brief but discriminating account of the above-named ‘acute psychologists,’ our author proceeds as follows:

‘The system of Kant, though one of the triumphs of the human intellect, was, at bottom, only an ingenuous surrender, a Socratic confession, ‘I know that I know nothing.’ This system was consequently nothing more than the most deeply-reasoned confirmation of the old scepticism, and was well-suited to an age of unbelievers. But Kant was infinitely far from paying homage to French infidelity with all its immoral consequences. He bid man look into himself, and to the moral law in his own breast. There is indeed a free, living influence of the old Grecian *καλοκαγαθία* pervading the whole of his luminous philosophy. But while with a proud resignation he was disclaiming the knowledge of immutable truths, and was fixing the limits of human thought, Jacobi stepped up by his side, and maintained that beyond the region of thought there was in the feelings a second spring of godlike knowledge of little price in the creed of Kant. Herder likewise took up this view in opposition to Kant; but these men wandered into clouds and mists, where the mysterious depths in which thought and feeling take root together, escaped their view, and where one could as little construct a philosophical system upon feeling alone, as build a house with mortar only, wanting stone.

‘Kant went beyond all other thinkers of his age, because he gave expression to the spirit of his age more fully than any other man. The philosophic century longed for an earth without a

‘heaven, a state without a church, a human race without a God. How, under these limitations, earth might yet be made a paradise, the state a well-ordered community, and man a noble being through his own reason and well-regulated strength, no one has shown with so much clearness as Kant. He would have elevated mere human principles into religion, if a belief so unenthusiastic could have possessed the wonder-working influence of religion. Kant was a great deal too much a creature of pure reason. The world wants a good deal less of this same reason; and it wants something more.

‘It appeared at once that, in the critical philosophy of Kant the ultimate line of philosophy was laid down, only to be almost immediately transgressed. It was observed that Kant had, in a peculiar manner, departed from the true object of philosophy, inasmuch as he gave up absolute science, and showed that it could at best be only conditional. But why do we philosophize at all, if we are not to arrive at knowledge as the end of all? The proper aim of philosophy is absolute knowledge, as the first foundation, the first essence, the first destination of all things. The desire of this knowledge, which cannot be rooted out of human nature, exerted its influence in the rear of Kant’s philosophy; and though men were obliged to start from his system as being the latest, they pursued the speculation in a direction diametrically opposite to his. Kant had taken up with a subjective knowledge of an objective world, and so placed them in relation to one another, that while we certainly perceive an object, it is only according to the subjective laws of our own reason; and while the object thus appears to us under these subjective conditions, it may yet have a distinct essence of itself. It was observed that this could not possibly conduct to an absolute knowledge; hence a division arose among the absolutists. Some of them became absolute subjectists, and denied, without hesitation, that phenomenal being of the objective world which Kant had suffered to remain with it: others became absolute objectists, and made the subjective apprehension dependent upon the nature of its object; while others maintained an absolute identity between mind and nature, the subjective and objective world; the apprehension and its object. Finally, Kant had viewed the different faculties of human reason comprehensively, and had rendered equal justice to them all. He looked more (than other men) at the whole cluster of our intellectual powers, and brought them under one general symmetry; in others separate faculties were eminently developed, and were exhibited, in their individuality, with the highest light of evidence. One had more intelligence on the subject of nature, another on that of morals, a third on that of logic; and each built up his whole system with a corresponding *one-sidedness*.

‘The weightiest thing, however, in this rise of sects, is the ‘consequence introduced by Kant. This has intermingled itself ‘with every subsequent philosophy, whether in continuation of ‘or in opposition to his. All sects in philosophy busy themselves ‘about this controversy of conditional and absolute knowledge, ‘of the subjective ‘Ego’ and the objective world, of the respective ‘faculties of the ‘Ego’ and their corresponding orders of being in ‘the objective world.

‘In relation to the first of these controversies, there arose of ‘necessity, after the critical philosophy of Kant, a dogmatic abso- ‘lutism, which certainly was critical like Kant, but for the pur- ‘pose of discovering, not the limits of human thought, but the ‘point of absolute knowledge. Kant had separated between the ‘‘Ego’ and the external world, and had only placed them in a reci- ‘procal relation, the fundamental principles of which he left un- ‘cleared. This therefore was only a spur to succeeding philoso- ‘phers to explore those fundamental principles, and (in them) the ‘principle of unity which was wanting. While a tolerably ex- ‘tensive school still remained directly on the side of Kant, and ‘earned manifold rewards by increasing their experimental know- ‘ledge of human nature, and refining their critical survey, other ‘hardy spirits went further. They tried to construct the abso- ‘lute; the Kantists criticized the relative. Their doctrine was ‘dogmatic; that of the Kantists was critical. The former gave a ‘categorical answer to the question; what is it? The disciples ‘of Kant proceed to inquire; what is our method of apprehend- ‘ing it? Unquestionably science will be advanced by the com- ‘bined labours of both. The dogmatism of the absolutists is a ‘perpetual evolution of the intellectual powers through the in- ‘strumentality of genius; the critical method symmetrizes them. ‘If the critical philosopher show to what limits the human mind ‘may advance, it is well that the absolutists should accomplish ‘it. If every philosopher at the end of his investigations is ‘obliged to say with Socrates, the highest wisdom is to know that ‘we can know nothing; yet *he* will never be a philosopher who ‘believes this at the outset.

‘But the absolutists differed among themselves on the con- ‘troversy respecting subject and object, the system of relation ‘fixed by Kant; and their doctrines have appeared in a historical ‘order, corresponding with the latest impulses given by the times. ‘When Protestantism and the French Encyclopedic lorded it ‘over the age, when logic and morals were the order of the day, ‘when mind was every moment gaining a new victory over na- ‘ture and her mysterious powers, we cannot wonder that a man ‘of genius like Fichte gained enthusiastic applause by bringing ‘back the whole of philosophy to a subjective moral law, by doing ‘away with the Kantian system of relation, reducing the objec-

‘tive world to nothing, and recognizing only a subjective entity, ‘the thinking ‘ego.’ A theory so far from comprehensive required ‘the finest logical acuteness to develop it with any consistency, ‘and this again enriched the *formalism* of philosophy. It required ‘no skill to deny the system of Fichte, but a great deal ‘to confute it; and every subsequent theory succeeded to its ‘logical acuteness, as to the spoils of an enemy. Fichte’s ‘*one-sidedness*, especially, was so favourable to morality, that it ‘was no where to be found in greater elevation than in him. ‘Meanwhile, it was impossible to abide by so extreme a system ‘very long. Nature and art took up arms against Fichte. ‘Nature, like a kind of plastic and torpid philosophy, presented ‘herself as a subject of unlimited investigation. The phenomena ‘of nature arranged themselves into a system. The discoveries ‘in physiology dislodged the mechanical philosophy, which, by ‘its opposition (to physiological principles) had done service to ‘the idealists. Men could no longer disallow the spiritual principle of the universe; and the old pantheism came into vogue ‘again. At the same juncture all became enthusiasts in the arts; ‘and as the beautiful is at all times either mediately or immediately attached to the material world, this now became the object ‘of universal attention. From the inhospitable heights of abstraction ‘the human mind sank softly down to green maternal earth ‘again.

‘Under these circumstances, the great Schelling reconsidered ‘the Kantian relation between subject and object (which disappeared in the system of Fichte) and raised it into the principle ‘of absolute identity. It might have been supposed that, with a ‘contractedness (the reverse of Fichte’s) he would make the object, the material universe, of sole importance; and, deceived ‘by this false inference, many unintelligent opponents have decried him as nothing more than a natural philosopher. But it ‘was not merely to the subjectivity of Fichte’s system, but principally to its *contractedness* that Schelling was opposed; and if ‘he laid anew the foundations of natural philosophy, it was only ‘as a part of his dualistic doctrine of identity. Mind and nature ‘are alike, in his system, only emanations, appearances, outward ‘manifestations of the divine idea. He brought the system of ‘idealism into a parallel with that of materialism, and neutralized ‘the extremes of both. This is Spinozism, but of a higher ‘potency. It was only after the philosophies of Kant and Fichte ‘that the promise held forth in that of Spinoza could be performed. Nothing more, however, than an equally great mind ‘was wanted to make a Schelling anterior to Kant, or a Spinoza ‘after him.’

After pursuing the parallel between Schelling and Spinoza a little further, he goes on to say :

'There is nothing in the world which does not find its proper place in the philosophy of Schelling so far as it belongs to one or other side of this dualistic system, and has its correlative or its opposite: nay, this philosophy subordinates all other philosophies to itself, by making them appear so many one-sided systems, naturally and necessarily opposed to one another. The philosopher set out from the consideration of himself, of spirit or of matter, of sentiment and feeling, or of thought and intellection, and walks within self-imposed limits or transgresses them; while all his conclusions are already sketched in the all-embracing, all-arranging, all-harmonizing philosophy of Schelling. The Eclectic, whose province it is to review the different series of systems, finds here the reconciliation of extremes. He has observed, how every other philosophy strives to preclude all the rest; he finds them here bound up together. The mathematician who contemplates universal philosophy under the image of a sphere, finds in the doctrine of Schelling the magnetic centre which attracts and holds together the opposite poles of subjectivity and objectivity, the philosophy of mind and the philosophy of nature. This quality Schelling's philosophy shares with the ancient Hindoo doctrine of emanations, with the numerical symbolism of the Chinese, with the Jewish Cabbala, and with the mystical systems of the Middle Ages, when Jacob Boehme gave the highest prominence to the principle of unity in identity, and Valentine Weigel to that of duality in identity. Schelling only transferred an ancient system of thinking into a modern age, which apparently had forgotten that this harmonizing principle was what it chiefly needed.

'Perhaps the importance of this symmetrizing principle was most clearly evinced by the difficulty of applying it, and the general disposition to fall off from the central point of union on different sides. It appeared that men could not abide by this centrality and deep-laid harmony of Schelling's philosophy. When his disciples, abandoning the medium-point of their master, turned to the infinite variety presented to them in the world, they became absorbed in the fulness and the beauty which surrounded them; and for some one or other point within this circumference, the focus, in truth, of their own predilections, they sacrificed the true centre of the system. This first of all affected the two prime elements of the identity, matter, and spirit. The school of Schelling has fallen asunder into two leading systems, (each of them incomprehensive) corresponding with its two constituent principles. Oken has shifted the material pole, and made the identity of matter and spirit to consist in the spiritual character of nature. Hegel again has shifted the immaterial pole, and placed the identity of spirit and matter in the material character of spirit, in the objective being of ideas,

‘in the exclusive and absolute existence of thought and its laws
 ‘which are the higher logic. Oken’s substances are ideas;
 ‘Hegel’s ideas are substances.’

Menzel next descants with great ability on the external causes, as they existed in the thinking and the literature of the age, which tended to ‘produce and modify the philosophy of Kant, (pp. 282—284); and remarks upon the psychological writings of the elder Reinhold, of Beck, of Fries, of Krug, and some others, (pp. 285—287). He touches with great force and eloquence upon the ethical system of Fichte, which he characterizes as elevated, but austere and visionary; and points out the circumstances which rendered it such (pp. 287—291). After a brief reference to the theories of Bouterweck and Bardili, he resumes the consideration of Schelling’s philosophy, but in a historical point of view, as he had just before done with regard to Kant and Fichte.

‘Schelling exhibited the re-action of the Middle Ages against
 ‘the modern period, which was slavishly devoted to the old clas-
 ‘sical notions. In spite of the distinguished intellectual activity
 ‘which prevailed throughout the cultivated and nominally pro-
 ‘testant part of Europe from the days of the Reformation, men
 ‘had been drawn into a remarkable contractedness. They
 ‘thought and studied for the purpose of drawing themselves, of
 ‘their own free-will, out of the world’s history and the common
 ‘system of earthly things into an ideal dream-world; and if they
 ‘took any model for that dream-world from the past, it was the
 ‘life of the ancient Greeks and Romans. Here only they be-
 ‘held something of brightness, while all the rest of history lay
 ‘dark and waste, a hopeless barbarism. They despised the
 ‘earlier period of their own history; and even the grandeur, the
 ‘beauty, the enchantment of the (so-called) barbarous times (the
 ‘unclassical orientals, and the Roman Catholic Middle Ages)
 ‘were misapprehended and scorned. So thoroughly were they
 ‘blinded, that even the miracles of gothic architecture produced
 ‘no other impression upon their minds than to make the very men
 ‘who saw them every day shrug up their shoulders at them as the
 ‘extravagant and tasteless fantasies of a barbarous age.’

He proceeds to show how the concussion of the French Revolution turned the thoughts of the Germans to the old romantic times, and how they were led into the extreme of over-valuing these, and depreciating classical literature and protestantism. He remarks upon the adaptation of Schelling’s philosophy to this altered state of feeling and belief; and pursues the speculation at some length, and with consummate ability. He then criticizes in a very interesting style the principal disciples and successors of Schelling, Görres, Francis Baader, Oken, Steffens, Frederic Schlegel, Adam Müller, Troxler, Eschenmayer, &c. &c. (pp.

300—313). A very spirited critique upon Hegel next ensues. This luckless philosopher receives no quarter at the hands of Menzel; but is denounced as an inane, pedantic, low-thoughted sciolist, who merely had the knack of collecting around himself a coterie of admiring disciples, somewhat more empty-headed than their master. The whole criticism is written in Menzel's severest strain. (pp. 314—320.)

After noticing a few of the most recent metaphysicians of Germany, as well as the historians of philosophy, our author proceeds (p. 324) to descant upon 'the dark side of German philosophy.' This delicate subject he treats with that sound discretion and impartiality by which he is so eminently characterized. There are few Germans, we are persuaded, who could elevate themselves so far above the national spirit as to think and write as Menzel has thought and written on this topic. A Scotch philosopher of the school and spirit of Reid could hardly have animadverted with greater force upon the prevailing faults of the German metaphysicians. He remarks upon the number of those who have attempted these abstruse speculations without possessing the genius necessary to pursue them with any success (p. 325). He censures the magisterial arrogance which so deeply infects the psychologists of his country (p. 326). He talks of their obscure intricate terminologies, in a strain which would delight the very souls of most of our English reviewers (pp. 326, 327). He concludes with a very just and profound disquisition upon the prospects of German philosophy. The following is his closing paragraph:

'While we are approaching a new era in philosophy, we have, besides, attained a turning-point from which we may most advantageously look back and survey the course of speculation already past. It also seems as though we might expect that the history of philosophy will henceforward be conducted in an increasingly clear and comprehensive style. The results which survive the mass of truths and errors produced by individual thinkers,—these form the highest acquisitions of philosophy. If no single philosopher completely satisfies us (does any one of them completely satisfy himself?), we yet possess (as it were) an immense tablet on which are painted all human systems of philosophy, and which, together with the tablets that present the history of religion, art, and politics, afford the most interesting and instructive spectacle the human mind can contemplate. We gaze at the sun, and it dazzles us. But we look back, and we behold an immeasurable landscape which this sun illuminates. That sun, resplendent, yet invisible, is truth: that beautiful landscape is the history of philosophy, the wondrous panorama of original minds, who, with a daring beyond that of ordinary artists, stamp their own impress on the whole world,

‘and make the innumerable accomplishments of that world only a representation of themselves.’

We have now given a view of all those departments of German literature, which are most likely to interest the English reader, except that of polite literature, and to that we shall devote the two remaining articles. We have considered literature ‘in the mass,’ the influence of ‘school learning,’ the influence of ‘foreign literature,’ the ‘commerce of literature,’ and literature as connected with ‘religion and philosophy.’ As we must finish the series with the year, we shall entirely omit all mention of the chapters on Education, on Historical and Political Literature, and on Physical Science, which in fact would not be likely to interest the mere English reader, and shall confine ourselves to the most interesting parts of Menzel’s criticisms on the principal writers of modern Germany in the department of polite literature. We mean Klopstock, Lessing, Wieland, Göthe, Schiller, Tieck, &c., by whom the national literature of Germany may be said to have been at once created, and brought to its present state. A little more than half a century ago, and the Germans could scarcely be said to have a national literature at all. They have now a language as copious, as expressive, and almost as refined as any language in Europe, and a series of writers in it who will bear comparison with those of any other country, if we except our own. We say except our own, for it cannot as yet be said that they have had either a Shakespeare, a Milton, or a Bacon.—The portraits of these fathers of German literature, we flatter ourselves, will be deeply interesting. Here Menzel, whose powers are eminently adapted for criticism, is quite in his element.

ART. X. BRIEF NOTICES.

The Antiquities of Athens; and other Monuments of Greece. As measured and delineated by JAMES STUART, F.R.S., and NICHOLAS REVETT, Painters and Architects. London: C. Tilt. 1837.

The hand of the spoiler has been laid often, and heavily, upon the city of Minerva. The tasteful avarice of the Roman conqueror; the misguided, though excusable, zeal of the early Christians; the blind rage of Gothic and Saracenic invaders; and the neglect of barbarian rulers, have conspired to deprive Greece of those peerless works whose shattered remains are yet considered as the noblest monuments of architectural

genius in the world. And, instead of wondering at the dilapidated ruins presented there to the eye of the antiquary, we may almost feel it matter of surprise that so much yet exists. About seventy-six years ago, Stuart and Revett, stepping forward to preserve the precious relics of Athenian art—some of which have since perished—from oblivion, first published the result of their labours in that magnificent work, which can scarcely be unknown even to those of our readers to whose pockets its price would be as inconvenient as its size.

The elegant volume before us consists of seventy engravings, selected and reduced from Stuart’s large

work, and accompanied with concise and lucid explanations. The plates are of French workmanship, from the graver of artists experienced in this kind of reduction, and, though the volume is small enough for the pocket, the execution is beautifully clear and distinct. They are furnished with scales and measurements, and in most instances, the different members are repeated on a larger scale. They comprise examples of different styles and eras—the bold and majestic Doric, the graceful Ionic, and the luxuriant Corinthian—the classic taste of the age of Pericles, the more enriched beauty of later structures, and the less pure, but noble works of the Roman school. The subjects are as follows: The Acropolis; The Gate of the Agora; The Ionic Temple on the Ilissus; The Tower of the Winds;

The Choragic Monument of Lysicrates; The Pantheon of Hadrian; The Parthenon; The Erechtheum; The Odeum of Regilla; The Choragic Monument of Thrasyllus; The Propylea; The Temple of Theseus; The Temple of Jupiter Olympius; The Arch of Hadrian; The Aqueduct of Hadrian; The Monument of Philopappus; Temple at Corinth; The Encantada; Delos; The Pnyx.

Equal judgment and taste are displayed in the selection, and in the scientific criticisms and explanations; into which is compressed a fund of valuable information. We are confident that it will be found very useful as a comprehensive and instructive manual, not only to the novice, but even to the adept. A glossary of the technical terms employed is appended to the volume, for the use of the unscientific reader.

ART. XI. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

In the Press.

The Memoir of John Albert Bengel, Prelate in Wirtemberg, translated from the German, by the Rev. R. F. Walker, will appear in a few days.

Miss Lawrence, Author of 'London in the Olden Times,' is preparing for immediate publication, the work on which she has been engaged for the last five years, entitled, 'Historical Memoirs of the Queens of England, from the Commencement of the 12th to the 16th Century; Including a View of the Progress of Society, the Arts, and Literature, during that interesting period.'

Thomas Erskine, Esq., Advocate, Author of 'An Essay on Faith,' 'The Brazen Serpent,' &c., &c., has a new work in the press, which will appear in a few weeks.

Autumn; the concluding volume of Duncan's Sacred Philosophy of the Seasons.

Congregational Lecture.—Holy Scripture Verified; or the Divine Authority of the Bible confirmed by an Appeal to Facts of Science, History, and Human Consciousness. In Nine Lectures. By Rev. George Redford, D.D., LL.D. 1 vol. 8vo.

The Life of Nicholas, Count Zinzendorf. Translated from the German of Bishop Spangenberg. By Samuel Jackson, Esq.

The Landscape Annual for 1838; or Tourist in Spain and Morocco. With Plates after Drawings by David Roberts, Esq.

Lord Bacon's Works. A new edition, in 2 vols. imperial 8vo., with an Introductory Essay.

Just Published.

The Book of Psalms. A New Translation, with Notes, Explanatory and Critical. By W. Walford, late Classical and Hebrew Tutor in the Academy at Homerton. In 1 vol. 8vo.

Simpson's Plea for Religion. A new edition, with a Life of the Author. By Sir J. B. Williams, LL.D., F.S.A. 12mo.

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR NOVEMBER, 1837.

Art. I. *Athens and the Athenians.* By EDWARD LYTTON BULWER, Esq., M.P., A.M. Vols. I. & II. London: Saunders and Ottley, Conduit Street. 1837.

‘**T**O vindicate the memory of the Athenian people, without disguising the errors of Athenian institutions,’ is the declared purpose of Mr. Bulwer in the volumes now before us; as well as in two more, which are shortly to appear on the same subject. He has endeavoured also to combine an elaborate view of literature with the account of political and military transactions. That portion of the work, at present on our table, brings the reader down to the administration of Pericles, and an analysis of the tragedies of Sophocles. The unpublished remainder is to reach the period of the Roman conquest, and complete the history of the drama; besides including a survey of philosophy and manners. We shall limit ourselves in this article to a rapid glance at the events prior to the Peloponnesian war, narrated by our author, as an explanation of the rise and fall of Athens: and in doing so, it will be our duty freely to point out both the beauties and blemishes of his very valuable labours. Our criticisms on the Poetry, General Literature, and Social Life of Athens, we shall reserve for the future opportunity, which will no doubt be soon afforded us.

All may remember the emotions described by Cicero, when he once looked from afar upon Attica; and since so much of mere human happiness seems to originate in association, we may well conceive the imperishable interest attached to the city of

Minerva,—to the country of Solon and Themistocles,—to the marble miracles of the Acropolis,—to the recollections of Salamis and Marathon. Memory is the magic mirror with which history enchants mankind; and what Doctor Johnson said as to the site of Iona, was nothing more than the philosophy of common sense, poetically, and solemnly expressed; acknowledged, or at least experienced, by the thoughtful in every age. Hence pictures, or narratives, or disquisitions, relating to such topics as Athens and the Athenians, rarely grow wearisome. They belong to that which has become part of ourselves; and it is only another triumph of mind over matter, to linger among the shadows of antiquity.

The first book of Mr. Bulwer's five, already edited, touches upon the situation and soil of Attica; and upon the Pelasgians, as its earliest inhabitants, who exercised a predominant power in Greece. Their vestiges have puzzled the most learned heads in Europe: but waiving the thousand dreams of antiquaries and etymologists, it is rightly observed, that the grandchildren of Pelasgus were great builders of cities; and that their architecture should no longer be confounded with the Cyclopean. Of the former, which is by several centuries the oldest, a few specimens remain, consisting of polygonal masonry; each stone fitting into another, without cement. Sir William Gell maintains the possibility of tracing the walls of Lycosura, described by Pausanias 'as the first which the sun ever beheld,' near the fountain and oaks of the modern Diaphorte. Be this as it may, it is in their buildings that the Pelasgians have left the most substantial, if not the most indisputable record of their fame. They overran the whole of Greece, and were the progenitors of the still more illustrious Hellenes. In Attica, however, at all events, they had sunk into barbarism, when Cecrops is supposed by so many to have introduced his colony from Egypt. Whether this mythic personage had ever any real existence, or whether his origin were Grecian or foreign, let speculators determine if they can. It is far more important to remark that neither himself, said to be from Sais, nor Cadmus from Phenicia, nor the Phrygian Pelops, imposed an alien language upon the savages amongst whom they settled. Marriage, and the other elements of social institutions, agriculture and the cultivation of the olive, took root between the Ilyssus and the Cephissus. A craggy rock overlooking these streams, about 800 feet in length, and 400 in breadth, bore the first fortress immortalized in later times by the Parthenon. Eleven hamlets rose around it, constituting together with the Acropolis the twelve tribes of Cecropean Athens. They worshipped false gods under various titles, some indigenous, and others borrowed from the east, the north, and from the Nile. Although there never perhaps was, at any known historical period, a distinct caste of priests, a perverted imagination easily

supplied all deficiencies. Diluvian traditions, the adoration of departed heroes, the earth, the air, the sea, and the grave, imparted a dynasty of fancied deities to Olympus and Erebus. Woods, waters, and mountains became peopled with mythological creations. The more fantastic their forms or attributes, the more prevalent was their worship. Dodona, with its oracle and gloomy groves, as well as its curious fountain, dry at noon and full at midnight, went but little way towards satisfying the appetite of superstition, even before it was eclipsed by the prophetic frenzies of Delphi. Devoutly believing that each divinity often visited the world, Grecian polytheists nevertheless entertained two distinct systems of idolatry,—one belonging to poetry, the other to actual life. This is a circumstance important to bear in mind, since it explains many anomalies in their history. Yet whilst sacrifices, festivals, and mysteries, might afford some slight support or sanction to moral excellence, futurity presented next to nothing beyond a darkness that could be felt. Bounded, therefore, by impenetrable shadows to the visible world, it is only wonderful, that matters were not worse than we find them to have been. The Homeric descriptions of heaven convey to us the best possible ideas, we can obtain, as to what passed in everyday-life upon earth, during the heroic ages; and here it is, that an intellectual paradise at length greets our gaze: for though the philosophy, so called, of those times, was only a wandering meteor, at once transient and delusive, the national genius of Hellas expatiated in rhapsodies, in sculpture, and in painting; and unveiled, with all but an inspired apocalypse, the glories of the beautiful and sublime!

Passing forward from these bewitching subjects, our attention is arrested by two features fearfully prominent in Grecian annals,—the existence of slavery, and an hereditary aristocracy. ‘All ancient nations seem to have considered that the right of conquest gave a right to the lands of the conquered country.’ The more formidable among the native warriors being killed, exiled, or conciliated, a vanquished multitude would remain to become serfs or bondsmen. Their subsistence was the price of their agricultural labour; and we may see pretty clearly that similar results would ensue in the case of successful colonizers, overawing the country into which they might emigrate, by arts rather than arms. In such a case indeed the change would be produced very gradually: the process might be almost imperceptible, yet with consequences not the less certain. Crime, debt, and captives taken in war, must have augmented the numbers thus degraded. Here then was one source of peril to society, which affected more or less all Greece; although Sparta, rather than Athens, drank the deepest into its horrors. Her Helots avenged their wrongs upon the fears of their masters. They were descended, as

Müller conjectures, from the originally enslaved population of the Achæans; before these had been subdued by the Lacedæmonians. But whatever might have been their parentage, they were the Pariahs of the Peloponnesus; or like the negroes of the southern states in America, bowed down under an iron yoke; and yet planting with daggers the pillows of their oppressors. Protracted injuries lay an egg in the soul of aggression, which cruelty and suspicion, between them, hatch into a scorpion. It was not always so bad in Attica, or even elsewhere; for Herodotus mentions a remote era, when slavery was said to be unknown. But the cancer too soon appeared; and luxury increased it. 'The introduction of an hereditary aristocracy into a particular country, as yet uncivilized, is often simultaneous with that of slavery.' They are, in fact, twin-born evils, the double offspring of prosperous violence; possessing many sympathies in common; and equally difficult to extirpate. No alleviation occurred in either, through the ascendancy of the Hellenes, termed by our author the Normans of antiquity. They seem to have been that portion of the Pelasgian race, which the longest retained their fierce and vigorous character, as mountaineers, and spread from Phocis, over all the peninsula of Greece (except Arcadia) the greater part of Thessaly, Dodona, and Attica. The Return of the Heraclidæ was a consummation of this revolution. Through it, the Hellenic Dorians obtained possession of the Peloponnesus; whilst the Pelasgic Ionians, their principal rivals, became settled in the narrow territories, from Sunium to Bœotia. Colonies, in the mean time, as also at a later period, were planted along the coasts of Asia Minor, the Euxine, the Palus Mæotis, the Propontis, the shores of Lower Italy and Sicily, in Africa, and among the islands of the Mediterranean. Opposing families, then, as now, represented opposing principles. Athens and the Ionians established republics; Sparta and the Dorians oligarchies. They were the Liberals and Conservatives of their day. Abroad they diffused civilization and commerce; whilst at home, the Amphictyonic confederacy attempted to blend the interests of all into an important league, of which the specific purposes, although apparently rather religious than political, cannot now be ascertained with precision.

The Return of the Heraclidæ took place about eleven hundred years before the birth of Christ, and not more than eighty after the Trojan war; previous to which event, by at least a generation, Theseus had consolidated the Athenians into a powerful state. He founded a Prytaneum or council-hall, for the common use of their twelve tribes, dissolving the separate corporation of each, and so amalgamating into one community the scattered streets, villages, and houses, with their various inhabitants, around the citadel. The festival of the Panathenæa was then

instituted in honour of Minerva, and as a memorial of the union. At this time, the government appears to have been a patriarchal monarchy vested in his own person; but retaining only the command in war, he surrendered, or at least greatly restricted his other prerogatives, and by creating, under the name of Eupatrids, an hereditary nobility, as well as by dividing those below them into the two orders of husbandmen and mechanics, he formed a constitution indeed,—yet one that was most faulty, because grossly aristocratic. His nobles monopolized the care of religion, all expositions of the laws, and every magisterial office. Strangers without distinction were invited to the capital, that they might fraternize upon these terms. Local boundaries were also accurately defined. Ionia was separated from the Peloponnesus by a pillar erected in the Isthmus; of which the ancient games, dedicated to Neptune, recorded the date, and illustrated both the idolatry and manners. Such are declared to have been the institutions of Theseus, whose individuality we may consider about as real, as Niebuhr estimated that of Romulus or Numa Pompilius. That he was the historical representative of a certain period, there can be little doubt. That regal power for ages, before and after the Trojan war, must have depended for its extent and vigour, upon the personal qualifications of the sovereign, is equally clear; as it is also, that an oligarchy, basing its pretensions upon birth, ruled for many centuries at Athens. The humbler classes possessed little share, direct or indirect, in the management of their affairs; although the seeds of liberty, sown by the Creator himself in the very existence of society, had fallen into ground far too favourable to smother their future germination. ‘The democracy of Athens was not an ancient, yet not a sudden constitution. It developed itself slowly, unconsciously, continuously,—passing through the allotted orbit of royalty, oligarchy, aristocracy, timocracy, tyranny,—till at length it arrived at its dazzling zenith, blazed,—waned,—and disappeared.’ Thymoetes, great grandson to Theseus, having obtained his throne by the murder of a bastard-brother, lost it through his cowardice in declining a single combat with the chief of Bœotia. Melanthus, a Messenian exile, succeeded him by election, and was the father of Codrus; on whose patriotic and well-known self-sacrifice, the royal title of king became changed into that of archon; the office being still hereditary, although with fresh limitations to its authority imposed by the nobles. Medon, son to the last monarch, was the first of the thirteen perpetual archons occupying the next three hundred years in Athenian annals. In those days, there occurred an important emigration of his younger collateral relatives to the Asiatic Ionia. His twelve successors, overawed each in turn by the domineering Eupatrids, belonged to the respective houses of either Codrus or Alcmaeon; the latter being

another potent family, introduced into Attica, on the deposition of Thymoetes. But new changes were now demanded. The archonship, confined to ten years, invited the competition of all the distinguished magnates; until on the death of Eryxias, the lineal race of the Medontidæ terminated, and instead of one supreme magistrate, no less than nine shared his functions between them. The official term also was shortened to a twelve-month. At length, in the thirty-ninth Olympiad, and in the year B.C. 621, Draco, being chief archon, was deputed to institute fresh laws. He wrote them in blood; and they have perished. Our historian then presents us with a panoramic view of Greece and the Oriental world, previous to the time of Solon. He reminds us, that the Greek cities had the advantage of a continuous collision of mind; whereby experiment knew no rest, and stagnation became impossible. Their narrow confines concentrated genius into a focus; whilst sufficient similarity of manners and language remained, together with the enthusiasm of the Olympic games, to give them a distinct character from the rest of mankind. Thus were they prepared for their struggle with Persia. With all the disposition to follow him through his sketch of Sparta and the Messenian wars, we have no space for the investigation. Lycurgus had left an impress of stern and rigid majesty upon a race of heroes, without nerves, or sympathies, or refinement. They were, as compared with the Athenians, what the metal of the furnace is to the productions of the Parian or Pentelican quarries. They were cast rather than moulded. Their features were duration and inflexibility, rather than expression and beauty. Their government, regal in name, presented perhaps the firmest aristocracy that ever tyrannized. Whatever might be democratic by law was counteracted by custom. Their manners were a violation of nature. Even their liberty, such as it was, had no other charms than the hairshirt of the ascetic, with which he flays his flesh, but soothes his soul. Their valour bore the brunt indeed of a thousand storms: yet it seemed generally based more upon physical than mental qualifications. The horizon of their wishes and affections was the Peloponnesus alone; whilst Athens looked out of herself, over sea and land, far beyond the boundaries of Hellas, upon every known nation. Sparta indulged habits of contemplating the past, and conserving the present order of things: Athens was for the movement. She glowed for action, expatiated in the fields of imagination, and threw forward her very soul into the future!

Governments, throughout the greatest portion of Greece, had been oligarchies with a prince at their head; in other words,—bands of robbers with a captain over them. Transplantation assisted to popularize and improve these anomalies. Authority gradually came to be transmuted from a birth-right into a trust;

it withdrew from the shelter of ancient custom; and was made a loan from the living rather than an inheritance from the dead. Political struggles performed to freedom the kindly offices of incubation, and warmed into development the unalienable rights of man. Notions began to establish themselves, at a very early period, that it was for the welfare of the community all power must be exercised. The terms, State and City, grew to be synonymous. Civilization and commerce introduced a medium between the populace and nobles. Middle classes slowly sprang up; and with them, the desire for extended privileges and equal laws. At Athens, the very year after Draco had promulgated his new code, the conspiracy of Cylon agitated her to the core; and the loss of Salamis, in the contest with Megara, led to the primary appearance in public of Solon. We pass over the story of Epimenides, to notice the three parties of the mountaineers, the lowlanders, and the coastmen, into which the Athenians divided. They were the respective advocates of the democratic, aristocratic, and mixed constitutions. Confusion was getting rampant amongst the poor, the respectable, and the opulent. Some master-mind to compose the elements seemed unanimously called for; and what Socrates was to the philosophy of reflection, Solon was to the philosophy of action. Wisest among the seven sages of Greece, he was the statesman for that crisis. He had travelled, and thought, and studied. He had mingled with all sorts of men. With a cool head, affable manners, an unblemished fame, some genius, and an expansive range of observation, he aimed at no impracticable theories, but only at realizing amongst his countrymen the best they were capable of bearing. As to mere forms, he innovated as little as possible; rather adding to those of the old constitution, than annihilating ancient precedents. Thus he revived or maintained the senate; yet, to regulate it, he created a people. He founded a timocracy, or an aristocracy of property; based, however, not upon birth, but on the republican principles of popular jurisdiction, election, and appeal. The free population, including strangers, made the constituent body. Offices could only be occupied by the possessors of a certain estate; and he arranged proprietors into four ranks,—namely, the Pentacosimedimnians, or those whose annual income yielded 500 measures of any commodity, dry or liquid; the Hippeis, or horsemen, whose estates returned 300; the Zeugitæ, worth 200; and the Thetes, comprehending the multitude below that amount. The value of a measure was estimated at a drachma, or the price of a sheep. From the first order alone the archons could be chosen; and from the three first, the senators and minor magistrates were selected. The fourth retained little more than the elective franchise; except that any member of it had only to acquire the necessary fortune, when he ascended, as a

matter of course, in the graduated scale. Such a four-fold classification appears strikingly similar to the corresponding demarcations of society in feudal Europe; in the nobles, knights, burgesses, and peasantry of the Middle Ages. Solon apportioned his taxation according to property; and he established three great councils, or branches of the legislature. These were the Areopagus,—the Senate of Four Hundred,—and the General Assembly of the People. The Areopagus had once embraced all the Eupatrids; Solon limited it to those who had been archons. Every crime might be arraigned before their tribunal, from the guilt of murder, to the negative offence of idleness. They sat with primeval simplicity in the open air, upon the Hill of Mars. In subsequent times, they decided by ballot, after an impartial audience granted both to the accuser and the accused. The Senate, consisting of four and afterwards of five hundred, was clumsily elected by a mode dependent upon hazard rather than system; except that none were eligible under thirty. Its functions seem to have been those of universal superintendance over the fleets, the prisons, and even offences of a nature unspecified by law; with the duty moreover of preparing those measures, which were to be submitted to the General Assembly, as the last great court of appeal. It is justly remarked, that the grand modern improvement in legislation has been the union of these two latter courts into one; thus blending in a representative senate the sagacity of deliberation with the freedom of a popular conclave. The penal code underwent a mollifying and most beneficial process. Dread of shame, and love of glory, rendered vice hateful, and virtue attractive, so far as human enactments could do; although moderate fines, banishments, and in extreme cases, capital punishment, awaited the condemned transgressor. Upon such principles, whilst Lycurgus had constructed mere machines, Solon educated men. ‘In Athens, the true blessing of freedom was well placed in the opinions, and in the soul. Thought was the common heritage, which every man might cultivate at his will. This unshackled liberty had its convulsions and its excesses, but producing unbounded emulation, an incentive to every effort, a tribunal to every claim, it broke into philosophy with the one—into poetry with the other—into the energy and splendor of unexampled intelligence with all.’ Six of the nine archons, called Thesmothetæ, had annually the charge of revision and reform. Aliens met with considerable encouragement, although prohibited from purchasing lands, and subjected to a small impost. They were also compelled to nominate some citizen to plead any cause they might have before the judges. Slavery, unhappily, stood out as before in unmitigated atrocity.

It is with reason supposed, that the main outlines of his plan

being carried into effect by Solon during his archonship, their details might have been the labour of several years. Conceiving, however, that after a certain point had been attained, his absence might be advantageous to a city soon weary of its wisest advisers, he solicited from the people permission to travel; and exacted from them a promise that they would preserve his ordinances inviolate at least until he returned. He then repaired to Egypt, and from thence to Cyprus; where, after assisting in the foundation of a new town, under the sovereign of the island, he received and accepted an invitation to the court of Cræsus. Meanwhile, Pisistratus, bold, brilliant, opulent, ambitious, and a kinsman of the great legislator, was already at the head of the democrats or highlanders. When Solon revisited his country, matters had ripened for fresh changes; and the account of a revolution which ensued, will afford our readers, we think, not an unfair specimen of Mr. Bulwer's best style and manner :

‘The customary crowd was swarming in the market-place, when suddenly, in the midst of the assembly appeared the chariot of Pisistratus. The mules were bleeding—Pisistratus himself was wounded. In this condition the demagogue harangued the people. He declared that he had just escaped from the enemies of himself and the popular party, who (under the auspices of the Alcmaeonidæ) had attacked him in a country excursion. He reminded the crowd of his services in war—his valour against the Megarians—his conquest of Nisæa. He implored their protection. Indignant and inflamed, the favouring audience shouted their sympathy with his wrongs. ‘Son of Hippocrates,’ said Solon, advancing to the spot, and with bitter wit, ‘you are but a bad imitator of Ulysses. He wounded himself to delude his enemies—you, to deceive your countrymen!’ The sagacity of the reproach was unheeded by the crowd. A special assembly of the people was convened, and a partisan of the demagogue moved that a body-guard of fifty-men, armed but with clubs, should be assigned to his protection. Despite the infirmities of his age, and the decrease of his popular authority, Solon had the energy to oppose the motion, and predict its results. The credulous love of the people swept away all precaution—the guard was granted. Its number did not long continue stationary; Pisistratus artfully increased the amount, till it swelled to the force required by his designs. He then seized the citadel—the antagonist faction of Megacles fled—and Pisistratus was master of Athens. Amidst the confusion and tumult of the city, Solon retained his native courage. He appeared in public—harangued the citizens—upbraided their blindness—invoked their courage. In his speeches he bade them remember that if it be the more easy task to prevent tyranny, it is the more glorious achievement to destroy it. In his verses he poured forth the indignant sentiment, which a thousand later bards have borrowed and enlarged :—‘Blame not heaven for your tyrants, blame yourselves.’ The fears of some, the indifference of

others, rendered his exhortations fruitless! The brave old man sorrowfully retreated to his house, hung up his weapons without his door, and consoled himself with the melancholy boast, that 'he had done all to save his country, and its laws.' This was his last public effort against the usurper. He disdained flight; and, asked by his friends to what he trusted for safety against the wrath of the victor, replied, 'To old age,'—a sad reflection, that so great a man should find in infirmity that shelter which he claimed from glory.'—Vol. I., pp. 370—372.

Pisistratus conducted himself with such admirable moderation, as to deserve the eulogium of his wise relative, that 'but for his ambition he would have been the worthiest citizen of Athens.' He enforced the laws of Solon; so that his usurpation rather confirmed than supplanted the former order of affairs. For five or six years he retained his power unimpaired; until the lowlanders and coastmen, having united, soon succeeded in expelling him from the capital. The political wave brought him back by the vehemence of its recoil. A theatrical pageant reconciled the people to his return. Once more, however, he was exiled; and yet finally he fought his way home again, after the interval of eleven years. Experience had matured his talents, without hardening his heart. A passion for letters in general, and for the poems of Homer in particular, softened his sway, or at least gilded over the iron of his sceptre. He founded a public library, erected magnificent temples, laid out the gardens of the Lyceum, and fostered intellectual habits amongst his subjects. The tyranny of Pisistratus concentrated and embodied the elements of that democracy, which like Cromwell in England, or Napoleon in France, he rather wielded than overthrew. He introduced, or more probably strengthened, the already existing agricultural interest as a counter-balance against the commercial classes; conceiving, with the sagacity so common to all usurpers, that large landed proprietors form a better basis for an order of nobility, with its natural consequences, than the expansive opulence of trade, with so many popular associations. The capture of Sigeum, and the colonization of the Chersonesus by the first Miltiades, were the chief features of Athenian achievement in foreign countries. The usurper closed a long, chequered, but on the whole, most prosperous career, in the year 527 before the Christian era.

Three sons survived him,—Hippias, Hipparchus, and Thessalus. The administration of the eldest worked out the ambitious views of his father. The second proved himself an elegant sensualist, as the companion of Anacreon and Simonides. Having insulted the sister of Harmodius, that citizen, with his friend and preceptor Aristogeiton, conspired against the Pisistratidæ, and murdered Hipparchus. Hippias soon degenerated into a

sullen, cruel, and suspicious despot. The Alcæonidæ, who had been banished from Athens as irreconcilable enemies to his family, combined with Sparta for his overthrow; and, after two fruitless efforts, at length accomplished their object. Headed by Clisthenes, they allowed their leader to effect some important changes; which, whilst they wore the appearance of a party-triumph, in reality emancipated the country. It was his plan to scatter the power of the great proprietors, not altogether as traitors to the commonwealth, so much as opponents to his own faction. Yet, under the old Ionic division of four tribes, many ancient ties and sympathies had subsisted between the nobler and poorer classes. Clisthenes multiplied the four into ten; subdividing them moreover into still smaller denominations, each with its local magistrate, and local assemblies. To prevent the undue predominance of any individual, he introduced the Ostracism, to which he was himself an early victim. His expulsion occurred through an intrigue, patronized like former ones, by Sparta. Not that liberty could be thus annihilated; for Cleomenes, the Lacedæmonian, withdrew from Athens, both baffled and scorned, amidst the indignation of those, whom his success would have again enslaved. The breathing-time, afforded by his retreat, restored Clisthenes to his station. But, perceiving that Sparta was meditating deep revenge for her recent failure, some foreign alliance he considered necessary for the protection of the republic; and a formal embassy set out to engage the succour of Darius.

That prince had succeeded in grasping an enormous dominion. The Grecian colonies of Asia, the Lydian kingdom of Cræsus, the ancient Assyrian empire, the possessions of Cyrus, Egypt as conquered by Cambyses, the Median provinces of Deioeces, together with Thrace and Macedonia in Europe, were the members of his mighty monarchy. Bounded on the east by the Indus; on the north, by the Caspian and Euxine seas, as well as by the Caucasian mountains, and the rivers Oxus and Iaxartes; on the south, by the Arabian deserts; and on the west, by the shores of the Mediterranean—to Cyrene and the Thermaic gulf;—it comprehended millions of men spread over the fairest regions of the globe. Artaphernes, brother to the Persian sovereign, held the satrapy of Sardis; and before him the Athenian ambassadors respectfully appeared: ‘Send Darius,’ said he, ‘earth and water, the accustomed symbols of homage, and he will accept your alliance;’ and to this, after considerable deliberation, the Grecian strangers assented. On their return home, a storm of indignation fell upon them, as might have been expected. Athens repudiated their baseness, and gathered up her strength for the struggle. The Chalcidian war, which ensued, augmented her confidence in herself. ‘Not from the example of the Athenians

‘only,’ observes Herodotus, ‘but from universal experience, we may learn that an equal form of government is the best. Whilst in subjection to tyrants, the Athenians excelled none of their neighbours in war;—delivered from the oppressor, they excelled them all;—an evident proof that, controlled by one man, they exerted themselves feebly, because exertion was for a master; but regaining liberty, each was made zealous, because his zeal was for himself,—and his individual interest was the common welfare.’ It must be admitted, that truth sat upon his style, when the venerable father of profane history indited these immortal words; and the force of their simplicity seems irresistible. Hippias, who had resided at Sigeum, after his flight from Athens, paid a visit to Sparta; and now finally passed over to Sardis. There he bowed before the representative of the great king; and surrendered both his own independence, and so far as lay in his power, that of Greece herself, to the yoke of a master and an alien!

Meanwhile, there had occurred a prologue to the vast Persian tragedy. Darius had rewarded with satrapies the services of several Grecian nobles, during his recent Scythian expedition. Amongst these, Aristagoras, the deputy-governor of Miletus, became remarkable through an invasion of Naxos, the largest and most wealthy of the Cyclades, in conjunction with Megabates, one of the generals under the great king. The two commanders, however, having quarrelled, the expedition failed; and Aristagoras, foreseeing that his ill success would tell against him at Susa, anticipated its consequences by a revolt, and the establishment of republican institutions not merely in his own city, but in the other states of Ionia. To stand alone against such forces as must inevitably descend upon him, was impossible; and he therefore set out in person to implore aid from Lacedæmon and Athens. At the first he could do nothing; but at the last he arrived, just when the ambassadors had returned from Sardis, charged with the haughty reply of Artaphernes. It proved a crisis the most favourable for his purpose that could have been imagined. Twenty vessels of war were decreed for the assistance of Ionia. Five more were manned by the Eretrians of Eubæa, and sailed with the rest to Ephesus. There, the Greeks disembarking, marched up the country along the winding banks of the Cæyster, and over the mountains of Timolus, and surprised Artaphernes at Sardis. The city slightly built, although sufficiently populous, was soon set on fire. Thousands of Persians rushed into the market-place, and gallantly encountered their assailants. These, alarmed as much at their own conflagration, as at the unexpected resistance of the citizens, retreated under the influence of panic; and suffered heavy losses before they could reach their ships. Then followed the usual alternations of prosperity and

adversity,—of hope and fear,—which convulse almost every revolution. Cyprus acceded to the cause of liberty for a brief twelve-month; at the close of which she was compelled to re-assume her dependence. Aristagoras perished in Thrace, a martyr to his magnanimous projects. Ionia herself was reconquered, after the bloody combat at Ladé, opposite Miletus. The cloud of war swept onward over Chios, Lesbos, and Tenedos, not sparing either the towns or territories to the left of the Hellespont. Miltiades, chief of the Chersonesus, abandoned his possessions, and set sail for Phalerum. Mardonius, son-in-law to Darius, superseded Artaphernes, and pressed forward at the head of an unwieldy armament. He was bent upon the subjugation of Greece, or at least the chastisement of Athens :

‘From the time that the Athenians had assisted the forces of Miletus and Ionia in the destruction of Sardis, their offence had rankled deep in the bosom of Darius. Like most monarchs, he viewed as more heinous offenders the foreign abettors of rebellion, than the rebels themselves. Religion no doubt conspired to augment his indignation. In the conflagration of Sardis the temple of the great Persian* deity had perished; and the unexpiated sacrilege made a duty of revenge. So keenly indeed did Darius resent the share that the remote Athenians had taken in the destruction of his Lydian capital, that on receiving the intelligence, he is said to have called for his bow, and shooting an arrow in the air, to have prayed for vengeance against the offenders; and three times every day, as he sate at table, his attendants were commanded to repeat to him, ‘Sir, remember the Athenians.’—ib. p. 457.

We pass by the intermediate dispute between Athens and Egina, as well as certain political changes at Sparta, to survey for a moment (and it can be no more) the memorable plains of Marathon! The march of Mardonius, accompanied by Hippias, was marked by ravages the most barbarous. It terminated in that long expanse, which skirts the sea-coast of Attica, about ten miles to the north of Athens, looking towards the shores of Eubœa. It is now a dreary waste to every eye, but that of the mind, enkindled with a love of liberty, and the inextinguishable recollections of the brave. From the tumulus, thrown up after the battle over the corpses of the dead, may be seen ‘the grazing buffalo, or ‘peasant bending at his plough.’ Yet how different a spectacle was expanded’ under the sky three and twenty centuries ago.

* There is a slight mistake here. The temple really destroyed was that of the goddess Cybele, and not that of the Sun, as many readers of this paragraph might suppose. The Persians no doubt honoured her, as the Lydians also did.

Gigantic hosts, in all the splendor of oriental pageantry, covered the ground for miles; phalanxes of cavalry, with steeds and riders both sheathed in mail;—deep masses of turbaned infantry, drawn up in files seeming numberless, and beneath banners blazing and gorgeous: whilst between them and the city of Minerva, lay a comparative handful of from fifteen to sixteen thousand Greeks, with a low chain of wooded hills on their left, a torrent on their right, and strengthened by very few, if any, horsemen or archers. We may imagine their armour bright and well-tempered; their helmets wrought and crested with cones of many glowing colours, ‘and the plumage of feathers or horse-hair rich and waving in proportion to the rank of the wearer.’ We may fancy their vows, and sacrifices, and prayers: we may feel the general homage conceded to the genius of Miltiades; we may conceive the stern determination of freemen recoiling from slavery, in readiness for death with honour, rather than life with disgrace; we may hear the trumpet invented by Pallas for the peculiar use of her favoured votaries;—and then, lo! the uplifting of the standards,—the rush of battle,—the fierce charge so unexpected by Persia,—the barbarians breaking away towards the waves,—the triumph of civilization and liberty over despotism and darkness,—the curtain of night descending upon the confounded and slaughtered combatants;—until the whole scene of ocean and land, through the light of burning vessels, became still more luridly and awfully visible, to the exulting though wearied conquerors! The man who can remain unmoved amidst such associations, is welcome to our sincerest pity. He would smile at our having had a hazel cut upon the spot, and brought home amongst our choicest treasures, to make the hearts of listening children thrill and throb at its exhibition on a holiday. But we are reminded that Themistocles and Aristides had both distinguished themselves in the conflict. The latter watched over the prisoners and booty; whilst Miltiades conducted back his satiated troops to the town; lest a portion of the still formidable enemy, doubling the promontory of Sunium, might fall upon unprotected Athens.

The course of eleven eventful years, intervening between this victory and those of Plataea and Mycale, was illustrated by the character and popularity of Miltiades; his annexation of Lemnos and Imbrus to the Athenian sway; his subsequent failure before Paros; his trial on account of that disaster; the commutation of his capital sentence into a pecuniary fine of fifty talents; and his death soon afterwards, in prison. Our author has unanswerably prostrated the absurd assertions of Mitford and his copyists, as to the trial of the great general being an instance of popular ingratitude. It happens that his accuser was a noble; that his defence not being satisfactorily supported, the aristocracy demanded his death;—when the favour of the people, not unmindful of his

glory, preserved, so far as they were able, the life of their hero ! For all these statements, astonishing as they must appear to party writers, and conservative historians, there have ever existed both chapter and verse in the original documents of the times : yet what are they deemed worth, when a prejudice against freedom is to be fostered at our public schools and universities ? Aristides and Themistocles had now become the prominent actors at Athens ; and we extract with pleasure their portraits as drawn by Mr. Bulwer :

‘ Before the battle of Marathon, Aristides had attained a very considerable influence in Athens. His birth was noble—his connexions wealthy—his own fortune moderate. He had been an early follower and admirer of Clisthenes, the establisher of popular institutions, after the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ ; but he shared the predilections of many popular chieftains, and while opposing the encroachments of a tyranny, supported the power of an aristocracy. The system of Lycurgus was agreeable to his stern and inflexible temper. His integrity was republican—his loftiness of spirit was patrician. He had all the purity, the disinterestedness, and the fervour of a patriot ;—he had none of the suppleness or the passion of a demagogue ; on the contrary, he seems to have felt much of that high-spirited disdain of *managing* a people, which is common to great minds conscious that they are serving a people. His manners were austere ; and he rather advised than persuaded men to his purposes. He pursued no tortuous policy ; but marched direct to his object, fronting, and not undermining, the difficulties or obstacles in his path. His reputation for truth and uprightness was proverbial ; and when some lines in Æschylus were recited on the stage, implying that ‘ to be, and not to seem, his wisdom was,’ the eyes of the spectators were fixed at once upon Aristides. His sternness was only for principles—he had no harshness for men. Priding himself on impartiality between friends and foes, he pleaded for the very person, whom the laws obliged him to prosecute ; and when once, in his capacity of arbiter between two private persons, one of the parties said that his opponent had committed many injuries against Aristides, he rebuked him nobly : ‘ Tell me not,’ he said, ‘ of injuries against myself, but against thee. It is thy cause I am adjudging, and not my own.’ It may be presumed that, with these singular and exalted virtues, he did not seek to prevent the wounds they inflicted upon the self-love of others, and that the qualities of a superior mind were displayed with the bearing of a haughty spirit. He became the champion of the aristocratic party, and before the battle of Marathon, held the office of public treasurer.’—Vol. II., pp. 64—66.

Themistocles, however, was the genius of his age ; made up of extremes ; without virtue, but without fear. The trophies of Miltiades had deprived him of sleep ; not so the far nobler ones of Aristides. His powers expanded with his years.

‘Once emerged from the obscurity of his birth, which was illegitimate, according to Athenian prejudice, since his mother was a foreigner, his success was rapid, for he possessed all the qualities which the people demand in a leader—not only the talents and the courage, but the affability and the address. He was an agreeable and boon companion—he committed to memory the names of the humblest citizens—his versatility enabled him to be all things to all men. Without the lofty spirit and beautiful mind of Pericles, without the prodigal but effeminate graces of Alcibiades—without indeed any of their Athenian poetry in his intellectual composition, he yet possessed much of their powers of persuasion, their ready talent for business, and their genius of intrigue. But his mind, if coarser than that of either of his successors, was yet perhaps more masculine and determined; nothing diverted him from his purpose—nothing arrested his ambition. His ends were great, and he associated the rise of his country with his more selfish objects; but he was unscrupulous as to his means. Avid of glory, he was not keenly susceptible to honour. He seems rather not to have comprehended, than, comprehending, to have disdained, the limits which principle sets to action. Remarkably far-sighted, he possessed, more than any of his contemporaries, the prophetic science of affairs: patient, vigilant, and profound, he was always energetic, because always well prepared.’—Vol. II., pp. 69, 70.

In the lapse of a comparatively brief interval, Aristides lost ground at Athens, partly through jealousy at his unimpeachable fame; and in part, through that strict impartiality between friends and foes, in appointments to offices, which disgusted his warmest adherents. Such a policy, startling as the assertion may appear, we agree with Mr. Bulwer in affirming to be neither wise nor just; for, leaving selfishness for an instant out of the question, we either act upon principle, or from party motives. If the former,—‘we weaken public virtue, when we give equal rewards to the principles we condemn as to those which we approve. We make it seem as though the contest had been but a war of names, and we disregard the harmony, which ought imperishably to subsist between the opinions which the state should approve, and the honours which the state can confer.’ Even where mere partizanship is the spring of action, we maintain that the spirit of the original compact, through which all political unions hold together, is violated, when opponents are suffered to gather the harvest, and followers go unrewarded. That there are certain obvious limits to this, as well as every other course of conduct, we admit; yet, as history ought to be ‘philosophy teaching by examples,’ we recommend these passing remarks, with all seriousness, to our present rulers, for their consideration. There is no occasion for either harshness or laxity; only let prizes fall into right hands, instead of being whirled round in the wheel of a lottery; or still more vexatiously retained by those, who eat the bread but curse the beards of their employers. Themistocles

was the more practical man. It was a favourite saying of his,—‘The gods forbid that I should be in power, and my friends no ‘partakers of my success.’ His influence, therefore, soon eclipsed that of his rival, who was banished by the Ostracism from Athens. Meanwhile, the silver mines of Laurion having become very productive, Themistocles had the courage to propose, that their revenues, instead of being divided as heretofore between all the free citizens, should in future be appropriated to the national object of enlarging the navy. The people consented to this sacrifice, although falling immediately upon themselves, and pressed upon them by their own leader;—a sacrifice, be it observed, which no aristocracy would have endured, nor a single aristocrat have ever dreamed of supporting, in any other fashion, than as when Sancho Panza undertook to lay a diurnal complement of stripes upon his own precious person. Generosity, however, will be found to lie at the bottom of almost all popular bodies. The money thus obtained, augmented the maritime forces of Athens to 200 triremes. Twenty new ones were to be built annually. A new and nobler direction was given to the public mind. Themistocles, when reproached with having taken his countrymen ‘from the spear and shield, and sent them to ‘the bench and oar,’ gloried in it, as the main point of his policy. He discerned from afar the mighty preparations which Persia was making to avenge her disgraces.

Darius having died, his second son Xerxes, by Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, ascended the throne. A revolt of nearly all Egypt had first to be quelled, before he could let loose the full flood of war against Europe. But after he returned, as the new lord of the East, triumphant from the Nile, in the second year of his reign, Mardonius governed his councils. That general had not forgotten Marathon; nor did his master need to be reminded of it. The splendours of Babylon, Ecbatana, Persepolis, and Susa, together with his recent successes, inflated his imagination and pride. To an astonished divan he laid open schemes, which regarded Greece but as the threshold of the conquest of the West;—‘until heaven itself should be the only boundary to ‘the Persian realms, and the sun shine on no country contiguous ‘to his own.’ Artabanus alone remonstrated, and predicted the consequences. For an interval his remonstrances seemed, and only seemed, to have prevailed; for wisdom could never dwell permanently with courtiers and eunuchs. The expedition against Greece became a favorite project, with the great king, as well as his besotted subjects. Four years were not deemed an idle delay in collecting fleets and armies destined to overrun the occidental world. ‘Never,’ says Herodotus, whose expressions we borrow, ‘was there such an armament before. Hard would ‘it be to specify one nation of Asia, which did not accompany

‘the king, or any waters, save the great rivers, which were not ‘exhausted by his troops.’ Nothing that skill could accomplish, or foresight devise, was left unattempted or unarranged. The promontory of Mount Athos was severed from the Thracian continent by an enormous canal. Bridges were thrown across the Strymon and Hellespont; and in the year B.C. 480, Xerxes set out from Sardis for Abydos. There he reviewed his overwhelming forces; and wept at the solemn reflection, that within less than a century each living soul before him would be numbered, like himself, with the dead! He poured a libation into the sea at sun-rise; had perfumes burnt upon the bridge which history has immortalized; and then, imploring the orb of day to crown his arms with prosperity, he cast the cup with a scimitar into the waves,—the signal for his battalions to move. Seven days, and as many nights, were consumed in their mere transit out of Asia into Europe. The Hellespont, crowded with masts and sails, beheld 1,700,000 men reflected in its waters,—as Assyrians, Indians, Parthians, Nubians, Ethiopians, Syrians, and Colchians, poured into the plains of Doriscus, followed by suttlers, slaves, courtezans, camels, and horses, with all the paraphernalia and baggage of so vast a multitude. Twelve hundred and seven triremes skirted the shore, as infantry and cavalry advanced to Thermè and Mygdonia, out-spreading their multitudinous array to the rivers Lydias and Haliacmon. Greece, instead of instantly uniting against the invaders, still seemed a prey to local jealousies. Several of her states anticipated the storm, and sent the symbols of their allegiance forthwith to the barbarian. Herodotus declares that, had Athens followed their example, Hellas must have submitted to the yoke. For no resistance could then have occurred by sea: the Lacedæmonians could not have persevered by land, deserted as they would have been by their allies; so that the honour of rescuing civilization from an oriental deluge, which might have affected every land in every age, down to our own times, is due, and due alone, under divine Providence, to the invincible Athenians. The oracles, pre-engaged no doubt by Persian emissaries, afforded small encouragement. A congress of the Peloponnesians met at Corinth, in which, happily for all, Themistocles acquired the most important influence. He allayed dissensions, and wove into one web of policy the various dispositions and passions there convened. Ambassadors were sent for succours to Argos, Crete, Coreyra, and Syracuse,—in vain. The Thessalians dispatched envoys to the Isthmus, although their chiefs had joined, and even invited, Xerxes into their country. But both people and princes, as the storm came on, yielded to its fury; when it was at length determined by the Grecian confederates to defend the Pass of Thermopylæ.

The result of that determination is too well known to allow us to dwell upon an oasis in the annals of mankind, which makes the blood leap quicker in our veins. The allied squadron from Corinth, Megara, Egina, Sicyon, Sparta, Epidaurus, Eretria, Træzen, Ityræa, Ceos, and the Opuntian Locris, amounted to 124 vessels; which were more than doubled by the complement from Athens, with Themistocles for its admiral. Artemisium, about fifteen miles from Thermopylæ, in the narrow sea along the projecting shores of Eubæa, was selected as a naval station, offering great advantages in encountering superior numbers, as well as affording facilities for retreat, should it turn out to be necessary. Eurybiades, a Spartan, had the nominal command in chief over the entire fleet; but Themistocles was the soul of every design, and possessed the real control. In fact, the Euripus proved the Thermopylæ of the ocean. Several severe actions exercised the strength and valour of both parties, without any decisive consequences to either. Athens signalized herself in the wisdom as well as courage of her sons, and fresh succours hastened to the aid of Themistocles. The Persians lying off Aphetæ, under Mount Pelion, after having been rather disheartened than encouraged in the late engagements, received further damage from a dreadful storm like those so frequent in Grecian summers. 'The bodies of the dead, and the wrecks of ships floating around the prows, entangled their oars amidst a tempestuous and heavy sea.' Yet the death of Leonidas left them presently sole masters of the whole coast to Sunium and Salamis, where the Greeks had anchored after retiring from Artemisium. The selfish warriors of the Peloponnesus occupied themselves in fortifying the Isthmus; thus leaving Attica without protection to brave the Median invasion. Upon the talents of an individual the awful catastrophe was to turn. Themistocles well knew that for his countrymen to coop themselves in their capital, would be to invite utter destruction. He therefore harangued them from day to day; he appealed to the Delphian oracle, which his subtlety and bribery had warped to his own views; he contrived that the sacred serpent, kept in the temple of Minerva, should suddenly disappear;—until finally having convinced them that their real defence must be in wooden walls, their families were sent away to cities of refuge, whilst he embarked those, who could bear arms, in the navy of 378 large triremes. The same sagacious commander brought about the subsequent battle of Salamis: 'High on a throne of precious metals, placed on one of the eminences of Mount Ægaleos, sate, to survey the contest, the royal Xerxes. The rising sun beheld the shores of the Eleusinian gulf lined with his troops to intercept the fugitives, and with a miscellaneous and motley crowd of such as were rather spectators than sharers of the conflict.' The Persian gallies are com-

puted to have been a thousand in number upon the lowest calculation. As the fatal morning broke, loud pæans among the rocks mingled with the shouts of the sailors and the clang of trumpets:

‘The admiral of the great king directed his manœuvres chiefly against Themistocles, for on him, as the most renowned and experienced of the Grecian leaders, the eyes of the enemy were turned. From his ship, which was unusually lofty, as from a castle, he sent forth darts and arrows, until one of the Athenian triremes, commanded by Aminias, shot from the rest, and bore down upon him, with the prow. The ships met, and fastened together by their brazen beaks, which served as grappling irons, Ariabignes, as Herodotus calls him, or Ariamenes, according to Plutarch, gallantly boarded the Grecian vessel, and was instantly slain by the hostile pikes, and hurled into the sea. The first who took a ship was an Athenian named Lycomedes. The Grecians keeping to the straits, the Persians were unable to bring their whole armament to bear at once, and could only enter the narrow pass by detachments;—the heaviness of the sea, and the cumbrous size of their tall vessels, frequently occasioned more embarrassment to themselves than the foe,—driven and hustling the one against the other. The Athenians maintaining the right wing, were opposed by the Phœnicians; the Spartans on the left by the Ionians. The first were gallantly supported by the Æginetans, who, long skilled in maritime warfare, eclipsed even their new rivals, the Athenians. The Phœnician line was broken. The Greeks pursued their victory, still preserving the steadiest discipline, and the most perfect order. The sea became strewn and covered with the wrecks of vessels, and the bodies of the dead; while, to the left, the Ionians gave way before that part of the allied force commanded by the Spartans, some fighting with great valour, some favouring the Grecian confederates. Meanwhile, as the Persians gave way, and the sea became more clear, Aristides, who had hitherto remained on shore, landed a body of Athenians on the isle of Psyttaleia, and put the Persian guard, there stationed, to the sword.

‘Xerxes from the mountain, his countless thousands from the shore, beheld afar and impotent, the confusion, the slaughter, the defeat of the forces on the sea. Anxious now only for retreat, the barbarians fell back upon Phalerum; and there intercepted by the Æginetans, were pressed by them in the rear; by the Athenians, led by Themistocles, in front.’—*ib.*, pp. 171—181.

‘Leaving Mardonius in Thessaly, where he proposed to winter, Xerxes now hastened home. Sixty thousand Persians, under Artabazus, accompanied the king only as far as the passage into Asia; and it was with an inconsiderable force, which pressed by famine, devastated the very herbage on their way, and which a pestilence and the dysentery diminished as it passed, that the great king crossed the Hellespont, on which the bridge of boats had already been broken by wind and storm. A more abundant supply of provisions than they had yet experienced, tempted the army to excesses, to which many fell victims. The rest arrived at Sardis with Xerxes.’—*ib.*, pp. 190, 191.

Mardonius, through Alexander of Macedon, in vain attempted to detach the Athenians from the confederacy; imagining, upon good grounds, that if he could but do so, all Greece would fall an easy prey. Frustrated, however, in this and similar efforts, he laid Attica waste, and seized upon its deserted metropolis; for the Athenians had returned to it, after their late victory, for a mere brief interval, until the purposes of Persia should be apparent. When the forces of the great king once more advanced, the citizens retired to arouse Sparta from her lethargy. That state at length re-awakened her energies; and 40,000 men, under the regent Pausanias, set out for action. No sooner did Mardonius hear of their march, than he committed what remained of Athens to the flames, and pitched his tents on the banks of the Asopus, extending them from Erythræ to Plataea. There, overtaken by the Grecian allies, after several days in the month of September being spent about manœuvres, single combats, and conflicting councils on both sides, an engagement, second to few in its character and results, prostrated and scattered the oriental armies. Mardonius received a mortal wound, and died upon the field. With him expired the last dream of barbaric conquest. The Athenians then rushed upon his camp, and carried it by storm. So complete was the panic, and so tremendous the slaughter, that a few thousands barely escaped. Such plunder and treasures awaited the victors, as ultimately demoralized Lacedæmon;—tents and couches flaming with gold, cups, vessels, and sacks full of the precious metals,—chains, bracelets, and other ornaments of the dead,—besides horses, sumpter-mules, female captives, and all the trappings and appliances, by which despotism made a luxury of war! On the self-same day, a no less remarkable triumph was achieved at Mycale, in Ionia, where Athens again led the way in annihilating the fleets of her enemy. The trophies of Salamis were almost rivalled in Asia, and upon the very coasts of the now humbled autocrat. Sestos was also successfully besieged; and the Athenian fleet returned to Phalerum laden with enormous booty, and bearing the cables of the celebrated bridge over the Hellespont, to be suspended in the Delphian temple. Still lingering in Lydia, Xerxes beheld the scanty and exhausted remnants of that prodigious armament, over which he had condescended to weep in the zenith of his power. It had fulfilled, and more than fulfilled, the prediction of his tears; whilst Athens, the object of its vengeance, was destined for a career of glory. Greece rose visibly and majestically above the rest of the civilized earth; and the acropolis of Minerva was the radiant day-star upon her brow. Neither Rome, nor Gaul, nor Germany, had been as yet redeemed from barbarism. In Italy indeed, Etruria, with its uncertain illumination, was waning fast from the scene; while in the south alone, those colonies which

were planted by Hellenic or Pelasgic emigrants, shed light upon their adopted shores. The pride of Carthage had been broken by a signal defeat in Sicily; and Persia, although still the grand monarchy of the East, succumbed under that stroke of paralysis, from which she never perfectly recovered.

Themistocles hastened to rebuild the walls of his native city, and to form the new harbour of the Piræus. Both these affairs demanded an astonishing share of address; in which accomplishment, however, their promoter happened to be without a parallel. He was a wonderful and fortunate politician; but, like too many others of his class, he confounded external greatness with substantial prosperity. He resolved to unite the various insular states in one vast confederacy, at the head of which he foresaw that his own country must be placed, through her navy and commerce. In this way, the supremacy of Sparta by land became sapped and undermined by the maritime prowess of her rival. Pausanias grew rich, haughty, and corrupted, Aristides, connected with him in command, remained simple and sagacious. His moderation extinguished opposition, and enabled him to consolidate the Ionic league. Its treasury being fixed first at Delos, and afterwards removed to Athens, placed the golden key of all Greece in her hand. Cimon, the son of Miltiades, now emerged into unclouded eminence. Cyprus, Byzantium, Eion, Scyros, Thasos, and Naxos, the Grecian cities of Caria and Lycia, as well as the Thracian Chersonesus, were rendered more or less subject to Athens. From the Chelidonian isles on the Pamphylian coast to the Cyanean rocks at the entrance of the Euxine, every hostile steamer had vanished. No troops could approach within a day's journey on horseback of the Grecian seas. The affair of Tanagra brought all Bœotia, except Thebes herself, into the Athenian alliance. In Egypt alone, failure total and merited, awaited its interference. True also it is, that the grandeur of Athens was not supported by natural strength; her soil being sterile, her territory limited, her population small. It depended for its very existence upon advance and excitement, accompanied, as these must necessarily be, in such circumstances, by correspondent ultimate exhaustion. From being the constituted guardian of Grecian revenues, luxury, and refinement, led her gradually to look upon herself as little else than their trustee for *her own* benefit. Reliance upon that, which degenerated into foreign tribute, rotted away the spirit of industry in her people. Self-aggrandizement became the idol of the Athenians. They domineered over others, without governing themselves. They were the lords rather than the labourers of the common hive; and hence the character attached to them was that of hornets rather than protectors. A further source of deterioration lay in the alms and public tables (or poor-laws as we should call them), instituted

by Cimon, which offered encouragement to idleness, instead of imposing penalties upon it, as Pisistratus had done. Nor was the administration of justice free from the grossest defects; so that the heart of society got diseased at home, rendering it callous as to what went on abroad. Müller observes that the means, whereby multitudes were attracted to Attica, were an equality without bounds, and an excessive licentiousness. An admiral from the Phalerum sailed annually round the Archipelago, like the Capudan Pasha of Turkish times, to collect the imposts, and watch the posture of affairs. His vigilance, however, was that of the vulture! Power beget oppression; and opulence corruption. Yet for seventy years the supremacy of Athens lasted. Aristides and Themistocles, followed by the son of the hero of Marathon, illustrated the age which produced, adored, and then neglected them. Nowhere, as on the banks of the Ilyssus, could be seen festivals and theatrical entertainments so magnificent and various; or manners so polished, or social enjoyments so multiplied and refined. Athens was to the ancient world what Paris was to the modern one in the eighteenth century—the seat of fashion, taste, philosophy, poetry, the fine arts, and general science. The victory at Salamis had led to several democratic consequences. Obtained by seamen, mostly the lowest of the populace, these began to claim, in political privileges, the rewards of military service. The destruction of houses and property by Mardonius, and the temporary but national abandonment of the city, broke down many ancient distinctions. After the battle of Plataea, Aristides, himself an aristocrat, proposed and carried the abolition of proprietary qualifications for civil offices. The career of Pausanias warned Hellas in general, and the adventures of Themistocles Attica in particular, that the standard of public virtue in public men was fast declining. Yet common spectators, perhaps, saw no shadows amidst the dazzling lights of that picture, which Mr. Bulwer has eloquently described, and which is the last extract we can afford room for on the present occasion.

‘A rapid glance over the events of the few years, commemorated in the last book of this history, will suffice to show the eminence which Athens had attained over the other states of Greece. She was the head of the Ionian league—the mistress of the Grecian seas; with Sparta, the sole rival that could cope with her armies, and arrest her ambition, she had obtained a peace; Corinth was humbled—Ægina ruined—Megara had shrunk into her dependancy and garrison. The states of Bœotia had received their very constitution from the hands of an Athenian general—the democracies, planted by Athens, served to make liberty itself subservient to her will, and involved in her safety. She had remedied the sterility of her own soil by securing the rich pastures of the neighbouring Eubœa. She had added the gold of Thasos to the silver of Laurion, and established a footing in

Thessaly which was at once a fortress against the Asiatic arms, and a mart for Asiatic commerce. The fairest lands of the opposite coast,—the most powerful islands of the Grecian seas,—contributed to her treasury, or were almost legally subjected to her revenge. Her navy was rapidly increasing in skill, in number, and renown; at home the recal of Cimon had conciliated domestic contentions, and the death of Cimon dispirited for awhile the foes to the established constitution. In all Greece the Athenian Myronides was perhaps the ablest general—Pericles (now rapidly rising to the sole administration of affairs) was undoubtedly the most highly educated, cautious, and commanding statesman.—ib., pp. 332—384.

It was about five years after the death of Cimon, that Pericles obtained that supreme power which resembled a tyranny, but was only the expression and concentration of the democratic will. This celebrated politician is found in the midst of immortal names, at the close of an heroic, yet in the meridian of a civilized age. His birth, services, and genius, have attracted the greatest attention in almost all times, and in every country. It may have escaped our author, that several years since, in the heat of the debates on the Reform Bill, an elaborate parallel was drawn in the Quarterly Review between Earl Grey and Pericles the Alcmeonid. The latter it was “who overthrew the fabric of Athenian grandeur; who neutralized *the conservative power of the Areopagus*, and transferred the supreme authority to an uncombed democracy. By releasing the deliberations of the popular assembly from the control of the Areopagus, he deprived the constitution of all stability, and exposed it to every blast of caprice. It was no longer a machine regulated upon known principles, but subjected to the wanton management of influential demagogues.” The angry critic then proceeds to warp the records of history to his own view, and shower charges of ambition, as well as selfishness, upon a liberal Premier, from the exclusive shelves of some college-library. Precious in the eyes of Toryism will ever be the most remote image of a House of Lords, lowering through the mists of antiquity. Undoubtedly the great Athenian enthroned himself in the affections of his countrymen; but we have the testimony of Thucydides, that it was through the excellence of his manners, his personal uprightness, and the dignity with which he addressed the people. Not therefore indebted to any unworthy conduct for the power he possessed, neither flattery nor cajolery was necessary for its exercise. He inspired an entire population which loved him, with confidence in misfortune; without sparing to rebuke its insolence, or contradict its wishes in prosperity. He humbled, indeed, the aristocracy, although belonging to their privileged class himself; most justly judging, that the retention of what ought not to be retained, involves folly as well as crime; in other words, that it is the devil in a cap and bells!

The Aristotelian description, with the *επατριδες πλουτω και βιω σωφρονι διαφεροντες*, may be applied to a portion of our own Upper House, as well as to the Areopagus of Athens: but the simple point at issue is, whether *irresponsible power*, however good in the estimation of weak minds for the few possessing it, works beneficially or otherwise for the public at large. Pericles acted upon his own opinion touching such matters, and made many a noble monopolist of his times turn pale at the abominations of his liberalism. This we can readily conceive. He governed the masses with prodigious talent most assuredly; yet it is not the less certain, that it was by and through themselves. His financial abilities none could deny. He raised the tribute paid by the confederate cities, then about six hundred in number, to the average of a talent each, or the gross annual sum of £144,000 sterling altogether; instead of receiving only four hundred and sixty talents for the whole, as had been settled by Aristides. He made, Athens, moreover, the centre of judicial authority, by allowing a right of appeal from the tribunals in the inferior states. Hence arose an augmentation to her revenues, besides her being rendered the civil and forensic metropolis of all Greece. The rents for her corporate properties, such as pastures, forests, salt-works, rivers, houses, theatres, and mines, were let for terms of years, or on heritable leases. Tolls, customs and excise, tithes, a poll-tax paid by strangers for protection, and upon slaves, at the rate of three obols per head, formed the minor sources of income. They were probably farmed out among speculators, together with the fines levied upon persons convicted of petty misdemeanours. Pericles seems to have been the earliest Chancellor of the Exchequer on record, who fulfilled the duties of his office upon any thing like scientific principles; whilst, as first Lord of the Treasury, in modern parlance, he left Athens herself to be the memorial of his magnificence and profuseness. His foreign policy was at its commencement essentially pacific. Not that he bowed down to ambition less than others who caught popular attention; but he understood better than they did, on what foundations the real grandeur of their country could be reared—namely, a maritime force, strengthening those possessions already acquired, and exercising “that inert and silent power, which springs, as it were, from moral dignity and national renown:—whatever in this latter respect might make Athens illustrious, made her formidable.” Under his auspices, the Acropolis became so covered with splendid edifices, that it was called by its admirers ‘a city of the gods;’ whilst others, envious of its fame, insinuated that the Empress of the seas had degenerated into ‘a vain woman decked out with her jewels.’ The master-pieces of Phidias, Callicrates, and Mnesicles the architect of the Propylæa, will probably be never surpassed; nor can a more felicitous combination

of genius, taste, materials, and climate, be conceived by the mind of man. The matchless marbles of Paros received from the hands of skilful artists such symmetry of proportion, as well as such elaboration of workmanship, combined with durability, as might have defied the fingers of time, had not barbarism and war volunteered their atrocious assistance. Tombs and tripods absorbed sums almost without limit in their embellishment. Ivory and gold were lavished in the most tasteful ornament; realizing alike the sublime Superb, and avoiding the vulgarity of ostentation. Even the interior of the temples glowed with the richest harmony of colours, with each lineament and hue perfect in its style and polish. The Elgin and other existing fragments, mutilated as they are, still proclaim that the fine arts at Athens were Passions rather than Tastes; so that with the Odeon and Parthenon, she might well be denominated the Ἑλλάς Ἑλλάδος, "the Greece of Greece!" But alas! alas! fuit Ilium et ingens Gloria, is the affecting motto upon all; and amidst the approaching Peloponnesian war, her political ascendancy at least was to be brought down to the ground. Having tasted the earlier miseries of that cup of bitterness, Pericles departed.

We thank our author cordially for the entertainment and delight afforded in these volumes. They possess the rare merit of being written for all classes, and for all ages. The most imaginative and refined will find nothing *beneath* their notice; nor the less instructed, anything *above* their comprehension. The ardour of youth may take fire from their perusal; and the wisdom of age expatiate in the more pensive pleasures of memory. This feature of universality strikes us as marking first-rate genius. Mr. Bulwer's reputation has now extended wherever our literature is known, or the English language is spoken. Athens and the Athenians will cover him with fresh garlands; for his translations and criticisms on the tragedians and other poets, which we reserve for a future occasion, will not detract from, but enhance his fame as a gifted favourite with the muses. His erudition appears just where it ought; in his familiar acquaintance with and mastership over the subject before him, rather than in learned notes, or multiplied references. The page is replete with information conveyed in a manner at once animated, and generally graceful. But there is no flourish of trumpets, no parade of superiority, nor the consequential airs of a mere man of letters. The work is what it purports to be—a history; with each narrative given as an ancient Greek of the lower age might have done it, had he been now alive—throwing all his soul into the annals of his own country—aiming to be perspicuous as well as to be admired—tenacious of truth for its own sake—stored with authentic knowledge—in love with liberty—and full of natural talent. As on the pinions of an eagle, he often soars into the sunlight

of imagination; yet without losing sight of the earth. His facts stand out, much more than his style, in native and forcible simplicity—whilst the coruscation and enthusiasm of his feelings are only caught by the proper projections; thus making the entire work, like a series of intellectual architecture under a warmly illumined sky, full of brilliant sights and scenes, and peopled with living statuary. We will also redeem our pledge in noticing his blemishes. In the completeness of our admiration for classical lore, we trust never to lose our love for the ‘pure wells of English undefiled.’ Our own language, derived to most of us through the lips of a mother, flows from its very origin in connexion with many sacred reminiscences. But independent of this, there is an intrinsic richness, strength, and music in its soul and sounds, which to trifle with or violate, strikes us as the extreme of literary sacrilege. We glory also in its genuine Anglo-Saxon character; while thankful for the admixture of Greek and Roman words, which have so augmented its flexibility and copiousness. Let not, however, the ornamental usurp upon the substantial; yet unhappily this is what occurs every day amongst witlings and scribblers, hiding their peccadilloes under the sanction of such a name as Mr. Bulwer’s. We protest, therefore, against all phraseology like the following: ‘Cæcrops reclaimed his subjects from an *unprovidential* life;’ vol. i. p. 21: ‘in which after-times *imagined to trace* ;’ p. 24: ‘the Persian creed *resembled the most to that of Christianity* ;’ p. 52: ‘the more we can *approach the Deity to ourselves* ;’ p. 72: ‘the Dorians *neighboured* by warlike hordes;’ p. 105, and p. 165: besides twice, if we mistake not, in the second volume, pp. 136, 209. Boyle and Shakspeare, we well know, use *approach* and *neighbour* as active verbs, and the former with the sign prefixed to the dative case of the second noun; yet it appears to us as having been long abandoned. So also ‘to progress to a point;’ page 160; and vol. ii., page 468; ‘Cræsus *prodigalized* fresh presents ‘on the Delphians;’ vol. i. p. 418: ‘*conditioned*’ as used for *agreed*, upon the authority of Raleigh, Donne, and L’Estrange; vol. ii. p. 364; or ‘boarding plunder,’ in the sense of carrying it on board a vessel; vol. i. p. 480; as well as ‘*heavenlier*,’ p. 323; ‘*avid of glory*’ instead of *greedy*; p. 70, vol. ii; and the way in which the terms, *sweep*, *ensconce*, *immemorial*, and a few others sometimes occur. We are no admirers, either, of such expressions applied to pagan objects, as the ‘Holy city of Eleusis;’ vol. i. p. 425; the ‘mystic Egypt;’ the ‘divine Spirit of the drama;’ vol. ii. 516; the studied substitution of *Fate* for an Almighty Providence; vol. ii. p. 241; or the reverse in p. 268, where our author can talk very well about ‘the results un contemplated by the *Providence* of statesmen!’

We shall be borne out by the majority of our readers, we feel

persuaded, in being jealous on these points. It must be permitted us, moreover, to deprecate an insinuation, (arising from mere carelessness,) in vol. i. p. 333, that 'craft and the spirit of 'artifice,' are countenanced in the sacred writings; as also the preposterous praise awarded to the 'French philosophers of the 'last century,' vol. ii., pp. 238—9, as having performed what Christianity alone can achieve;—nor do we agree in his opinions as to the advantages of war. Correct views on these subjects are only to be learned in the school of the Prince of Peace! Let us add, too, that we hope, on the ground of good taste, to see the next edition delivered from such flowers or rather weeds of rhetoric, as calling Naxos 'the gem of the Cyclades;' and Delos 'the navel of Ionian commerce;' or 'Artabanus being sacrificed 'to the manes of his victims;' or the 'wild recesses which gloomed 'the antique grove of Telephus;' vol. i., p. 470; as well as 'the 'voluptuous city of Sardis,' described in the same page as 'being 'chiefly built with reeds;' p. 445. The personification of the victory at Marathon as 'being a second Solon to Athens,' p. 484, appears absurd, in our humble judgment; and so does the ensuing passage from p. 355: in Sparta each man, as a 'machine, 'was to be wound up by the tyranny of a fixed principle; it 'could not dine as it pleased—it could not walk as it pleased—it 'was not permitted to seek its *she machine*, save by stealth, and 'in the dark; its children were not its own; even itself had no 'property in self.' Now and then there occurs a most laborious and affected collocation of words, accompanied with occasional ambiguity, and confusion of figures: nor is the account of the celebrated earthquake at Sparta, vol. ii., pp. 317—318, free from considerable bombast and fustian; all arising from Mr. Bulwer's forgetting his noble vocation, and turning out of the paths of simplicity after some gaudy butterfly, not worth exhibition, when he has caught it. These, however, are mere insects in the ointment of a most ingenious and gifted apothecary, very seldom annoying us through the extent of 1,100 pages; and only mentioned, that so great an enchanter may be rendered as delightful as possible to the myriads of his admiring countrymen.

Art. II. *Lectures on the Principal Doctrines and Practices of the Catholic Church, delivered at St. Mary's, Moorfields, during the Lent of 1836.* By NICHOLAS WISEMAN, D.D., Professor in the University of Rome; Foreign Member of the Royal Society of Literature; Corresponding Member of the Royal Asiatic Society. In 2 vols. 12mo. London: Bookers. 1836.

The same in 1 vol. 12mo. Hodson. 1836.

THE questions are frequently asked, even by persons who, from their position in society, might be supposed to be able, without much effort to ascertain the fact: Is Romanism on the increase, or is it on the decline in the United Kingdom? Have its principles changed with the times; or are they still radically and essentially the same, however much they may be controlled by circumstances, or temporarily neutralized by the operation of causes powerfully antagonist in their character?—questions which it is impossible for any to treat with indifference who are at all conversant with the pages of ecclesiastical history, and more especially with the history of the country to which they refer. The influence exerted on its affairs by the see of Rome from the time when Augustine and his forty Benedictine associates landed on the Isle of Thanet, and addressed themselves to the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons, till the period at which the Rector of Lutterworth came forth and assailed its legitimacy, was of the most marked and determinate kind; and though it was increasingly thwarted and checked by the exertions of the Wickliffites, it nevertheless continued to foster the widely-extended and firmly-rooted system of hierarchical power, which had moulded all the various forms of social life. Even after the tenets advanced and advocated by Luther had made considerable progress in this country, the authority of the Sovereign Pontiff was held in great veneration; and nothing but his excessive cupidity and an act of gross imprudence could have precipitated him from the place to which his ghostly emissaries and advocates had elevated him in the estimation both of the head and the body of the English people. The efforts, however, which were incessantly made to repress truth, and sustain the dominant superstition; the anxiety to prevent the exercise of private judgment in matters of faith; the maintenance of the right of supreme jurisdiction in things temporal as well as spiritual; the prerogative of granting dispensations; the scheme of selling indulgences; the bare-faced impostures and lying miracles; the abominations committed in the monasteries; the cruelties which were practised in the punishment of heretics; and the abject slavery in which people of all ranks were retained to an ignorant and vicious priesthood, could not fail to excite an ardent longing for emancipation; so that the breach of

the eighth Henry with Clement, was hailed as a most auspicious event by numbers who cordially reprobated the royal conduct which occasioned it. The ponderous incubus which oppressed the body politic, now began to be removed; the bible was circulated, and eagerly read; the nation became sensible of a freer respiration; and a spirit of liberal inquiry spread more and more widely, than which nothing could have proved more detrimental to a system like that of Rome. Matters speedily ripened, and prepared for the sanction given to the principles of the Reformation under following reigns; and by a succession of events, partly political and partly ecclesiastical, a complete escape from the grasp of the Pope was ultimately effected. And whatever manifestations there may have been of the spirit of Popery in the Protestant monarch, or in the church of which he is the declared head, an insuperable barrier has been placed in the way of its aggressive operations by the increasing flood of light which has been poured on all subjects connected with civil and religious rights; while the intellect, zeal, and efficient political influence which are now made to bear upon the adjudication of every ecclesiastical question; the universal extension of the means of education; and the amount of pure biblical information which is imparted throughout the land, form a sufficient guarantee (humanly speaking) that papal ascendancy is no longer to be apprehended, and that the idea of the re-kindling of the fires of Smithfield, is purely a political bugbear, or the chimera of a heated imagination.

With respect to the sister-island, indeed, it is impossible to predict the issue of the present hot and all-absorbing contest. If the leaders of a self-interested and rapacious party should succeed in dashing the cup of expectation from the lips of the Irish population; if justice long withheld, though long implored by her, should be obstinately and disdainfully refused; and if still more atrocious attempts should be made to grind the faces of the poorest of her poor, in order to extract from them a tax in support of a religious system, which they hold in utter abomination, could it be matter of wonder if the human spirit were at once to break the fetters by which it is bound, and, reckless of consequences, cover the face of that fair, but cruelly-dealt-with country, with a revolting scene of carnage and blood? If the political power of the Irish Catholics has recently been augmented, and is daily and hourly augmenting, to what cause is it mainly to be ascribed, except the unreasonable and intolerant conduct of those in whose creed Protestantism is synonymous with secular influence, and whose tender mercies riot in the anticipation of a war of extermination? If Protestantism is in danger any where, it is in Ireland; but it is a Protestantism of which every true-hearted enlightened Protestant must be ashamed—a Protestantism of loaves and fishes, and not that of a pure and Scriptural opposition

to the damnable errors of Popery, combined with a sincere concern for those who are the dupes of a crafty and interested priesthood, and with well-arranged and zealously prosecuted measures for effecting their spiritual deliverance. Had the Protestant clergy in that country been powerfully imbued with the principles of the Reformation, or had the immense wealth of the Irish Church been appropriated to the maintenance of missionaries and schoolmasters, instead of its having been lavished upon the aggrandizement of patrician families, and the pampering of blind leaders of the blind, how different the scene which Ireland would now have presented! But the hour of retribution is near. The temporalities are gone for ever. The mortal hatred of secularised Protestantism, which has been roused in the bosom of seven millions of Ireland's population, has sealed its doom, and all hopes of rescuing them from the fangs of spiritual despotism by any efforts on the part of the Episcopal clergy, are futile and preposterous. They are identified with the party which proudly regards the Irish as aliens in blood, in language, and in religion; and it is not in human nature, under such circumstances, to repress the feelings of counter-alienation and determined hostility.

Still, gloomy as is the present aspect of things in the sister-island, and awfully portentous as are the signs which appear in her political horizon, especially the agitation which is ready to convulse her to the very centre, it cannot be doubted that ultimately, and it may be speedily, a reaction will take place. Freedom of thought and expression in politics will lead to freedom of thought and expression in religion. The priests who are now lending their efficient aid in support of measures which have for their object entire emancipation from the oppressive yoke of one system of religious intolerance, are unconsciously rousing a spirit which will not be held in bondage by any such system, nor submit to be trampled upon even by those who vouch as their warranty the supreme and indisputable authority of St. Peter. Abhorrence of political despotism will engender abhorrence of religious despotism; and when once the asperities produced by the present struggle have been worn off, little difficulty will be found in presenting the simple truths of Scripture to the minds of the Catholics by those who are connected with no secular establishment, and whose whole demeanour renders it evident that they have no object in view but the advancement of the spiritual and eternal interests of mankind.

Owing partly to the decidedly hostile attitude of Protestants and Catholics in Ireland, and partly to the increased circulation of the Scriptures and other religious books, together with the zealous evangelism of a host of pious ministers, it is not supposable that inroads to any extent have been made upon the religious ground occupied by the Protestant population. Isolated cases of

conversion to Popery are no doubt taking place by means of family connexions, or the jesuitical arts employed by the priests; but, so far as we have been able to ascertain, their number is very inconsiderable, and not for a moment to be compared with those to Protestantism which have been effected, notwithstanding the obstacles which stood in their way.

Looking at the state of things on this side the channel, we cannot avoid discovering unequivocal indications of a growth of Popery. After making every allowance for the annual influx of Irish labourers on the approach of harvest, a considerable proportion of whom remains in the country, and the increased number of Roman Catholic representatives, resident for a great part of the year, in the metropolis, we cannot but arrive at the conclusion, that systematic efforts for the spread of Popish principles are being made by the Romish Priesthood, munificently supported by wealthy laymen, and by funds remitted from the continent, far beyond what are required for supplying the religious wants of the Catholic portion of the community. About fifty years ago Catholic chapels in this country were comparatively few, not exceeding, we believe, *fifty* or *sixty*; but, according to the most recent estimate, the number now amounts to *five hundred and seventeen*, while *forty-three* additional edifices are in course of erection. Upwards of *seven hundred* priests and missionaries are distributed over the country, and not fewer than *eleven* institutions more or less monastic in their character have lately sprung into existence. In consequence of exertions made to obtain lands, especially in Lancashire, a very considerable degree of influence has been acquired over a portion of our rural population; and in our cities, and manufacturing towns, a system of domiciliary visiting, tract distribution, and family influence, is being carried on, which cannot fail, more or less, to tell on the ignorant and the unstable. Nor are efforts wanting for the purpose of gaining the attention of persons in the higher ranks of life: the results of which are occasionally developed in an open renunciation of the Protestant faith.

Among other methods of notoriety to which recourse has been had by the Priests, that of instituting certain courses of Lectures on controversial subjects is specially deserving of notice. Till very recently their policy seemed to lie in avoiding controversy; but whether it be that they have all at once risen into a consciousness of their powers of ratiocination, or whether they have been forced into the employment of them by the growing spirit of inquiry which forms one of the most remarkable features of the times, so it is, that such courses have been got up; lists of the subjects have been extensively placarded, and the discussions have been conducted with all the pomp and circumstance which local influence could command. Of the different sets of lectures which have been

delivered, none have acquired so much celebrity as that noticed at the head of this article: a circumstance which is chiefly to be ascribed to the acknowledged ability of the author, both as an eminent Oriental scholar, and as profoundly versed in general literature. The announcement, too, that the Lecturer was "*from Rome*," tended to give considerable *éclat* to his exhibitions; but though every thing was done that could in any way contribute to render the attempt in the metropolitan cathedral imposing and efficient, and the attendance was highly flattering and full of promise, we have heard of no important results; the impression, if any was made, was purely momentary; and if the discourses had not appeared in print, the remembrance of them would speedily have perished for ever. Whether the publication of the Lectures was originally contemplated, we have no means of determining; but during their delivery, an edition, unsanctioned by the author, began to appear, which was made the ostensible ground for bringing out one of his own. From the comparison, however, which we have instituted between the two, we should decidedly say, that the First Lecture in the surreptitious edition was taken from the author's manuscript—so exact is the agreement in regard to capitals, italics, punctuation, breaks, &c.; but the rest are evidently printed as they were taken down by the short-hand writer, at the moment of delivery.

The discourses are sixteen in number, and embrace the leading points of doctrine and practice which distinguish the Church of Rome, such as the Rule of Faith, the Authority of the Church, the Supremacy of the Pope, Penance, Purgatory, Indulgences, Saint and Image Worship, and Transubstantiation. On all these subjects statements are advanced, which in little or nothing vary from those which have been made by preceding writers on the same side. For though Dr. Wiseman professes in his introductory Lecture: 'We will open the word of God; we will examine it by such principles as all will admit; we will discover what are the only consequences that can be drawn from it; and for whom the consequence shall be, his doctrine we will embrace:' though he intimates that the church pretends to no authority or power save what she conceives herself to derive from 'the clear, express, and explicit words of Scripture:' though he would have his readers believe that he concedes to them the right of forming their own judgment on the topics which he brings before them: though he takes for one of his texts, 'Try all things, hold fast that which is good:' and though he repeatedly avers that there is no point on which the Catholics do not court inquiry—it is only necessary to read a few pages any where in the volumes, to discover assertions and modes of argumentation which practically contradict every declaration of the kind.

In proceeding to dispose of what must ever be the great previ-

ous question in the controversy between Protestants and Romanists—THE RULE OF FAITH, our author starts the usual doubts respecting what is meant by the Scriptures being such a rule, and proposes the following queries, which may perplex the ignorant, but which every person at all conversant with the subject must perceive are totally irrelevant: ‘Does it mean, that the public instrument, or symbols of the faith are based upon the word of God; or, as ancient philosophers used to say, that each man is a microcosm of a little world, that so, likewise, he is a little church, with the power of examining and deciding upon matters of religion? Does it mean, that in order to apply this rule, there is an individual light promised or granted by God, so that he is under the guidance and the infallible authority of the Holy Ghost; or that abandoned to those lights which he may possess, from his own learning or acquirements, his peculiar measure of mind and understanding is to be his rule and guide in the word of God?’ He then, with some reason, though obviously *ad captandum*, adduces passages from the Articles of the Church of England, to prove that the rule of judgment is placed, not in private hands, but in the Church, which is expressly declared to have ‘power to ordain rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith,’ though the same pretensions to infallible freedom from error are not claimed which are put forth by the Church of Rome. As might have been expected, the questions relating to the Canon and the Inspiration of the Scriptures, are represented as clogged with insuperable difficulties. Jeremiah Jones and Richard Baxter are adduced as witnesses to attest that these are matters which cannot be determined by private or individual Christians; and because we may not be in possession of any direct positive historical statements respecting ‘the internal, secret, mysterious communication that passed between the innermost soul of’ certain of the writers ‘and the Holy Ghost,’ it is asserted that we want the last link of evidence which completes the chain, and which can alone establish the fact of inspiration, that is, upon Protestant principles; for according to the doctrine here laid down, the point is determined to the entire satisfaction of every Roman Catholic, by the authoritative declaration of his church, *under the immediate and infallible guidance of the Holy Ghost*. Supposing, however, the rule to be ascertained, the next question is, How is it to be applied? Here all imaginable difficulties are conjured up—the largeness of the volume; the countless obscurities and ambiguities which attach to the Hebrew tongue; the original languages being known only by a few; the imperfections of translations; the obstacles in the way of the universal diffusion of the Bible; and most of all, the absolute impossibility of its being understood by ordinary readers, though they may possess it in their own language.

Did our limits permit, it would be easy to evince the futility of one and all of these factitious objections, but they will not allow of our so much as specifying the works in which, as previously broached, they have met with ample and triumphant refutations. We must be content to refer to the first volume of 'Biblical Theology,' with the separate title of 'The Rule of Faith,' by the Rev. N. Moreen, A.M., Minister of the North Parish, Greenock, in which our readers will find the said Rule firmly and immovably established in a series of propositions, supported by proofs in the words of the Original Scriptures and in an English translation, and illustrated by notes replete with references and biblical learning of the most profound and varied description. It is truly astonishing how any person can have the effrontery to re-produce the same stale and hackneyed arguments which have been refuted over and over again, and many of which are subverted by admissions to be found in the writings of some of the ablest Roman commentators themselves.

Towards the close of the second Lecture, a bold appeal is made to the estimation in which the Romanists hold the word of God. 'We are told that the Catholic loves not the Scriptures; that his Church esteems not the word of God: that it wishes to suppress it, to put the light of God under a bushel, and so extinguish it. The Catholic church not love and esteem the word of God! Is there any other church that places a heavier stake on the authority of the Scriptures, than the Catholic? Is there any other church that pretends to base so much of rule over men on the words of that book? Is there any one, consequently, that has a greater interest in maintaining, preserving, and exhibiting that word? For those who have been educated in that religion know, that when the church claims authority, it is on the holy Scriptures that she grounds it; and is not this giving it a weighty importance, beyond what any other church will attempt. And not only has she ever loved and cherished it, but she has been jealous of its honour and preservation, so as no other religion can pretend to boast. Will you say that a mother hath not loved her child, who has warmed and nursed it in her bosom for years, when nothing else would have saved it from perishing—who has spent her blood and her strength in defending and rescuing it from the attempts of foes and rivals on its life; who has doated on it till scoffed at by others; lavished treasures on its embellishment; and done whatever her means would allow to make it seem beautiful, and lovely, and estimable in the eyes of men:—and if you would say this, then may you also say, that the church hath not cherished and esteemed the word of God.' The Lecturer then claims for his Catholic Church the honour of first collecting and uniting the sacred books; of keeping men 'by hundreds and thousands, employed in nothing else than in tran-

‘ scribing the Holy Word of God; aye, *in letters of gold*, and upon *parchment of purple*, to show her respect and veneration for it; of having been always the foremost in the task of translating the Scriptures, and in placing it in the hands of the faithful.’ The idea of the *Catholic church* settling the canon is a mere sophistical stratagem, of which Dr. Wiseman himself is almost ashamed, and which he very clumsily attempts to hide by a reference to ‘ *the Catholic principle of unity*, which alone could have enabled churches to communicate to one another the respective books and letters addressed to them by the apostles.’ To prove that the Romish church provided translations and printed editions of the Scriptures before the time of Luther, a list of such versions and editions with their dates is given; but no proof is attempted that they originated in public ecclesiastical authority, or that they were placed by any such authority in the hands of the faithful. For aught that appears to the contrary, they resulted from the zealous and enterprising spirit of individuals, and not from a desire on the part of the clergy to promote the spread of Scriptural or saving knowledge.

To the objection that the Scriptures were not disseminated in those early days, Dr. Wiseman replies that it was ‘ because the want of printing, and of a general education, prevented it’—a singular reason to be assigned by the member of a church which prohibits their free circulation, now that these deficiencies have been supplied; and which maintains, that they can only be safely disseminated and read under the supervision of her priests, without whose living decision, as the organs of her continued traditions, the rule would be incomplete.

The error which lies at the very foundation of Romish authority, and that of priests in other churches, is the assumption, that the powers which Christ delegated to his Apostles, and the promises which he gave them, were by them transferred to the teachers who succeeded them. Once establish the belief that ‘ Christ has appointed a succession of men whose province it is, by aid of a supernatural influence, to preserve inviolate those doctrines which God has delivered,’ and the conclusion is unavoidable:—‘ from that moment, whatever these men teach is invested with that divine authority which we find in Christ through the evidence of his miracles.’ ‘ The successors of the Apostles in the church of Christ, have received the security of his own words, and his promise of a *perpetual teaching*, is, that they shall not be allowed to fall into error. It is this promise which assures her. She is the depository of all truth, and is gifted with an exemption from all liability to err, and has authority to claim from all men, and from all nations, submission to her guidance and instruction.’ Vol. i., pp. 64, 109. This infallibility of the church is iterated in passages without number; and it is inferred

by necessary consequence, that all are required 'to give up their belief in their own individual judgment, and adopt the principle, that whatever the Catholic church shall teach them must be true,' p. 133. Nor is this all. Assuming it to be made good that Christ has instituted such an authority in his church, it is further inferred, 'we must believe, that whatever that church, following it down the stream of time, has taught, must be received as truth; and consequently, no ground can be given on which a separation from her communion can be justified.' 'The Catholic church lays it down as its principle and ground of faith, that all mankind must believe whatever she decides and sanctions, with the assistance of the Holy Spirit; and this is a principle necessary to bring all men's minds into oneness of thought.' pp. 144, 316.

A very slight acquaintance with the history of the Romish church—the various and conflicting opinions which have been avouched as Divine truths by her different fathers, and even by the same fathers at different times,—the divisions which have ever obtained, and still obtain, as to the seat of infallibility—the contentions of popes and councils, &c., must convince every impartial person, that any thing in the shape of rational confidence in such an authority, is at once hopeless and absurd. According, indeed, to the practical working of the system, the unerring power of decision is lodged in every priest; so that, if my mind be subject to any doubts, if I want infallible information on any point of doctrine or practice, I have only to consult the ghostly adviser who happens to live in my neighbourhood; and whether he may have occupied the lowest form at Maynooth, or whether he may be under the influence of aqua-vital inspiration, I am bound to abide by the rule which he shall lay down, regarding every suspicion respecting its divine sanction as a suggestion of the devil, or what amounts to the same thing, of heretical pravity. It certainly must require an entire prostration of the understanding to the unblushing pretensions of papal domination, to prepare the mind to be satisfied with such an issue. Nothing but the unhesitating belief that the faithful are in actual communion with an infallible head, through the medium of their respective pastors, who form an unbroken chain of connexion, from the lowest member of the flock to Him who assumes to have been constituted its universal Shepherd, can possibly induce a blind submission to any and every dictum which these under-shepherds may be pleased to deliver.

In order to make good the claim of the pope to be the successor of the Apostle Peter, and possessed of the same plenitude of infallible authority, Dr. Wiseman devotes his eighth lecture to the subject of the Supremacy; but we must say, that of all the defences of unprescriptible right, or sole power and jurisdiction,

which have come under our notice, we have not met with one in which the argument is more feebly sustained. An attempt is made to support the interpretation commonly put by Roman writers on the texts, Matthew xvi. 17—19; Luke xxii. 31, 32; and John xxi. 15, 18; but no person at all skilled in Scripture interpretation will allow that the author has succeeded in recovering a single inch of the ground off which they have been repeatedly beaten; or that it has not been fairly and consistently occupied against them, notwithstanding the failure of some persons of weak abilities and little learning among Protestants.

According to the principles laid down in this lecture, Peter is made to assume the identical relation to the church which in Scripture is exclusively assigned to our blessed Lord. Speaking of him as 'the foundation of the church,' Dr. Wiseman asks: 'For what is the first idea which this figure suggests, except that the whole edifice grows up in unity, and receives solidity from its being morticed and rivetted into this common base?' 'Apply this reasoning to the case of Peter. *He* is constituted the foundation of the moral edifice; for such is the church. The appointment itself implies *a power to hold together the materials of the building in one united whole*; and this we have seen to consist in the supreme authority to control and to govern its constituent parts.' 'When Jesus Christ is said to be the foundation upon which alone any one can build, would you allow the Arian to maintain that from this text nothing more could be concluded, than that Christianity sprang from him, and not that he is the finisher as well as the author of our faith?' (inferring that something similar at least must be meant, when Peter is said to be a foundation). 'The church is to be imperishable, in consequence of this foundation upon Peter.' 'Peter, then, is not merely the commencer of the church, but *its real support*, and this, as we have seen, requires power and authority.' pp. 267—269. With respect to any thing wearing the appearance of exclusiveness in the power and authority given to Peter, on which the Roman Catholics base their whole superstructure of papal supremacy, we would only say: Let the entire connexion of the several passages be fairly examined, the exact position and conduct of Peter attentively considered, and all the parallel passages carefully collated, and it must be convincingly evident that the prominence which he occupies in the Evangelic narrative is simply to be ascribed to his natural zeal and forwardness, which made him spokesman for his brethren; or, to the depth of his fall, which required special and particular notice on the part of Christ.

The position relative to Peter's having been Bishop of Rome, and the inference deduced from it, involves such a tissue of gratuitous assumptions, that it is truly astonishing how they can

still be advanced in these enlightened times. Admitting, for the sake of argument, the validity of the tradition, that the apostle really did visit Rome, and that he suffered martyrdom in that city, there is nothing whatever in such tradition which specifies any connexion subsisting between him and the Christian church which had been established there. He was not the founder of that church. But supposing he did plant it, and teach in it, surely this does not imply that he was its bishop any more than his having laboured at Antioch, Babylon, and other cities, proves that he sustained the episcopal office in the churches formed in them. The first who mentions Peter as Bishop of Rome is Jerome (de Script. ecc. c. i.) who states, that he sustained the office of bishop at Antioch, and afterwards for twenty-five years at Rome; a statement so manifestly unsupported by historical evidence, that Valesius, Pagi, and other Roman Catholic writers are ashamed of it. Wherever Peter came, he held not the Episcopal, but the Apostolic office; and when he does speak of himself as a presbyter, 1 Pet. v. 1, it is merely as a *συμπρεσβυτερος*, on an equality with his brethren, who were all equally subject to the *Ἀρχιποιμην*, or *Chief Shepherd*,—a title which his pretended successors have blasphemously arrogated to themselves. There is precisely the same degree of evidence to prove that Paul was bishop of Rome as there is that Peter was. In fact, in some very ancient pictures, and in the leaden seals attached to the bulls of the pontiffs, Paul occupies the right hand and Peter the left!

It cannot be denied that, at a very early period, the bishops of Rome assumed a kind of primacy; but this arose from the circumstance of Rome's being the metropolis of the world, and not from any pretensions to an unprescriptible divine right. Irenæus, Firmilian, and even Cyprian himself, did not scruple to rebuke Victor and his successor, Stephen, for their arrogance, and to assert the equal rights of all bishops. Constantine knew of no head of the church in his time. At the general council assembled at Chalcedon, in the fifth century, it was positively decreed that the bishop of New Rome, or Constantinople, should possess equal dignity and authority with the bishop of Old Rome, whose ecclesiastical encroachments were every day becoming more insufferable; and Pope Gregory the Great, himself declared the title of *universal* bishop to be *profane, anti-christian, and infernal*, by whomsoever assumed. It was not till the beginning of the seventh century that the bishop of Rome was proclaimed universal bishop—an event coeval with the establishment of image worship, and the rise of Mahomedanism.

Of the lectures on Penance, Satisfaction, Purgatory, and Indulgences, we would only observe, that they yield abundant nourishment to those principles of carnal indulgence and self-righteousness, to combine which fallen human nature has ever been prone.

The *opus operatum* of the Sacraments is explicitly asserted. The sinner, on laying open to his confessor all the secret offences of his soul, 'receives through his hands the sentence on earth, which 'is ratified in heaven, that God has forgiven him.' vol. ii., p. 15. The doctrine of human merit is undisguisedly avowed. Adverting to the practice of performing severe penances and mortifications, Dr. Wiseman proceeds :

'This system surely must have had its root in the strong conviction of the early church that such practices *were meritorious in the sight of God*; that they *brought down his mercy on the sinner, and propitiated his wrath*. And what is all this but the belief of the doctrine of satisfaction? The belief in the power of man to make some reparation or atonement to God by his own voluntary offerings.'

Vol. II., p. 49.

Little is said in defence of the Invocation of Saints beyond adducing a number of testimonies in its favour from the Fathers, which might be greatly increased. As to images, Dr. W. seeks no Scripture warrant for them: his only concern is to get rid of the bearing of the second commandment, which he attempts in a very superficial manner; and then he places their use on the same footing with that of the organ, bells, and numerous other things pertaining to the worship of the church!

The last three Lectures are occupied with the subject of Transubstantiation. Setting out with the declaration of the council of Trent, that 'that which was originally bread and wine, is, by 'the consecration, changed into the substance of the body and 'blood of our Lord, together with his soul and divinity, in other 'words, his complete and entire person;' and, avowing that such is the unaltered belief of himself and his brethren, and 'the 'most consoling, the most cheering, and in every way the most 'blessed portion of the creed of every Catholic,' the author proceeds to lay down certain principles of interpretation, such as, that 'if we ascertain that the Jews must have attached a certain 'meaning to our Saviour's words, and could have conceived no 'other, he must have used them in that sense, if he wished to 'be understood;' and that 'he who would lead others, must in 'some respects follow, since no wise and good teacher will 'run counter to the habits and ordinary feelings of those whom 'he addresses.' Vol. ii., pp. 138, 139. According to these principles, which the German neologists have carried to the full latitude of their application, our Lord could have taught nothing to the Jews except what tallied with their previous conceptions—nothing that did not come within the range of their theological knowledge. His principle of teaching was that of accommodation; so that, in order to determine his meaning, we have only to ascertain what were the ideas prevalent at the time among his

bitterest and most prejudiced enemies. Whatever notions their carnal and worldly minds attached to his celestial doctrines, are to be regarded as the standard by which these doctrines are to be tried! Can any theory be more unsatisfactory, more dangerous, more subversive of sound interpretation? Is it not manifest, from numerous portions of the Gospels, that the Jews did not understand the sayings of the Redeemer? And is not their misconception expressly ascribed to their blindness, and the guilty cause of that blindness, the unworthy conceptions which they entertained of Him and his kingdom?

The canons of interpretation which Dr. Wiseman here lays down, are designed specially to tell on the Catholic interpretation of John vi. 50—57, in which passage our Lord insists on the necessity of our eating his flesh and drinking his blood, if we would be partakers of eternal life. The Jews, as appears from verse 52, understood him literally. This construction our author justifies, and endeavours to show that they could have put no other upon the words; and consequently, according to his hypothesis, they were right. Yet, notwithstanding all the reasoning employed in defence of this view of the subject, the figurative interpretation is so clearly declared by our Lord himself to be that which he intended should be put upon his language, that his aphorism will ever remain an insurmountable barrier to the adoption of the Romish explanation. 'It is the Spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing: the words that I speak unto you, they are Spirit, and they are life.'

On the words of the institution: 'This is my body;' 'this is my blood,' Dr. Wiseman expends an entire lecture. He is, of course, obliged to grapple with the numerous passages which have been alleged in support of the rule that the verb *to be* is used in the sense of *to represent*, to get rid of the force of which, he attempts to set aside all proof from verbal parallelisms, and maintains that to constitute a real parallelism, it must be one of *things*, and not of *words* merely. In this opinion, however, he is opposed by the most enlightened interpreters and philologists, who lay it down as certain, that, though a perfect parallelism consists in similarity both of language and matter, there may, nevertheless, be a perfect similarity or identity of words while the things treated of are totally different; and, that such verbal parallelism is a legitimate and important source of interpretation. It is, therefore, little to the purpose, to tell us that certain passages to which an appeal is made, are found in a vision, a parable, or an allegory: the very admission warrants the conclusion that the verb in question not only may, but actually is employed in Scripture in the modified sense of betokening or representing. A considerable portion of the lecture is devoted to an examination of the hypothesis advanced by Dr. Adam Clarke,

that 'in the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Chaldeo-Syriac languages, 'there is no term which expresses to *mean*, *signify*, or *denote*, 'though both the Greek and Latin abound with them; hence the 'Hebrews use a figure, and say, *it is*, for *it signifies*,' &c. If Dr. Clarke had confined his remark to the Biblical Hebrew and Syriac, his position would have been invulnerable; but he unwittingly adds: 'nor would any man, at the present day speaking in the same language, use among the people to whom it was 'vernacular, other terms than the above to express, 'This *represents* my body,—this *represents* my blood.' Dr. Wiseman has shown in his *Horæ Syriacæ*,* that in the Syriac language there exists numerous terms by which to express the idea of signifying, representing, &c.: but he does not produce a single instance to prove that, with the exception of the words *demutho*, likeness, *tuphso*, type, &c., none of which could, with any propriety, have been adopted by our Lord, any of them were in use when the Supper was instituted. They are all, in fact, the product of a later age—ecclesiastical words introduced for the purpose of expressing the views which different interpreters entertained respecting the meaning of Scripture. No legitimate conclusion can be drawn from the use of certain terms by Ephraim Syrus, Barhebræus, Jacob Serug, and other Syriac fathers of the fifth and following centuries, that such terms were so employed in the time of Christ and his Apostles. The admission of our lecturer, that Ephraim Syrus himself and other Syriac writers, use 'EST pro 'τῷ designare,' is fatal to his argument, that, if the Saviour had meant to teach that the bread and wine merely represented his body and his blood, he must have used one or other of the terms signifying to denote, or represent.

We have reserved for the close of this article our remarks on Dr. Wiseman's statements respecting Catholic and Protestant Missions, partly that we might not forestall the judgment of our readers in reference to his candour and honesty, and partly that we might have an opportunity of calling the particular attention of the directors of our Missionary Societies to the history of those Missions which the Roman Catholics have carried on in different parts of the world.

Than the representations given by the author of the success of our Missions in India and the South Seas, we cannot conceive of any thing more utterly at variance with the real facts of the case. With the statements before him, which have been published by the Baptist, the London Missionary, and the Church Missionary Societies, what are we to think of a writer who gives us as the

* Rome, 1828, 8vo.

result of his investigations, that 'by the acknowledgment of the Missionaries themselves, they had been disappointed of their hopes; that after so many years since these Societies have been established, their success is now questioned; and that after seven years' labour, they only obtained one convert each, at such immense expense, with such immense trouble, and such immense cost of personal labour.' vol. i., p. 183. And upon what does he found these conclusions? Upon the very natural complaints made by the Missionaries respecting the obduracy of the natives; their conviction of the utter hopelessness of expecting their conversion as the result of mere human effort; and their statements relative to the paucity of conversions at particular stations in the first instance,—it is upon these, and not upon more recent accounts, which present a very different aspect of things, that the failure of Protestant Missions is made to rest. Most of our readers are aware, that those whom our Missionaries regard as converts, and those who would be regarded as such by Dr. Wiseman, radically differ as to character. Out of some thousands of those natives who profess Catholic Christianity in India, it might be difficult to select one who gives Scriptural evidence of conversion to God. In the absence of such evidence, our holy and devoted Missionaries dare not enroll the names of any among the living in Jerusalem. To prevail upon the heathen to exchange a name, and abandon a few ceremonies for the adoption of others, very little differing from them in character, while they are permitted in other points to conform to the general habits of their countrymen, is what lies quite within the power of human enterprise; and may, in many cases, be calculated upon with certainty; but to induce a complete renunciation of heathenism in all its forms, an abandonment of every species of iniquity, and a consecration to God in spirituality of mind, and righteousness and holiness of life, is altogether different, and what nothing short of Divine power can effect.

To persons acquainted with the glorious progress of the Gospel in the islands of the Pacific, it must appear passing belief, that Dr. Wiseman, professing to have had access to the historical documents which relate to the Mission, should be so fool-hardy as to assert, that 'it seems to present one of the most lamentable effects of misguided zeal, that probably could be conceived;—that these islands had been, not converted, but subjugated by the Missionaries;—that they had made the king and his people their slaves;—stript the natives of that simplicity for which they were before remarkable; and changed them for the worse, so that now, instead of an open-hearted race, they are crafty, indolent, and treacherous.' Yet he declares: 'I am not conscious of having concealed any thing, or of having overlooked any testimony that could go against me! I have carefully

‘drawn my extracts from the original reports!’ Vol. ii., pp. 198, 199. Fortunately for the truth, however, reference is made in a note to the ‘Voyage of H. M. S. Blonde to the Sandwich Islands,’ ‘The Quarterly Review,’ Kotzebue and Toole—the foul slanders and barefaced fabrications of which have long since been fully exposed. We shall only refer to one other testimony, that our readers may judge of the authorities on which Dr. Wiseman rests his allegations. It is that of a General Hislop, who, in his ‘History of the Campaign against the Mahrattas and Pindarries,’ says that, ‘the Missionaries think ‘that this distribution of the Gospel in Chinese, Sanscrit, &c., ‘is sufficient to obtain their purpose; and as they send out these ‘books to English agents and magistrates, in different places, so ‘they reckon the number of their converts, and the success of their ‘labours, in proportion to the copies distributed.’ Can any assertion be more utterly unfounded?

While every effort is thus made by Dr. Wiseman to depreciate Protestant Missions, he addresses himself with much adroitness to the task of magnifying those of the Roman Catholics, in order to prove that their religion has ‘a grace and an efficacy ‘peculiar to itself,’ and that from it alone can the conversion of the world be expected. He contrasts the silent way in which they work, the slender means of a pecuniary nature which they have at their command, their immediate results, and the immense number of converts, with the emblazoned reports, the enormous funds, the years of inefficient labour, and the few brought to the profession of Christianity, which characterize the efforts of Protestants.

Judging by what we happen to know of the nature of Catholic conversions in general, we should feel no hesitation in reducing the thousands to a very different estimate; but we are free to admit that for zeal, and entire devotedness to their object, we know of few Missionaries that surpass, or indeed, at all equal, those of the Romish church. Nor do we conceive it possible for any Christian to peruse the life of Francis Xavier without being convinced that, notwithstanding all the superstitions in which he indulged, he was an eminently holy man of God, who lived in close communion with his Saviour, and was singularly consecrated to the advancement of his glory in the world. Though, perhaps he stands unrivalled in these respects, there can be little doubt, that many of those who have laboured in the same communion in China, have been men whose names have been written in heaven. While we hold in abhorrence every thing in the shape of Jesuitism, we cannot but recommend to Missionaries, and to those on whom it devolves to select and send out Missionaries to the heathen, the diligent perusal of the Letters of the Jesuit Missionaries and the Annals of Catholic Missions. They

will there find, that the men commissioned by the propaganda to go forth to China, and other parts, are men not only inspired with a burning zeal for the propagation of the Gospel, but men of talent, knowledge, disinterestedness, and self-denial, and specially skilled in the knowledge of human nature, and of the means by which most effectually to operate upon that nature in the diversified circumstances in which it is found. Being unmarried they are free from family cares, require but little comparatively for their support, and are at liberty to move from place to place as particular exigencies may require. We commonly, indeed, associate with the idea of celibacy in the Romish priesthood, that of incontinence—with what justice it is not for us to say; but if the testimonies of Dr. Buchanan and Sir George Staunton are to be received, the Catholic Missionaries in the East are, in general, respected for the purity of their manners. While we must ever deem it unscriptural to 'forbid to marry,' we have no hesitation in saying, that, in our opinion, Protestant Missions would prove much more effective, if a greater number of unmarried Missionaries were to be sent out to different parts of the world. Though, as the general rule, 'it is not good for a man to be alone,' yet there are 'present' circumstances in which 'it is good for a man so to be;' and surely it is not too much to hope that there are still to be found those who have received their 'proper gift of God,' *'after this manner,'* like Paul and other apostolic Missionaries. We avail ourselves of the opportunity of throwing out this hint, from the conviction, that too much in the shape of a boon upon marriage has been associated with Missionary service; and that, except great prudence be exercised in reference to this subject, difficulties and evils of a very serious nature will ere long clog our Missionary operations.

The length to which we have carried this article forbids our going into detail on the subject of the lecture on Catholic Missions, and some other subjects adverted to in these volumes, as well as our animadverting on the strangely Romish article upon them in the *British Critic* for October last,—an article which contains the quintessence of the Oxford heresy, and which, taken in connexion with the rapid diffusion of that heresy in the English church, certainly constitutes one of the most remarkable signs of the present times. With popery in this shape we believe the Protestant portion of that church will have sufficient to do; and while Dissenters may consistently leave it in their hands, we would have them bestir themselves in behalf of the Catholic population of Ireland. It is well to carry the glad tidings to the pagan world, and to seek the extension of genuine Christianity throughout the globe; but with what consistency can we expend our hundred thousand pounds annually upon this

object, and refuse to furnish a few thousands to be advantageously appropriated to the conversion of those who are perishing at our very door? When shall we listen to the words of our Saviour: 'This ought ye to have done, and NOT TO LEAVE THE 'OTHER UNDONE?'

Art. III. *Memoirs of the Life, Works, and Correspondence of Sir William Temple, Bart.* By the Right Honourable THOMAS PEREGRINE COURTENAY. 2 vols. 8vo. London: Longman and Co.

WE agree with Mr. Courtenay in thinking, that though few names are more generally known than that of Sir William Temple,—though his works are in every English library, and his literary and diplomatic celebrity is both wide and general,—yet very many have been content to take his excellencies for granted, without making themselves intimately acquainted either with his history or his writings. We hope that the appearance of these volumes will lead to an increased acquaintance with so distinguished a person. As Englishmen, our gratitude is due to him, that, amidst the degradation stamped upon the national character by the profligacy of Charles II. and his court, we can point at least to one instance of disinterested integrity and singleness of purpose, of unimpeachable rectitude and purity of conduct. It is truly refreshing to see such worth and dignity of character, exemplified not merely in the seclusion of private life, but even in the very centre of corruption; just where its attractions are doubly striking from the utter depravity which surrounds it. It would be difficult to name an individual whose history presents so striking a series of moral contrasts as that which is exhibited in the diplomatic life of Sir William Temple. Tory though he was, in many of his feelings and maxims, we most cordially award him the praise of true patriotism, when we see him endeavouring, with all his energy, to elevate the character of his sovereign, and induce him steadily to pursue that line of policy which alone could promote the happiness and extend the glory of his people. But his endeavour was fruitless. Judicious councils, faithful and earnest expostulations, and even entreaties, were thrown away upon the worthless Charles, who repaid the fidelity of his servant with insult,—who stultified his efforts, and defeated his measures, by the basest falsehoods and the most unblushing venality. And though he persisted in those efforts through a long series of years, with a zeal and perseverance truly amazing, it was to no purpose. The heartless ingratitude, the reckless profligacy, the base and

repeated treacheries of the Stuart, proved an overmatch for the sanguine and devoted loyalty of Temple. He was at length compelled to admit the hopelessness of the contest, and to seek the refuge of an honourable retirement.

Mr. Courtenay has clearly stated in the Preface his inducements to undertake the present work, and the materials he has collected for its accomplishment. Preceding biographies, and especially Sir William Temple's own *Memoirs and Letters*, furnished of course the ground-work. But these relate almost exclusively to his public life. Even the biography by his sister, Lady Giffard, 'was prepared for publication by omitting all that 'related to his more private life.' This deficiency has in a great measure been supplied, principally by printing the suppressed passages of this very life, from a copy among the MSS. which descended from the family, and are termed *the Lounge Papers*. Many additional particulars are interwoven throughout, both of a public and private nature, obtained from the official and private correspondence, and from other papers, preserved in the same collection, as well as in the British Museum, the State Paper Office, the Ormond MSS. in the Bodleian Library, the Essex Papers at Stowe, and various private sources. These scattered materials, collected at no small pains, have been arranged with equal industry and care. They present a regular and fluent narrative, in which Temple's own words are retained, as far as possible, and uniformly *distinguished*. Full notices of his works are inserted, in the order of their publication, concluding with the posthumous and collected works. The last chapter contains a sketch of his character, as a statesman, a writer, and a man. The latter half of the second volume is occupied by a Supplement and an Appendix; containing Extracts and Selections from Lady Temple's Letters to Sir William before her marriage; some Juvenile Essays of his; a Family Prayer, written by him; and his Will; together with a number of Diplomatic Instructions, Treaties, and Official Papers, referred to in the course of the narrative. Some may perhaps question the expediency of printing the lighter portion of this supplementary matter: the perusal, however, is optional; and we suspect that many will find it amusing. The documentary papers are unquestionably valuable for reference. But the closing excellence of the work,—an excellence denied to too many modern works of even greater extent,—is, that *it has an Index*.

We shall now proceed to give a rapid sketch of the leading events, extracting here and there some of the more striking passages, in the life of this accomplished and truly estimable negotiator.

When Sir William Temple left Cambridge, at twenty years

of age, in 1648, his prepossessions, not less perhaps from taste and feeling, than from education, were decidedly in favour of the royal cause; he therefore kept aloof from public affairs till the Restoration. In the meantime, after a mutual attachment of some years' standing, he married Dorothy, the daughter of Sir Peter Osborne. The history of this connexion is full of interest, both from the incidents of its commencement, and the difficulties which impeded its accomplishment. Forty years of happiness, however, justified the choice of the parties, in opposition to the wishes of both their families.

In 1660, he was chosen a member of the Irish Convention, when he had an opportunity of evincing, at the very outset of his political career, that unflinching rectitude which distinguished him to its close.

‘Whilst every body was vying who should pay most court to the king, a Poll Bill was read. Though he and many others thought it to the height of what the nation could bear, the lords justices, whilst it was debating, sent a message to the House to desire it might be doubled, which, amongst a great many that disliked it, Temple only opposed, though the rest afterwards joined with him.’ Finding that he was not to be influenced, ‘they chose a time to pass the bill in his absence.’—p. 26.

In 1663, Temple removed with his family to England, bringing letters of recommendation from the Duke of Ormond to Lords Clarendon and Arlington, then the principal ministers of Charles II. The latter nobleman was unquestionably Temple's earliest and most efficient patron. To Lord Arlington he owed his introduction to the diplomatic service. His first employment arose from an unexpected incident in 1665. Soon after the English declaration of war against the Dutch in 1665, an overture was received from Christopher Bernard Van Ghalen, Bishop of Munster, offering, upon payment of a certain sum of money, to invade Holland with 20,000 men. The overture being favorably received, Temple was sent over to complete the treaty, and if possible to include in it the electors of Mentz and Brandenburg, and the Duke of Neuburg. In this, his first negotiation, we recognize that sincerity and frankness which were natural to him, and which gave him so decided an advantage over more artificial diplomatists. In three days he exchanged ratifications of the *TREATY OF MUNSTER*. This treaty, ephemeral and nugatory in its duration and effects, served to bring out several other remarkable points in the character of Temple. His readiness to form a favorable opinion of others, his quick sensibility to wrong, and his extraordinary energy and laborious activity, were alike evidenced in the course of the negotiation.

‘His brief intercourse with the Bishop sufficed to enable Temple to form a decisive opinion of his character; more decisive perhaps than accurate. ‘I should guess him,’ says he, ‘to be a man very firm and steady in all his resolutions; true and sincere, and of great honour,’ &c. &c.—p. 37.

But if the ingenuousness of Temple's character led him too easily to think others like himself, his acuteness speedily undeceived him, as in the present case. The bishop soon found that in taking part with England, strong only at sea, he had chosen the wrong side for his own interest; and he not unnaturally availed himself of the first opportunity to disengage himself from the alliance. In his endeavours, first to deny, then to hide, and lastly to justify his treaty with the Dutch, (signed very soon after at Cleves,) he effectually corrected Temple's opinion of his candour and plain dealing. Besides the vexation which the latter felt at this disappointment, he suffered other mortifications during the progress of the affair, partly perhaps from his own too great susceptibility. The appointment of Lord Carlingford, for example, as Envoy Extraordinary at the Imperial Court, was regarded by Temple, perhaps unreasonably, as implying a low estimate of his own services. He had far juster ground of complaint in the disgraceful fact, that his allowances were very ill-paid. Yet, notwithstanding all this, we find him exhibiting a laborious and disinterested activity not easily to be paralleled.

The French declaration of war had alarmed the Bishop of Munster, and inclined him to negotiate. He accordingly requested the attendance of a British agent, at a conference of ministers to be held at Dortmund. Temple, who had recently (Oct. 1665) been appointed British resident at Brussels, was intrusted with the management of the affair.

‘He was furnished with full powers, and ordered to get on horseback, and go straight to the Bishop's Court, there to be instructed by him what he should further do. But in the mean time the bishop had withdrawn his application, ‘probably because his own mind, in spite of the vigorous remonstrances of Temple, was made up to a separate peace. The meeting of ministers did not take place, and Temple's journey was countermanded. But he had already started, and, in obedience to his original orders, made a rapid and secret journey, in the assumed character of Spanish envoy, from Brussels to Munster;—just in time to hear of the signature of a separate treaty between the bishop and the Dutch!’

‘His journey was full of adventures. He went by Dusseldorf, to Dortmund, ‘through a savage country, over cruel hills, through many great and thick woods, strong and rapid streams, never hardly in any highway, and very few villages.’ At Dortmund he found the gates shut, and ‘with all his eloquence, which he made as moving as he

could, he was not able to prevail to have them opened.' He was obliged to sleep upon straw at a near village, *where his page served as a pillow*. On reaching a castle belonging to the bishop, he was received with great honour, and instructed 'in the most episcopal way of drinking possible.' The vessel was a bell of silver gilt, of the capacity of two quarts or more. The general who entertained him took out the clapper, and gave it to his guest, filled the bell, and drank off the contents to the king's health, replaced the clapper, and turned down the bell in proof of the accomplishment of the draught. This ceremony went through the company, only Temple drank by deputy. 'The next day, after noon, about a league from Munster, the bishop met me at the head of 4000 horse, and in appearance brave troops. Before his coach, that drove very fast, came a guard of 100 Heydukes, that he had brought from the last campaign in Hungary: they were in short coats and caps, all of a brown colour, every man carrying a sabre by his side, a short pole-axe before him, and a screwed gun hanging at his back by a leather belt that went across his shoulder. In this posture they run almost at full speed, and in excellent order, and were said to shoot 200 yards with their screwed gun, and a bullet of the bigness of a large pea, into the breadth of a dollar or crown piece. When the coach came within forty yards of me it stopped. I saw the bishop, and his general, the Prince d'Homberg, come out, upon which I alighted so as to meet him between my horses and his coach. After compliments, he would have me go into his coach, and sit alone at the back end, reserving the other to himself and his general.'

'The bishop, having conducted his intended dupe with all these honours to Munster, would have left him to repose in the chamber provided for him, without saying a word on business; but our minister, after some trouble, brought him to sit down where they were, and enter upon affairs without ceremony. The German acknowledging that necessities had compelled him to negotiate at Cleves, pretended an intention to make a stop in it on Temple's arrival, and to send a special messenger to England for directions. Temple treated all these fables with indifference; and had no sooner bowed out the priestly warrior, than private information came 'to spoil the supper' to which he prepared to sit down: this was, *that the treaty had been already signed at Cleves*.'

'On the morrow the bishop, with great professions of regard, confessed that the treaty had proceeded farther than he thought. He received coldly the sharp and unavailing reproaches of the English minister, and strove hard to detain him at Munster until another instalment of the subsidy should have arrived. An hour of conference was named for the next day, in which Temple pretended to acquiesce: but in order to defeat the scheme for obtaining the money, this indefatigable man, though suffering a little through his departure from his usual temperance, got on horseback before day-break instead of retiring to rest, and rode hard to a frontier village, distant eight leagues. There he pretended to go to bed, but took fresh horses at the back door of the inn, while the rest of the company thought him a-bed, and rode

till eight at night, through the wildest country and most unfrequented ways he ever saw. He was now quite spent, and ready to fall from his horse; he lay down on the ground, while his guard sought in vain at a peasant's cottage for a lodging or provisions; nothing could be procured but a little juniper water, the common cordial of the country. Thus refreshed, he rode three leagues further, so as to get into the territory of Neuburg; and arrived at midnight at a lodging, where he lay upon straw, till break of day. Then again he mounted, and got to Dusseldorf by noon, where he went to bed for an hour. He could now ride no longer; but borrowed the Duke of Neuburg's coach, which conveyed him to Brussels, before any payment to the bishop had been completed. And so ended this adventurous expedition.

‘Assuredly Temple did suffer hardships, and even dangers, in these rapid excursions, belonging rather to a messenger than a plenipotentiary. The alternations between travelling with an escort of horse, and sleeping upon straw in a barn, with his page for a pillow, and the easy, pleasant style in which he narrates these occurrences, are indications of mental as well as bodily activity, and of a commendable zeal in the performance of his duty.’—pp. 54—61.

Soon after this (Jan. 1666) he was created a baronet, through Lord Arlington's influence. His letters of acknowledgment exhibit very strongly that fulsome style, which though dictated by the warmth of his gratitude, is not in keeping with the simplicity of his character. There are also some passages which expose him to the more serious charge of profanity; and we regret to have met with similar passages in other parts of his correspondence.

Louis XIV. now (July 1666) joined the Dutch by a declaration of war against England. But he took little part in it;—keeping his fleets aloof, while those of England and Holland were engaged in a series of the most desperate engagements. This was obviously contrary to the interests of both these powers, and could scarcely fail of facilitating the designs of the French king upon the Dutch frontiers. Negotiations, therefore, soon took place; and in July, 1667, the treaty of Breda was signed, between England and France, Holland and Denmark. But the work was ruined by the treachery of Charles; who, while negotiating this treaty openly, was binding himself secretly,

‘On the word of a king, that he had not entered, and would not, for the space of a year to come, enter into any treaty, or make any new tie with any prince or potentate that may be contrary to, or in which he would be engaged against, the interest of France.’—p. 112.

The direct and immediate consequence of this disgraceful transaction was the invasion of Flanders by Louis, and the reduction of many of its fortified places;—an aggression by which

Temple was confirmed in his views of policy, and determined to endeavour to realize them. He first sought an opportunity of becoming acquainted with De Witt. This was afforded by a tour of pleasure which he took *incognito*, with his sister, Lady Giffard, who was residing with him at Brussels. After describing the arrival of the party at Amsterdam, Mr. Courtenay proceeds thus:

‘From Amsterdam the travellers went to the Hague, where Temple commenced his intimacy with De Witt, which endured for their joint lives. The very commencement of this acquaintance was characteristic. Temple, though the stranger, paid the Pensionary the first visit. ‘I told him,’ he says, ‘who I was, but that having passed unknown through the country to all but himself, I desired I might do so still. My only business was to see the things most considerable in the country, and I thought I should lose my credit if I left it without seeing *him*. He took my compliment very well, and returned it by saying he had received a character of me to my advantage, both from Munster and Brussels, and was very glad to be acquainted with me at a time when both our nations were grown friends, and we had equal reason to look about us, upon what lately happened in Flanders.’—p. 116.

This frank and friendly commencement of acquaintance between the two statesmen was mutually improved to the utmost; and they would probably have speedily concluded an alliance on terms and in a spirit consonant with the true interests of their respective countries, but for circumstances over which they had no control, and which are satisfactorily detailed by Mr. Courtenay. But at length the way became more open; the English counsels gradually inclined to an increased friendliness with the Dutch; and

‘While the government came slowly and reluctantly into the new counsels, Temple’s plan assumed more of consistency, and took the form in which they ultimately prevailed. The fate of Flanders now hung upon the determination of England.’—p. 134.

This determination arrived in November, 1667, in the form of instructions to Temple. Into the fulfilment of these instructions he threw the whole energy and activity of his character; developing in the course of this celebrated negociation, still more fully than in the former, that remarkable and most happy union of candour and firmness with pliancy and address, which distinguished him throughout his career, and raised him to a degree of diplomatic celebrity which few have attained. Mr. Courtenay has given an interesting account of the negociations for the Triple Alliance,—that transaction in diplomacy which has immortalized

the name of Temple. It is not susceptible of extract; but must be read entire.

Some modern historians, especially Dr. Lingard, have attempted, we think both unfairly and unsuccessfully, to detract from the merit and importance of this treaty. We agree with Burnett, when he styles it 'the master-piece of Charles's reign,' and adds that 'had he stuck to it, it would have been the strength and the glory of that reign.' Mr. Courtenay appears to us to have candidly investigated and satisfactorily established the merits of the transaction; the chief and novel character of which, as he well remarks, was that it effected 'a close union of interests, and even affections, between England and Holland, while it broke that which had subsisted between France and Holland, wounding Louis with the weapon which himself had forged.'

'That union, still more its cordiality, was eminently the work of Temple; whose merit lies not so much in the terms of the treaty, as in the good management whereby he brought the Dutch into an agreement with England, after an estrangement occasioned by a series of mutual injuries, and jealousies not ill-founded; and even induced the Dutch ministers to take upon themselves a serious responsibility towards their masters, in signing the league without waiting for instructions from the provinces. By which means he was enabled to accomplish his object 'within a period too short to allow of French intrigues, and thus to counteract such diplomatists as Ruvigni and D'Estrades.' —p. 177.

The Triple Alliance was followed by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, between France, Spain, and Austria, signed May 2, 1668. But the distinguished negociator of these treaties received, from his *grateful* and *high-minded* sovereign, nothing by way of reward for his services, except further employment. He was appointed ambassador at the Hague, with an especial view to the arrangement of a marine treaty between England and the States, and to the settlement of some differences still remaining between Spain and Sweden. In both these purposes he found himself constantly thwarted by an influence which he could neither understand nor resist. While he was labouring to carry out his great work, the Triple Alliance, to its full completion, his profligate master was secretly negociating with Louis; and ultimately succeeded in selling the honour and dignity of the British crown for French gold.

'Nearly at the same moment with that of the ratification of the treaties whereby the Triple Alliance was strengthened and guaranteed, and England took her part in opposition to the encroachments of France, the minister under whose auspices the Alliance had been con-

cluded,* put his hand to a new treaty, (commonly called the Dover Treaty, from its having been signed there, May 22, 1670). 'By this, the king of England became a dependent and pensioner of France, and promised to make war upon his newly-recovered and now zealous ally.'—p. 338.

This abominable piece of royal knavery and corruption gradually and necessarily led to the recal of Temple from the Hague. But so powerful is character, that the king and his ministers did not venture avowedly to do what their baseness had imposed upon them; but set about it cautiously. First, he was summoned to England for a 'temporary visit,' and authorized to assure De Witt that his return would be speedy. Lord Arlington, for the first time in his life, received him coldly; and when he presented Sir William to his majesty,

'Both king and minister avoided all mention of business, probably because ashamed to avow to an upright and consistent statesman the shabby part which they had played. The unfortunate victim of Charles's baseness was not permitted to send for his family, but was obliged to keep up all his ambassadorial expenses at the court to which he was not to return, although his allowances were now very irregularly paid. At last, however, in the summer of 1671, the government threw off the mask. Temple was formally displaced, and authorized to take his leave of the States. Charles himself at the same time wrote to the States, and informed them that Temple *had come away at his own desire, and on his private affairs!*'—pp. 343—9.

Charles having thus sold himself, to make war on Holland, the next thing was, to find some excuse for the quarrel.

'The critical position of affairs had now induced the Dutch to keep a fleet at sea; and the English government hoped to draw from that circumstance an occasion of quarrel. A yacht was sent for Lady Temple: the captain had orders to sail through the Dutch fleet if he should meet it, and to fire into the nearest ships until they should either strike sail to the flag which he bore, or return his shot so as to make a quarrel! He saw nothing of the Dutch fleet in going over; but, on his return, he fell in with it, and fired, without warning or ceremony, into the ships that were next to him. The Dutch admiral, Van Ghent, was puzzled; he seemed not to know, and probably did not know, what the English captain meant. He therefore sent a boat, thinking it possible that the yacht might be in distress; when the captain told his orders, mentioning also, that he had the ambas-

* Lord Arlington.

sadress on board. Van Ghent himself then came on board, with a handsome compliment to Lady Temple; and making his personal inquiries of the captain, received the same answer as before. The Dutchman said he had no orders upon the point, which he rightly believed to be still unsettled, and could not believe that the fleet, commanded by an admiral, was to strike to the king's pleasure-boat. When the admiral returned to his ship, the captain, also 'perplexed enough,' applied to Lady Temple, who soon saw that he desired to get out of his difficulty by her help; but the wife of Sir William Temple called forth the spirit which we have seen in Dorothy Osborne.* 'He knew,' she said, 'his orders best, and what he was to do upon them, which she left to him to follow as he thought fit, without any regard to her or her children.' The Dutch and English commanders then proceeded each upon his own course, and Lady Temple was safely landed in England. She was much commended for her part in what passed, and of which she was called upon to give an account to Sir Leoline Jenkins, the judge of the Admiralty. 'When I went next to the king's levee, he began to speak of my wife's carriage at sea, and to commend it as much as he blamed the captain's, and said she had showed more courage than he; and then falling upon the Dutch insolence, I said, that however matters went, it must be confessed that there was some merit in my family, since I had made the alliance with Holland, and my wife was like to have the honour of making the war. The king smiled as well as I; very glad, probably, to escape a serious conversation with the man whom he had deceived and abandoned; 'who had found this the only way to lure the discourse into good humour; and so it ended.'—pp. 349—351.

Thus was this despicable attempt to provoke hostilities frustrated. But THE CABAL soon hit upon a more effectual expedient, by ordering Holmes to attack the Dutch Smyrna fleet,—*while the two nations were still at peace*: an outrage worthy of the men, and their master; and equally disgraceful to a civilized people. The attack failed,—but it produced the war; which was carried on with great spirit by William, Prince of Orange, whom the Dutch had now placed at the head of their affairs; the illustrious De Witt having fallen a sacrifice to the fury of a Dutch mob. The determined resistance offered to the progress of the French armies, by the allies under the Prince of Orange, and the celebrated Imperial General, Montecuculi, together with the extreme unpopularity of the war in England, soon led to the renewal of negociations. Sir William Temple was again called from his retirement, for the honourable purpose of restoring peace. He responded to the call, notwithstanding the past; negociated the treaty of Westminster, in 1674, and spent the fol-

* See an incident mentioned at p. 6.

lowing five years in the service of his country, till the peace of Nimeguen, in 1679.

After the peace of Nimeguen the office of Secretary of State was again offered to Temple, in the place of Mr. Henry Coventry. But he knew too much of parliamentary and court intrigues to accept of it. Yet it is singular that the very circumstances which thus deterred him from accepting office, became the occasion of his taking a more influential part in the conduct of affairs than he had ever yet taken. The lord treasurer Danby had just fallen a victim to the intrigues of his enemies; and Temple suspected them of an intention to bring in Lord Shaftesbury, and to form a ministry in the interests of the Duke of Monmouth. After enumerating some changes and appointments in the ministry, Mr. Courtenay proceeds thus :

‘Such was the state of the government when Temple commenced the frequent discourses with the king, to which his foreign employments introduced him. ‘I never saw any man,’ he tells us, ‘more sensible of the miserable condition of his affairs; . . . but nothing he said to me moved me more, than when upon the sad prospect of them all, he told me he had none left with whom he could so much as speak of them in confidence, since my lord treasurer’s being gone. And this gave, I suppose, his majesty the occasion of entering into more confidence with me than I could deserve or expect.’ Temple made use of this confidence to propose a new and strange scheme of government; *the last great act of his political life.*

‘The parliament was becoming daily more and more violent; while the king’s authority was so low, that it might be difficult either to dissolve parliament, or to carry on the government without calling another. Temple’s scheme therefore consisted in the nomination of a new council, of such a constitution, as might either gain credit enough with the present parliament by taking in so many persons of those who had most influence among them, and thereby give ease and quiet both to the king and his people; or if, on the other side, the humours should grow outrageous, and beyond opposing, the king might yet, at the head of such a council, with more authority and less hazard of ill consequences, either prorogue or dissolve them, as any necessities of his own, or extravagancies of theirs, should require. For these ends it seemed necessary to take into the council some lords and commons *who were of most appearing credit and sway in both houses, without being thought either principled or interested against the government*, and mix them with others of his majesty’s more general choice, for making up one-half of the council; whilst the other half, being fifteen, were ever to be the present chief officers of his crown and household, *who being all of his majesty’s own trust as well as choice, would be sure to keep the council steady to the true interests of his majesty and the crown.* One chief regard, necessary to this constitution, was that *the personal riches of this new council*, which in revenues of land or offices was found to amount to about £300,000 a year, whereas those

of a House of Commons are seldom found to have exceeded £400,000. And authority is found much to follow land; and at the worst, *such a council might out of their own stock, and upon a pinch, furnish the king so far as to relieve some great necessity of the crown.*' Such is Temple's own account of this celebrated project.'—*ib.*, pp. 32—35.

A less sanguine man would not have expected so much from it as he did; on the other hand no man less disinterested would have risked his own reputation and peace on the experiment. But Temple saw his sovereign in perplexity; he forgot all the past, and threw himself into his service. He had the mortification of witnessing the utter failure of his project, partly perhaps from its inadequacy to the circumstances of the times; but far more from the king's insincerity, and want of confidence, and his arbitrary and unreasonable conduct. Yet, notwithstanding the numerous vexations which he had suffered in the affair, Temple persevered for a long time in his attendance at the council; in the hope of bringing the king and his parliament to something like an agreement. But the hope was vain.

'Neither king nor commons had that sort of mind in which alone a man like Temple could acquire influence. . . . He became at length convinced of this, and retiring to Sheen, he 'sent a message to the king by his son, that he would pass the rest of his life like as good a subject as any he had, but that he would never meddle any more with public affairs.' And he kept steadily to this resolution.'—*ib.*, pp. 69, 71.

His closing reflections at this time are well worth perusal; the following passage expresses them so touchingly that we must transcribe it:

'I have had,' says he, 'in twenty years' experience, enough of the uncertainty of princes—the caprices of fortune—the corruption of ministers—the violence of factions—the unsteadiness of counsels, and the infidelity of friends; nor do I think the rest of my life enough to make any new experiments.'—*ib.*, p. 81.

The remaining twenty years of Sir Wm. Temple's life were passed in the bosom of his family. Nothing could again draw him into public life. Neither in the fierce struggles of party which ended in the glorious revolution of 1688, nor in the consummation of that event itself, nor in the counsels of his early friend, William III., did he take any part. He resided on his estates at Sheen and Moor Park, enjoying the society of his own family, and a few select friends. Gardening was his favorite amusement, especially the cultivation of fruit. It is sufficiently obvious that the feelings of his later years were tinged with the effect of earlier disappointment and repeated domestic calamities;—especially the

loss of his only daughter, in 1680, at the age of fourteen, and the melancholy termination of his son's life, in 1689. He was himself left a widower about five years, and died at Moor Park, in 1699.

Our remarks on Sir William Temple's writings must be brief. Indeed literature was by no means his pursuit. The far greater portion of his works must be regarded as subservient to his political and diplomatic occupations. His 'Essay on Government,' and 'Observations upon the Low Countries,' were merely studies to fit him for his employments. They abound in passages characterized by the sanguine and fanciful turn of his mind. For example, his speculations as to the influence of latitude and climate on forms of government;* his position, that 'authority 'arises from the opinion of wisdom, goodness, and valour, in the 'persons who possess it.'† To which of these attributes, it may be asked, did Charles II. owe his authority? He would, probably, himself have preferred to rest his claim to it, on a principle *somewhat* different, which occurs shortly after;—viz. 'there is 'yet another source, from which usually springs greater authority 'than from all the rest; which is *the opinion of divine favour or 'designation of the persons or of the races that govern!*‡ Most 'certainly it was this opinion that induced ninety-two thousand 'persons in the course of twenty-three years, to resort to the 'touch of this *most religious sovereign*, for cure from scrofula!' Temple's philosophy is often most questionable, not to say absurd. For example, when he asserts the Dutch inaptitude to the tender passion, and supposes 'that the dulness of the air renders 'them less susceptible of more refined passions.'§ Again; what would the yeomanry and commonalty of England at the present day think of being complimented as superior to all others in bravery, 'because they have fewer taxes to pay, and can therefore 'afford to fare better and fuller than those of their rank in any 'other nation?'|| His remarks on the state of legislation as affecting Religion among the Dutch, prove that he had very imperfect notions on the true nature of what is called *toleration*.

His 'Survey of the Constitution and Interests of the Empire,' &c.; his 'Letter to the Duke of Ormond, in October, 1673;' and 'Essay on the Advancement of Trade in Ireland;' were written professionally, to give his opinion on points upon which he had been consulted as a statesman. Two other of his productions were historical; his 'Introduction to the History of England,' and his 'Memoirs,' written avowedly as his own narrative of his public life. But we must not extend our observations. Respect-

* Works, vol. i., p. 32.

§ Ibid., p. 161.

† Ibid., p. 35.

‡ Ibid., p. 36.

|| Ibid., p. 166.

ing these, as well as his more purely literary productions, we must refer our readers to the careful and very candid remarks of Mr. Courtenay; merely observing, that those who have ranked Sir William Temple among the literary ornaments of his country, appear to us scarcely borne out either by the extent or the value of his productions. Nor can we admit that his style, taken generally, was either systematic, or correct. He evidently did not make composition his study: grammatical and verbal inaccuracies abound; and for his use of exotic words he has not unjustly been censured. Undoubtedly passages of great beauty are not rarely to be met with; but they were struck out by the feeling of the moment, and are remarkable for that which constitutes the charm of his own character,—simplicity and energy.* They flowed from the heart, without study, or restraint; and they contrast strikingly with the obscurity and mannerism of many other passages.

Of the moral character of Sir William Temple not a word need be said, for no one has ever ventured to assail it; and this, when spoken of a courtier of Charles II., is no trifling praise. Respecting his religion, we are little inclined to become his judges; but have no hesitation in saying that several of his lesser pieces, and numerous detached passages in his writings, sufficiently disprove the charge of infidel and irreligious opinions. The estimate which Mr. Courtenay has given of him, in his last chapter, is both candid and just. The great beauty of his character, both as a statesman and a writer, is his dignified simplicity, and the purity and integrity of his motives and objects. His speculative views were often neither profound nor correct. But he saw clearly, in reference to external policy, what measures would be conducive to the true interests of the throne and the nation,—(which he had the good sense and the honesty to regard as inseparably connected;) and those measures he laboured incessantly to accomplish. When convinced that the corruptibility of his master would frustrate all his efforts, he retired,—with the imperishable credit of having endeavoured in all loyalty and truth, though in vain, to promote the true dignity of his sovereign and the happiness of his country.

We close these remarks with our thanks to Mr. Courtenay, who has shown his taste as well as judgment in selecting for his 'first book' a department of literature so comprehensive and important, and therefore so full of interest, as biography; and for his first subject, so interesting a character as Sir William Temple. We shall be happy to meet him again, and most ready to give our best attention to his productions; though we cannot but lament that his volumes, however candid and gentlemanly in their tone, are yet not free from political bias.

* *Memoirs*, chap. xxviii., xxxii.—xxxv.

Art. IV. *What? and Who says it? An Exposition of the Statement that the Established Church 'destroys more Souls than it saves.'* By the Rev. Thomas Chalmers, D.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Edinburgh; the Right Rev. the Bishop of Calcutta; the Rev. Samuel Charles Wilks; the Rev. Henry Budd; the Rev. Charles Bridges; the Rev. Henry Melvill; the Editor of the Record; the Editor of the Christian Observer, and others: in a LETTER to "One of the Clergy who signed the Late Requisition to the Archdeacon of Worcester." Edited by JOHN SEARCH. London: T. Ward and Co., Paternoster Row.

EVERY one has heard of Mr. Binney's 'celebrated sentence,' that, 'in his opinion, the Established Church destroys more souls than it saves;' and every one knows with what clamour of scorn, wrath, and abuse, it was received by those whom it most concerned. 'Anathema Maranatha' was pronounced over the devoted head of the author by the zealots of the state church, pharisaic and evangelical, and the whole vocabulary of vituperation exhausted in invective against him. He was the '*thing*, Binney,' 'that *person*, Binney,' 'an emissary of Satan,' 'the mouth-piece of an evil spirit:*' in a word, there was not a

* Some of our readers will perhaps be amused to see a collection of some of these flowers of rhetoric. Most of them are exotics, or at least are not to be met with every day in this country. Indeed, they are so uncongenial to our soil, that the greater part perished as soon as they were planted. But by those who are curious about such matters, they may be found preserved in the '*hortus siccus*'-like pages of the 'British Magazine,' 'Christian Observer,' 'Christian Remembrancer,' 'Thoughts, &c.,' by Dr. Burton, Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford, 'Reformation in the Church, Revolution in Disguise,' 'Oxford Herald,' 'Standard,' and 'Record' newspapers, 'Circular Letter to the Bench of Bishops.' Some few indeed have been with much pains kept alive, and flower afresh every month, but they are sickly and drooping, and it is to be feared will not last long.

Aliases of the Rev. Thomas Binney.—'One Binney,' 'Binney,' 'Master Binney,' 'T. Binney,' 'The Dissenting orator,' 'The Weigh-House orator,' 'The writer of biographies and addresses,' 'The thing,' 'The fly,' 'The mouse,' 'The wolf,' 'The tiger,' 'The person,' 'The Pope,' 'The mouth-piece of an evil spirit,' 'A spirit in bondage to the devil.'

One writer says:—'It is indeed a signal proof of the *tolerance* which the Church (?) has secured in this country, that Mr. Binney is not at this moment sitting in the stocks.'

Descriptions of Mr. Binney's character and dispositions.—'It is my firm conviction, that the expressions used by the person Binney were spoken under the 'influence of Satan,' and that the speaker was but the *mouth-piece* of 'an evil spirit.' I feel therefore bound to renounce all fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, and with the spirits that are in bondage to the devil.'

'The Weigh-House corrosive sublimate.' 'The narrow-minded, unchari-

term, however abusive, not an artifice, however mean, or creeping, that unfair controvertist ever resorted to, but was resorted to by one or other of his clerical opponents. We trust they felt themselves relieved by this burst of invective and indignation—like the choleric man who declared that he always found his wrath sensibly alleviated by a volley of good round oaths. If the subject were not too serious for laughter, there could not be a more amusing or ludicrous spectacle than those paroxysms of anger into which the ‘celebrated sentence,’ as it has been called, threw those grave and reverend persons. Only think of *clergymen* transported into such expressions as the ‘*thing, Binney;*’ and instead of meeting the charge of their opponent (which, by the bye, was expressly directed against a *system*, and not against *persons*), resorting to the mob-missiles of rotten eggs and mud. The indulgence in such an infantile term of spite as that ‘*thing Binney,*’ reminds one of the impotent malignity of children, who, when they can do no more, solace themselves with pointing the finger, and grinning most impressively at those who have displeased them.

That Mr. Binney used great plainness of speech none can deny. Yet plain as ‘the celebrated sentence’ is, his opponents could not content themselves without misrepresenting and perverting it. Mr. Binney stated it to be *his opinion*—‘right or wrong’ (implying clearly that he made no absolute affirmation about the matter, and that his opinion might be ill-founded, though still *his opinion*)—‘that the Establishment destroys more

table, and impious Mr. Binney.’ ‘The poisonous doctrine of such men as Binney.’ ‘The folly and ignorance,’—‘The bitterness and the blasphemy of the Weigh-House orator.’

‘There are many who agree with Mr. Binney in their hearts, but who will not venture on the shame of so revolting an avowal.’

—‘The contempt and disgust cast upon Binney by any heart capable of a moral feeling.’

‘There are Dissenters who shrink from the contact of such a man as Mr. Binney—a very humble degree of right feeling is requisite for *that*.’

‘Mr. Binney’s *charge*.—The document which, of any that I have seen, bears the most resemblance to it in tone and violence, is the Bull of Pope Paul III, putting Henry VIII, under an anathema. I doubt not that Pope Paul was as sincere in his opinion as Pope Binney, and the one seems as well instructed as the other (notwithstanding the difference of the times in which they were born) in the duties of a christian pastor. The ancient Pope—the modern Pope—the spirit of the two persecutors is the same; and it is the spirit of the *first* persecutor—the DEVIL.

The charitable Dr. Burton says:—

‘Mr. Binney, their intolerant descendant—(a part of his Address appears to have been spoken at Billingsgate)—*Mr. Binney, whose heart is untouched with the charity of the gospel, and whose conversion is not to be effected by human means!*’

souls than it saves.' The Christian Observer represents him as affirming this, 'without *if* or *but*,' and 'as not asserting or *suspecting*, but *knowing* that the Church destroys more souls than it saves.' The following is the passage from this veracious antagonist, as quoted by John Search.

'Upon the rashness of a mortal man daring to pretend to read the inscrutable book of the Divine councils, and to assert, without *if* or *but*, that fewer souls are saved than would be if the Church of England did not exist, it is not necessary for us to descant. If Mr. Binney can really prove what he has asserted, there is an end of discussion. We depone, and we have endeavoured, and we believe satisfactorily, to prove, that a Church Establishment may be, and is 'a means of grace;' but if Mr. Binney has had a miraculous insight into the Lamb's Book of Life, and actually knows—not asserts or suspects, but *knows* that our Church 'destroys more souls than it saves,' then all other arguments must bend to one of such palpable fact.'

The attempt at wit, bordering as it does on profanity, might have been spared; and, indeed, might have been spared if it had *not* bordered on profanity, for in truth there is not much wit in it. It was not necessary, in order to justify Mr. Binney's *opinion*, that the Establishment is more injurious than beneficial, (or, if its advocates will, 'that it destroys more souls than it saves,') to obtain a miraculous insight into the Lamb's Book of Life; *other* volumes, more accessible, and inscribed in characters less mysterious, will sufficiently answer that purpose. But there is another still more gross misrepresentation in the very same article. Mr. Binney asserts his opinion that the Establishment destroys *more* souls than it saves; that is, that while it saves *some*, it destroys *more*. He does not deny that there is much good in the Episcopal Church, but it is *his opinion*, first, that that good does not result from its being an *establishment*; and, secondly, that that good is more than counterbalanced by the evil which an establishment brings with it. Yet he is represented as affirming, that 'the affectionate labours of a faithful servant of Christ are actually converted into poison by being employed within the precincts of a national church.' The following is the passage;—

'And are you, Christian brethren, convinced by *assertions* like the above? Do you really believe that *ALL the churches, the ministers*, the reading of God's word, of which such large portions are interwoven in all our services; the administration of sacraments; and the offering up of solemn prayer and thanksgiving from sabbath to sabbath in so many thousands of places of divine worship in every corner of the land, so far from being means of grace and salvation, are only instruments of spiritual destruction? *Do you really believe* that the affectionate labours of a *faithful servant of Christ* are actually converted into poison *by being employed within the precincts of a national church?*'

Well may John Search exclaim, on this infamous and bare-faced perversion—

‘No, sir, we don’t,—nor Mr. Binney either, and you *know* it. *We* neither say that ‘*all* the churches and ministers’ are ‘instruments of spiritual destruction;’ nor dare *you* say, that *all* the latter are ‘*faithful* servants of Christ,’ and *all* the former free from what is ‘ruinous as concerns *the salvation* of the souls of men.’ Look at your own words as given above. You *know* that our objections to an Establishment spring from our belief of its *tendency*, as a system, to introduce into the ministry of the purest church *faithless* men, and that *they* do ‘mischief;’ but, as to ‘the affectionate labours of a faithful servant of Christ,’ whether within a national church or out of it, ask your conscience our opinion upon that: you know it as well as ourselves.’

But the crowning absurdity of all is, that the editors of the Christian Observer and the Record, Dr. Chalmers, and many others, hot advocates of the Establishment, have by implication said the very same thing and given expression to the very same opinion as Mr. Binney; and sometimes in language very similar. This, John Search fully proves in a series of passages, some of which we shall presently proceed to lay before our readers. Indeed, if he had *not* done this,—if these writers had not given utterance to their opinion,—it is as plain that such must *be* their opinion as that two and two make four. For it is clear that the evangelical party in the Church—of whose opinions, aye, and of whose *spirit*, the Christian Observer and the Record may be considered the faithful representatives—believe that the doctrines for which they earnestly contend are essential to a full exhibition of the Gospel; that where the contrary are preached the Gospel is *not* preached. Their opinions on this subject have been explicitly declared hundreds of times. Now none know better than themselves that the evangelical party still form a small minority in relation to the whole clergy; till lately, a *very* small, and much *despised* minority. Even now, they cannot by the most liberal computation be made out to be as many as three-tenths (it would be nearer the mark to state them as *two-tenths*) of the whole clerical body. If, then, the bulk of the clergy, as these writers have often declared, do *not* preach the Gospel; if the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge,—certainly upheld by the great mass of the English clergy,—represents their opinions and tastes, and teaches and diffuses the theology they love, a theology which is declared to be ‘pernicious and destructive to the souls of men’—how can the *evangelical party*, at any rate, escape the conclusion that the Establishment, as it is actually constituted, is more powerful for mischief than for good; unless, indeed, they will adopt one or other of the following pleasant alternatives—either,

that such is the zeal, and such the influence of the two thousand some hundred evangelical clergymen, that they will do more good than the eight thousand some hundred *non*-evangelical clergy can do harm; *or*, that in some strange way, no body knows how, by some miraculous *hocus pocus, opus operatum*, the mere fact that a man has received Episcopal ordination, and officiates in priestly vestments, though he may be notoriously unfit for his high office, and preach delusion and 'soul-destroying error,' will be quite sufficient to give efficacy to his ministrations? Something very similar to this Mr. Melvill expressly propounds in a passage of almost incredible folly, cited in 'John Search.' He tells us—

'If whensoever the minister is himself deficient and untaught, so that his sermons exhibit a *wrong system of doctrine*, you will not allow that Christ's church may be profited by the ordinance of preaching; you clearly argue that Christ has given up his office, and that he can no longer be styled 'the minister of the true tabernacle;' *when every thing seems against* the true followers of Christ, so that, *on a carnal calculation*, you would suppose the services of the Church stripped of all efficacy, then, by acting faith on the Head of the ministry, they are instructed and nourished, *though, IN THE MAIN, the given lesson be FALSEHOOD, and the professed sustenance little better than POISON.*

O stupid and besotting doctrine!—Why this would serve to justify the Catholic folly of conducting worship in an unknown tongue; nay, worse, of putting the senseless gabble—senseless, we mean, to those to whom it is addressed—into the mouth of a Mahometan or an infidel. All that you have to do, patient flock, is 'to act faith on the head of the ministry,' and you shall immediately be able to digest corrosive sublimate, revel on scorpions with ineffable satisfaction, and be endowed with the apostolic privilege of 'taking up serpents, and of drinking any deadly thing,' without being 'hurt' by them!—What an impudent contradiction is this to that law which God has alike revealed in his word, and visibly impressed on all the proceedings of his providence,—that the *means* shall be invariably adapted to the *end*; that as are the fountains so will be the streams; that where the teachers are ignorant, unenlightened men, the taught (unless they derive light from some other quarter) will be ignorant and unenlightened too; that such teachers are *blind* leaders, not of the *seeing*, but of the *blind*! And what an equally impudent contradiction is it to *matter of fact*! In the hundreds of parishes committed (even according to the views of the Christian Observer) to irreligious men,—men notoriously unfit for their office,—do we not uniformly find their own ignorance reflected in their congregations? Mr. Melvill speaks indeed of 'acting faith on the head of the ministry;'

but he forgets that the existence of faith itself presupposes a full and just exhibition of the Gospel; not of a system of delusion and error. 'Faith comes by *hearing*, and hearing by the *word of God*.' Wherever true faith already exists, we apprehend that the subject of it will take care to betake himself to sound instruction, and not persist in the perilous experiment of extracting an *elixir vitæ* from oxalic acid, or of satisfying his hunger on sawdust or ashes.

Yet, stupid as this doctrine is,—stupid we verily believe as any thing to be found in the darkest annals of popery,—Mr. Melvill is not the only evangelical clergyman (or once *supposed* to be evangelical) who seems inclined to teach it. Under the pestilential tuition of the 'Oxford Tract' school, several of these gentlemen appear ambitious of attempting a chaotic combination of the elements of light and darkness,—a sort of *twilight*,—a '*dim*,' but not '*religious*' light,—a union of all '*monstrous, all prodigious things*.' The spectacle of Calvin himself, with cowl and tonsure, counting his beads, pattering his '*paternosters*,' and pleading for a service in an unknown tongue, could hardly astound us more than this hybrid theology, this preposterous attempt to unite Geneva and Rome.

But we must return to the subject, from which we have already too far digressed.—Unless the Christian Observer and the Record will embrace one or other of the pleasant alternatives we offer; unless they will either adopt the popish hypothesis of Mr. Melvill, or modestly contend that the small evangelical *minority* do more good than the vast *non-evangelical majority* can do harm,—how can they, *on their own principles*, avoid coming to Mr. Binney's conclusion, that the Church, as it is actually constituted, is more powerful for evil than for good? That such is their opinion, John Search triumphantly shows; if they have not expressed it in so many words, they have done so by implication, by fair and immediate deduction from their own admissions, and in phraseology sometimes very similar. It was not to be expected, indeed, that the Christian Observer should express the same thought with precisely the same energetic brevity as Mr. Binney. Perhaps he was not capable of doing it, or if he were, he would naturally endeavour to express the unpalatable truth in a more euphuistic form. It is enough for us, that he has *expressed* it, or what is tantamount to it. Let our readers carefully read the following passages from John Search, and we are much mistaken if they do not admit him to have fully proved his point.

'I have now, however, to request your attention to a corroboration of the Dissenters' views and '*convictions*' by *Churchmen*; to statements, by advocates of the Establishment, which fully sustain what he has advanced, and the very phraseology of which is coincident with his.

'From an article which appeared in the 'Record' newspaper of April 14, 1834, in reference to a discussion which had just taken place at a meeting of 'the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge,' I extract the following passages.

'Our readers would observe that Dr. Spry said it was necessary to put down this attempt to introduce the elements of discord into the Standing Committee. But we ask this reverend divine if these elements be not already introduced? *If the light be not, even in that invisible conclave, struggling with the darkness?* If great debate is not now carried on *in that formerly still and peaceful dormitory?* * * * * Such as is the theology in Mr. Beresford's sermon on death; *still lower and darker is the theology of the Rev. Dr. Spry.* It is indeed 'DARKNESS VISIBLE.'*

'We should here gladly close our remarks on the meeting, but a sense of duty forces us to proceed to offer what we consider the far most important observations which it suggests. And when we mention that we find the ground for these observations in the speech of Mr. Hill, for whose character and objects we entertain the most unfeigned respect, we prove that *we do not offer them lightly*, and that *a regard to the VITAL INTERESTS of the CHURCH and of TRUTH calls them forth.*

'[Very well. This introduction prepares us for something of grave and awful moment—something not to be disregarded. Even if the writer should be mistaken in his views, his 'deep, serious, religious conviction' of their 'truth' and 'importance' demands that their expression, 'forced' from him 'by a sense of duty,' should be listened to with respect. Let us listen.]

'With the important exception which we shall immediately mention, we consider Mr. Hill's speech to have been admirable in spirit, in manner, and in matter. The statement to which we object is contained in the following sentences:—'He contended that as the society at large consisted of members of the church, who agreed in the profession of her holy faith, and yielded obedience to the requirements of her discipline, though they differed among themselves *on minor points*;* so ought the Standing Committee fairly to represent the body of the society. He referred to the state of the church, when not long since heart-burnings and jealousies existed, which were but the hideous progeny of *prejudice and evil report*,* and when those who were brethren in the church manifested a *sectarian spirit to each other.*'*

'Now according to our judgment, Mr. Hill, as he unfolds his sentiments in the above sentences, misconceives the matter; and the consequence of the misconception is, that he follows a number of excellent men in making a statement perfectly deceptive, opposed to truth, and calculated to perpetuate VITAL and DESTRUCTIVE ERROR. To some who see the delusion conveyed in the above sentences, it may still appear to them *expedient*,* from various considerations, to make

* The words marked thus * are the italics and capitals of the 'Record' itself.

such statements. In such views we cannot coincide. To depart from TRUTH* is never expedient. It frequently appears so to sense, but never to faith.'

'We consider ourselves bound to say that the differences subsisting between *different bodies of clergymen in that society*, and between different clergymen present last Tuesday in that room, are not *minor*,* but *fundamental*;* so much so, that the preaching of *one class is raising their hearers to the gates of heaven*, and that of the other LEADING THEM DOWN TO THE CHAMBERS OF DEATH. We use great plainness of speech. The more momentous the truth which is declared, the more paramount the duty to avoid circumlocution, which might darken the meaning we intend to convey.

'We do not wish to be personal, but we shall most easily and distinctly explain our meaning by simply saying, that the men who approved of the circulation of such a sermon as that of the Rev. Mr. Beresford, 'on death,' which we lately quoted from in these columns, and also, after its character has been brought home to them, can calmly further its circulation among the flock of Christ under the covering wings of the society, have *no conception of the nature, sanctions, and requirements of the Gospel of our salvation*; and that they are equally ignorant of the Gospel—know it not themselves, and, therefore, *cannot** preach it to others, and are, in the language of Scripture, '*blind leaders of the blind*,'—who pertinaciously adhere to such tracts of the Society as those which have been recently denounced in this and other publications;—in which WE ANEW DECLARE *the Gospel of Christ is either not preached at all, or is so blended and encrusted with error, as to rob it of all its freeness, clearness, and glory, so that the unhappy readers are led away by their instrumentality to 'another Gospel which is not another.'* This being the deliberate and well-considered CONVICTION of our hearts, we are bound in faithfulness, and from a regard to the interests of truth, to declare it.'

'I know not, sir, what you may think of this extract; but there it is, studded with sentences which, had they been written by a Dissenter, might have become as 'celebrated,' and have called forth as much virulent execration, as Mr. Binney's itself. *There it is*; and if you look at it in connexion with the following facts, you will see how Churchmen contrive, in their differences with each other, to advance what confirms and countenances the dissenting 'conviction.' The 'Christian Remembrancer,' for May, 1834, referring to the very discussion which 'forced' from the Record the above solemn declaration of its views, says, exultingly, '*the REFRACTORIES were outvoted on Mr. Hill's motion, by ten to one.*' In various articles, indeed, which appeared about that time in this periodical, the agitation then carrying on in the society, in which agitation the Record rejoices, is spoken of as that of a 'knot of zealots,' aiming at the 'evangelical purgation' of books, constituting a 'repository of sound religious instruction,' 'a standard of doctrine,' 'to which the clergy may resort with confidence,' furnished by a society said to be 'the best bulwark of the Church of England.' The 'knot of zealots,'—the *one* of the Record's '*bodies of clergymen*' are spoken of as '*a party*—carrying on an insidious war-

fare,' while those opposed to them, the *other* of the 'bodies of clergymen' is shown to be, '*an overwhelming majority,*' firm in their adherence to the good old books, and deprecating *fundamental* changes in the principles of the society.—For any thing I know, the conductors of the Remembrancer are just as conscientious as those of the Record. It is *their* 'conviction' that the books are sound, and the ministers who agree with them *properly* evangelical. The two statements, however, put together, *on the principles of the Record,* amount to this,—that by far the larger 'body of clergymen,' in a great national society, comprehending the mass of the whole order, are '*ignorant of the Gospel,*' '*cannot preach it,*' distinguished for '*their pertinacious adherence to fundamental error*'—to books '*in which the Gospel of Christ is either not contained, or so encrusted with error that the unhappy readers are led away to another Gospel which is not another,*' and whose preaching '*leads their hearers down to the chambers of death!*' This is the amount and meaning of the testimony of these two *episcopal* witnesses, interpreted by the solemn 'declaration' and 'conviction' of one of them, and it is certainly quite as bad, if not worse, than any thing that can fairly be understood by what was uttered by the Dissenter. The thing is as plain as any question in proportion.

'But you shall have something more recent. Listen again.

'Shortly after coming to London in 1800, I purchased the *twelve volumes* of the Christian Knowledge Society, for the purpose of perusing them for circulation; and must honestly confess, that I found them so unfit, in my judgment, for this purpose, that *I studiously concealed them from the eye of my family, as unsound and delusory statements of the truth of the Gospel;* nor would they probably have ever been drawn from their concealment, but for a purpose which will be adverted to in the following narrative.'

'What an acknowledgment! And yet such is the acknowledgment of the Rev. H. Budd, in the Christian Observer for November last year. The whole twelve volumes of a society, composed of the great mass of the clergy, and exercising an incalculable influence on the spiritual condition and destiny of the people—all so marked throughout with what was '*unsound*' and '*delusory,*' as to be deemed by an enlightened and conscientious man, '*unfit for circulation,*' and '*studiously concealed from the eyes of his family;*' and never intended, for the *use* of any body, to be '*drawn from that concealment.*' Nor is this a solitary instance. Similar statements have repeatedly been made in the publications from which I have quoted—publications conducted and patronised by Churchmen. I shall close this part of my letter, in which I have referred to the existence and tendency of a certain kind of preaching, and a certain class of publications, identified with the Establishment,—most '*dangerous,*' '*delusive,*' and '*destructive,*' according to the showing of its own advocates—as *two* of the '*steps,*' or two aspects of the same step, by which the Dissenter '*arrives at his conviction*'—I shall close, I say, this part of my letter, by the following extract, in which *both* the things just mentioned are referred to; it is from a pamphlet entitled '*Modern High Church Principles examined;* consisting of articles which appeared in the

Record,' and which are thought worthy of re-appearing in a more permanent form.

' 'What a *minute seed* was *the Gospel*, preached in simplicity, in this country, in the early days of Romaine, Venn, Milner, Berridge, and other such worthies. How were their names cast out as evil, and their principles received as utterly fanatical and visionary! What a change even, since the Rev. Mr. Simeon was repeatedly black-balled in the Bartlett's Buildings Society, as utterly unworthy of a place in that centre of orthodoxy; and now, that men of his principles are freely admitted by hundreds, *and the light of divine truth which they promulgate, is contending, even in that sphere, against the darkness of error.*'

' *Darkness of error* :—which means, interpreted by the language already quoted from the 'Record,' *darkness visible*,—' *vital and destructive error*,'—error respecting what is 'not *minor*, but *fundamental*'—'not *slight*, but *momentous*'—which *robs* the truth of all its freeness, clearness, and glory, so that the unhappy readers are led away to 'another gospel which is not another,' and the *preaching* of which 'leads the hearers down to the chambers of death.' And all this, observe, has been *long in full and unchecked operation*, till a '*minute seed*' made its appearance at a time comparatively recent, and the men with whose opposition it has to contend in its growth, *say that they are still*, 'an overwhelming majority.' pp. 13—19.

'John Search' having thus described one of the 'steps' by which Mr. Binney may be supposed to have arrived at the conviction that the Establishment 'destroys more souls than it saves,' proceeds to point out others, more especially that dreadful and systematic abuse of patronage, which alone, so long as it exists, would serve to justify such conviction. Here he cites some most striking passages from Dr. Chalmers, the Christian Observer, &c. The consistent Christian Observer says—

' 'With respect to the evils resulting from the present administration of patronage, it is impossible to speak in terms of too great regret. We quoted in our last number some remarks of Mr. Southey, which *in principle apply as much to the state of the Church now as ever they did*. *It is not even pretended, IN NINETY-NINE CASES OUT OF A HUNDRED*, that either a private or an official patron *seriously sets himself to look out for the person best qualified for an appointment*; it is quite sufficient that the friend whom he wishes to oblige is not legally or scandalously incompetent. Mr. Simeon, we know, and a few other individuals, have been accused of the atrocious crime of expending large sums of money in purchasing advowsons for the sole object of nominating to the incumbency the best men they could find, without any tie of relationship, or private interest, or friendship. *But no one pretends that such crimes are common*. The auctioneers who *DAILY knock down advowsons to the best bidder*, never suspect that they are

bought upon such Utopian principles. *It is enough that the purchaser has a son, a nephew, a friend, whom he wishes to PROVIDE FOR, and who is not disqualified for holding the preferment. AND SO ALSO IN THE CASE OF PUBLIC AND OFFICIAL PATRONS.*' p. 26.

Another 'step' by which Mr. Binney, and other Dissenters, may be supposed to have arrived at the 'conviction' that the Establishment is more powerful for evil than for good, is to be found in the wide diffusion of certain most pernicious errors (as they deem them), fostered 'by her baptismal and other formularies.'

'Dissenters, then, whether justly or not, believe that baptismal regeneration; the exclusive validity of the orders conferred by Bishops; the consequent exclusive right of the clergy, 'to be quite sure that they have the body of Christ to give to the people;' the conversion of the Christian ministry into a priesthood, with the inevitable association of some mysterious virtue connected with their services: in fact, the germ and general principle, at least, of what the Record, and Christian Observer, and publications of that class, and those whom they represent, regard as 'dangerous and ruinous delusions.' They believe that *that* from which these naturally spring, really is contained and taught in the offices and canons of the Church; and if not, they *know* that the things themselves are extensively assumed and inculcated as if *they* were there; and that, even where denied in the pulpit, the belief of them is fostered by the fact, that the uniform phraseology of the Book of Common Prayer is, *apparently* at least, founded upon them. They consider, that pernicious and perilous errors lurk in the language, and are supported by the use, of the Confirmation Service, and the form of Absolution both public and private; and they think, that very much that is awfully deceptive is engendered or aggravated by the manner in which the Lord's Supper is dispensed to the dying, and the Burial Service used over the dead.' p. 40.

There is one remarkable fact connected with the history of the 'celebrated sentence;' it is, that it appears to have excited the wrath of the 'Christian Observer' far more than that of the 'British Critic.' Indeed, the latter speaks with a fairness and manliness which the former would have done well to imitate.

'He,' (Mr. Binney) says the Critic, 'certainly, is not polite; he does not mince matters; but there are many things for which we like him. We like him for the vigorous idiomatic English of his style; we like him for his downrightness; we like him for the manly and straightforward determination with which he deals his blows. He does not keep us in doubt or suspense.' p. 32.

And, after quoting Mr. Binney's declaration—'I should not feel 'the slightest offence if a Churchman were to express himself to

‘me in precisely the same words with respect to Dissent. *We know very well that we do thus actually differ* in opinion, and it would be very foolish for either to be offended because the other expresses it:’ the Critic adds—‘With these statements we entirely agree.’

Now, why is this difference? We apprehend that the writer in the British Critic feels that he, not sympathizing at all in the views which Mr. Binney entertains of what the Gospel is, and of the mode in which alone it can be preached, can afford to hear with patience the expression of an opinion as to the character of the Establishment, so widely different from his own. He might consistently say, ‘holding *your* views, you cannot but arrive at the conclusion you have done; for the vast majority of clergymen must be, in your estimation, unfit for their office; but I believe that it is the evangelical *minority* who are in error,—that the *majority*, the vast majority, hold and preach *sound* doctrine, just the doctrine which they *should* preach; and that the Society for Promoting Religious knowledge is, in particular, a soundly theological and most useful institution. Though this is your opinion, therefore, necessarily formed on the doctrinal and other views you entertain, I think it is an utterly fallacious one, entitled to no more regard than that of a Catholic who tells me, that as I am a Protestant, I am a heretic. On his views he *must* believe this; but, as I do not entertain the same views, I do *not* believe it, and can therefore hear his statement with something like equanimity.’ But with the Christian Observer, and others of the same class, the case is widely different. They cannot but read the ‘celebrated sentence’ with the irritating consciousness that, *according to their own principles*, there is a great deal in it; that the vast mass of those who officiate in the Establishment (which they are determined to uphold at all hazards), do *not* preach the Gospel according to their conceptions of it; and hence their indignation.

It is true that they practically say the same things as Mr. Binney; but that is, of course, no reason why they should suffer any *Dissenter* to say them. They resemble the man who was in the habit of beating his wife; he said he would suffer none to beat her but *himself*. To be sure, there is no accounting for *tastes* in these matters; but we verily believe, if the truth were known, that the Church, as *legitimately* represented by the British Critic, and the Society for Promoting Religious Knowledge (not by the comparatively little clique whose oracle is the Christian Observer), would just as soon be taken to task in the pages of Mr. Binney as in those of the Observer.

The ‘Christian Observer,’ in the article from which we have already cited, has reached the climax of inconsistency by saying of Dissent, *in effect*, just what Mr. Binney has said of the Church, and for which it so much blames him. Wholly unconscious that if

Mr. Binney be wrong in the one case, he (the *Christian Observer*) must be equally so in the other, he exclaims, 'As a system we believe Dissent to be an evil greater than we can express, and if carried to the extent of the subversion of the National Churches of England and Scotland, to say nothing of other Protestant countries, nothing but a direct and special miracle, which we have no right to look for, more especially when we set aside the obvious means of grace, could prevent the ultimate extirpation of Christianity from the earth.' Pretty, soft, unconscious innocence! There he goes, smiling self-complacently, totally unwitting that 'as face answers to face in a glass,' so, in this instance, at least, if in no other, does the face of the *Christian Observer* answer to the face of 'that *thing* Binney.'

Let not our readers for a moment imagine, that, supposing the *Christian Observer* sincerely to hold the above opinion of Dissent—and we have no right to question the *sincerity* of his opinion, nor *do* we question it—let them not imagine, we blame him for expressing such opinion. No, we hold with Mr. Binney, and with the *British Critic*, that, if 'Dissenters and Churchmen *do* thus differ in opinion, it is very foolish for either to be offended because the other expresses it.' It is the *inconsistency*, the *gross inconsistency* of 'doing unto others' what he expressly tells us he would *not* 'that others should do unto him'—it is *this* we blame. It is a blame, however, which attaches not to him alone; but to the great bulk of the advocates of the Church. They resent every supposed insult of the Dissenter, as though they had never assumed a tone of lordly, presumptuous and insolent superiority; as though our ministers, our chapels, our services, our simple ritual, had never been objects of scorn and derision; as though some of them had never impudently excluded us even from the pale of salvation, or left us to the '*uncovenanted mercies of God.*' Well might John Search say—

'That, if he had attempted to speak of Churchmen as *they* have spoken of Dissenters (especially of 'the gentleman whose name was announced as about to preach in this city') [Worcester] the vocabulary of Newgate, or of Sydney itself, would have failed to furnish him with parallel expressions.

We close by observing as an additional defence, both of Mr. Binney, and of every one like-circumstanced, whether Churchman or Dissenter, that if a man sincerely and conscientiously believe—no matter whether right or wrong in his opinion—that any religious system is fraught with pernicious and destructive consequences, or that whatever good it may do, it still destroys more souls than it saves, it is no longer matter of *choice as to whether he should express that opinion or not*. He is *bound* to express it. We have insisted on this, because, obvious as it is,

we do not perceive that 'John Search' has insisted on it. As to the manner in which a man shall declare that opinion, he is bound to do it, no doubt, with as much blandness as is consistent with a clear exhibition of it, and an exhibition of it in such a shape as shall arouse and stimulate attention. This has been done in the 'celebrated sentence.' The same thing might have been expressed in diffuse and courtly expressions, but its epigrammatic force would have been lost. An individual might have said, that 'he had been constrained, by the force of evidence, reluctantly to come to the appalling conclusion, that the Church of England as by law established, did not tend to promote the spiritual welfare of the human species in such a ratio as it impeded it!' This insipid and watery paraphrase would mean, in fact, much the same thing as the words, 'Right or wrong, it is my conscientious *opinion*, that the Church of England destroys more souls than it saves.' But the *force* of the expression has evaporated.

The same latitude (let it be remembered) we not merely *concede* to Churchmen (that is a wrong word), but *claim* for them. If they conscientiously hold the same opinions respecting Dissent which we do respecting the Church, they are not only warranted, but bound to declare them;—and in good sooth, we cannot find that they have been very backward in availing themselves of this liberty: we only wish they would never use it 'as a cloak of maliciousness.'

In conclusion, we heartily recommend the pamphlet of 'John Search' to the attention of our readers. It is admirably written, —in an excellent spirit—and is most triumphant on the points in which he joins issue with his antagonists.

Art. V. *A Letter on the Annexation of Texas to the United States.*
By WILLIAM E. CHANNING, D.D. London: John Green, 121,
Newgate-street. 1837.

WE have already had occasion to speak with a painful earnestness on the subject of Texas. It is consolatory to find that simultaneously with our humble remonstrance on this side of the water, an eloquent writer was raising his well known voice in America, and commanding the unclean spirits of conquest and slavery to come out of her.

Men who are above being dazzled by much that is vulgarly called glory, venerate Channing for his judgment of Napoleon Bonaparte, and other admirable writings; but above all, for his 'Essay on Slavery;' because in publishing this he risked some-

thing, and made a sacrifice of personal ease and popular favour, which endeared him to every friend of liberty and humanity.

The pamphlet before us is the natural fruit of the sentiments expressed in the essay above mentioned. It is written with an ardor of conviction, a strength of reasoning, a depth of pathos, which have rarely been equalled. It is full of love to man, of noble aspirations after his good, and mighty exorcisms of evil.

In contemplating the spirit which is at work in America, through petitions and the press in opposition to a gigantic scheme of fraud and usurpation, we cannot but indulge a feeling of confidence that one of two results will take place; either the apprehended annexation will not be effected, or if it be, it will be under circumstances which will immediately compensate for it by accelerating the downfall of slavery, that violent and dreadful system which will have led to it. Either way the cause of liberty may be considered safe, and the triumph of justice sure. But it must not be supposed that the slave-holding inhabitants of the United States will be lured by the exhortations, or shamed by the reproofs of Dr. Channing. We know too well the fatal bent of slave-holding to believe that they will retreat or halt. Like the attacking columns of Napoleon, the mass will move on though it be to defeat and final destruction. They may be driven from the field, but they will return to the object; and the very repose of victory will be seized upon by them to steal away the triumph. Precisely this happened in relation to the recognition of Texas. The Anti-Slavery Societies and the Free States felt the ground give way under them just when they thought the danger was passed, and that they might lie down and sleep in security. President Jackson, who, it must be constantly borne in mind, was the representative of the slave-holders and slave-traders, rather than the chief magistrate of the nation, declared in a special message to both Houses of Congress, on the 22nd day of December last, that 'prudence dictated that the United States should stand aloof, if not until Mexico itself, or one of the great foreign powers, should recognize the new government, *at least until the lapse of time or the course of events*, should have proved beyond cavil or dispute the ability of the people of that country to maintain their separate sovereignty, and to uphold the government constituted by them.' He added, 'By pursuing this course, we are but carrying out the long-established policy of the government—a policy which has secured us respect and influence abroad, and inspired confidence at home.'

Yet in two little months, without the occurrence of any event, he proceeded to make the recognition, which he had affected to deprecate, and to appoint a minister to the pretended republic,—a mere handful of robbers and desperadoes, who, supposing them to be citizens of Mexico, and to be five times as many as the en-

tire population, including the peaceable and loyal, was ever ascertained to be, amounted only to the *one-hundredth* part of the Mexican nation ! What was this but to pursue a course the very opposite of that 'which had secure respect and influence abroad;' the very opposite of that which the people of the United States, with the exception of the Texian conspirators, anticipated after such a message ! It deceived the very elect. How artful is the assumed candor, and how odious the hypocrisy, of the following passage :

'It might subject us, however unjustly, to the imputation of 'seeking to establish the claim of our neighbours to a territory, 'with a view to its subsequent acquisition ourselves.'

But we dismiss the message. It is too easily seen through, and too offensive to every honest mind to admit of comment. It is refreshing to turn to the pages of Channing.

'Some of the grounds on which the Texians justify their conflict for independence are so glaringly deficient in truth and reason, that it is hard to avoid suspicion of every defence set up for their revolt. They complain of being denied the right of worshipping God according to the dictates of their consciences ; and this they do, though they entered the country, and swore allegiance to its government, with full knowledge that the Catholic religion was the religion of the State, and alone tolerated by the Constitution. What increases the hollowness and criminality of the pretence, is, that notwithstanding the provision of the Constitution, Protestant sects had held their meetings undisturbed in Texas, and no persecution had ever taken place on account of difference of creed.'—p. 7.

To this general statement, which we believe to be strictly true, we are able to add a particular fact at once confirming it, and illustrating the character of the Texian leaders, of their cause, and the means to which they resort for sustaining it.

At an early period of the insurrection, a letter was written from Texas under the dictation of Stephen F. Austin, then both civil and military chief, and now 'secretary of state,' appealing to the people of the Northern States,—the sons of the Plymouth Pilgrims—for their aid in the cause of religious freedom, and grounding this appeal upon the fact that a constitution, then recently adopted by the Mexican nation, had subverted the rights established in this behalf by the former constitution of that country. Austin affected to translate for the scribe, who was a correspondent of a New York newspaper, this article of the new fundamental law.

'The religion of Mexico is the Catholic Apostolic Roman, 'which the nation establishes, and tolerates no other.'

This was published and palmed upon the world as an *innovation* justifying treason, and requiring the intervention of the

friends of religious freedom of all countries in favour of the oppressed and deceived colonists.

And now what was the fact? The article cited as an innovation was a literal translation of an article contained in every constitution and constitutional act, which Mexico had ever adopted from the first moment of independence down to that day. The constitution of 1824, the support of which the Texians professed, at that time was the sole purpose of their rebellion, contained precisely this article, and it is quite probable that Austin held the constitution of 1824 in his hand and translated from it his proof of the tyrannical innovation!

Further, this same Mr. Austin, and every other real Texian, i. e. one who had obtained land, or been admitted to citizenship, had first taken an oath 'to obey the constitution, and observe the religion, which it established.'

Such depravity is too painful, too low, and too humbling to human nature to be dwelt upon. This wicked falsehood of the Texian chief magistrate and generalissimo, has been infusing its poison into honest Protestant, and even Anti-slavery people to this day. The press which originally published it, refused to admit a contradiction into their columns. *Seven* other presses in the city of New York were applied to, but likewise refused. Such a state of things required the pen of a Channing! Indeed, when we consider the perilous incitements to this national crime on the part of the slave-holders in the South, and the scrip-holders in the North, and the more perilous and more criminal silence or co-operation of the American press, it seems to us as if nothing less than a miracle can save that christian and kindred nation from entering upon a career of crime, which will only fail to be interminable because it must lead to ruin.

'Some crimes, by their magnitude, have a touch of the sublime; and to this dignity the seizure of Texas by our citizens is entitled. Modern times furnish no example of individual rapine on so grand a scale. It is nothing less than the robbery of a realm. The pirate seizes a ship. The colonists and their coadjutors can satisfy themselves with nothing short of an empire. They have left their Anglo-Saxon ancestors behind them. Those barbarians conformed to the maxims of their age, to the rude code of nations in time of thickest heathen darkness. They invaded England under their sovereigns, and with the sanction of the gloomy religion of the north. But it is in a civilized age, and amidst refinements of manners; it is amidst the lights of science and the teachings of Christianity; amidst expositions of the law of nations and enforcements of the law of universal love; amidst institutions of religion, learning, and humanity, that the robbery of Texas has found its instruments. It is from a free, well-ordered, enlightened Christian country, that hordes have gone forth in open day to perpetrate this mighty wrong.

‘Let me now ask, Are the United States prepared to receive from these hands the gift of Texas? In annexing it to this country, shall we not appropriate to ourselves the fruits of a rapine which we ought to have suppressed? We certainly should shrink from a proposition to receive a piratical State into our confederacy. And of whom does Texas consist? Very much of our own citizens, who have won a country by waging war against a foreign nation, to which we owed protection against such assaults. Does it consist with national honour, with national virtue, to receive to our embrace men who have prospered by crimes which we were bound to reprobate and repress?’

‘Had this country resisted with its whole power the lawlessness of its citizens; had these, notwithstanding such opposition, succeeded in extorting from Mexico a recognition of independence; and were their sovereignty acknowledged by other nations,—we should stand acquitted, in the sight of the civilized world, of participating in their crime, were considerations of policy to determine us to admit them into our Union. Unhappily, the United States have not discharged the obligation of a neutral State. They have suffered, by a culpable negligence, the violation of the Mexican territory by their citizens; and if now, in the midst of the conflict, whilst Mexico yet threatens to enforce her claims, they should proceed to incorporate Texas with themselves, they would involve themselves, before all nations, in the whole infamy of the revolt. The United States have not been just to Mexico. Our citizens did not steal singly, silently, in disguise into that land. Their purpose of dismembering Mexico, and attaching her distant province to this country, was not wrapt in mystery. It was proclaimed in our public prints. Expeditions were openly fitted out within our borders for the Texian war. Troops were organized, equipped, and marched for the scene of action. Advertisements for volunteers to be enrolled and conducted to Texas at the expense of that territory were inserted in our newspapers. The government, indeed, issued its proclamation, forbidding these hostile preparations; but this was a dead letter. Military companies, with officers and standards, in defiance of proclamations, and in the face of day, directed their steps to the revolted province. We had, indeed, an army near the frontiers of Mexico. Did it turn back these invaders of a land with which we were at peace? On the contrary, did not its presence give confidence to the revolters? After this, what construction of our conduct shall we force on the world, if we proceed, especially at this moment, to receive into our Union the territory which, through our neglect, has fallen a prey to lawless invasion? Are we willing to take our place among robber States? As a people, have we no self-respect? Have we no reverence for national morality? Have we no feeling of responsibility to other nations, and to Him by whom the fates of nations are disposed?’—pp. 15, 16.

The foregoing extract concludes the remarks under the first of five heads into which this tract is divided. The following is from the second division:

‘Having unfolded the argument against the annexation of Texas from the criminality of the revolt, I proceed to a second very solemn consideration, namely; that by this act our country will enter on a career of encroachment, war, and crime, and will merit and incur the punishment and woe of aggravated wrong-doing. The seizure of Texas will not stand alone. It will darken our future history. It will be linked by an iron necessity to long-continued deeds of rapine and blood. Ages may not see the catastrophe of the tragedy, the first scene of which we are so ready to enact. It is strange that nations should be so much more rash than individuals; and this in the face of experience, which has been teaching, from the beginning of society, that of all precipitate and criminal deeds, those perpetrated by nations are the most fruitful of misery.

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‘Texas is a country conquered by our citizens; and the annexation of it to our Union will be the beginning of conquests which, unless arrested and beaten back by a just and kind Providence, will stop only at the Isthmus of Darien. Henceforth we must cease to cry Peace! peace! Our Eagle will whet, not gorge, its appetite on its first victim, and will snuff a more tempting quarry, more alluring blood, in every new region which opens southward. To annex Texas is to declare perpetual war with Mexico. That word *Mexico*, associated in men’s minds with boundless wealth, has already awakened rapacity. Already it has been proclaimed that the Anglo-Saxon race is destined to the sway of this magnificent realm; that the rude form of society which Spain established there is to yield and vanish before a higher civilization. Without this exposure of plans of rapine and subjugation, the result, as far as our will can determine it, is plain. Texas is the first step to Mexico. The moment we plant our authority on Texas, the boundaries of those two countries will become nominal—will be little more than lines on the sand of the sea-shore.’—pp. 16—18.

In the next passage which we copy there is an elevation and purity of principle to which civilized and christian men and nations must come up, and that at no distant day; or if they do not, they must plunge into guilt and woe more fearful than history has yet recorded. Heavenly light and love are abroad, and their admonitions cannot be drowned without a more bold and boisterous wickedness than men have yet attained to. They cannot, without unparalleled criminality, be disobedient to the heavenly messengers.

‘Is the time never to come, when the neighbourhood of a more powerful and civilized people will prove a blessing instead of a curse to an inferior community? It was my hope, when the Spanish colonies of this continent separated themselves from the mother country, and, in admiration of the United States, adopted republican institutions, that they were to find in us friends to their freedom, helpers to their civilization. If ever a people were placed by Providence in a

condition to do good to a neighbouring State, we of this country sustained such a relation to Mexico. That nation, inferior in science, arts, agriculture, and legislation, looked to us with a generous trust. She opened her ports and territories to our farmers, mechanics, and merchants. We might have conquered her by the only honourable arms,—by the force of superior intelligence, industry, and morality. We might silently have poured in upon her our improvements; and by the infusion of our population have assimilated her to ourselves. Justice, good-will, and profitable intercourse might have cemented a lasting friendship. And what is now the case? A deadly hatred burns in Mexico towards this country. No stronger national sentiment now binds her scattered provinces together, than dread and detestation of Republican America. She is ready to attach herself to Europe for defence from the United States. All the moral power which we might have gained over Mexico we have thrown away; and suspicion, dread, and abhorrence, have supplanted respect and trust.'—p. 19.

The third division treats of the extension and perpetuation of slavery as the consequence of the seizure of Texas; the fourth, of its tendency to destroy the Union; and the fifth, of its mischievous consequences to the cause of liberty. While we feel nothing but contempt for scribblers, who have assailed America without intelligence and without truth, yet we have ever deemed the flattery of her pretended friends, and of her own *soi-disant* patriots as infinitely more immoral and dangerous. We rejoice to find an American writer, of so high and acknowledged authority, uttering, in the midst of his countrymen, such sentiments as the following:

'The dependence of freedom on morals is an old subject, and I have no thought of enlarging on the general truth. I wish only to say that it is one which needs to be brought home to us at the present moment, and that it cannot be trifled with but to our great peril. There are symptoms of corruption amongst us, which show us that we cannot enter on a new career of crime without peculiar hazard. I cannot do justice to this topic without speaking freely of our country, as freely as I should of any other; and unhappily, we are so accustomed as a people, to receive incense, to be soothed by flattery, and to account reputation as a more important interest than morality, that my freedom may be construed into a kind of disloyalty. But it would be wrong to make concessions to this dangerous weakness. I believe that morality is the first interest of a people, and that this requires self-knowledge in nations, as truly as in individuals. He who helps a community to comprehend itself, and to apply to itself a higher rule of action, is the truest patriot, and contributes most to its enduring fame.'—p. 39.

On the general question of slavery Dr. Channing briefly observes:

'I have expressed my fears that, by the annexation of Texas, slavery

is to be continued and extended. But I wish not to be understood as having the slightest doubt as to the approaching fall of the institution. It may be prolonged, to our reproach and greater ultimate suffering; but fall it will, and must. This, Sir, you know, and I doubt not, rejoice to know. The advocates of slavery must not imagine that to carry a vote is to sustain their cause. With all their power they cannot withstand the providence of God, the principles of human nature, the destinies of the race. To succeed, they must roll back time to the dark ages, must send back Luther to the cell of his monastery, must extinguish the growing light of Christianity and moral science, must blot out the declaration of American independence. The fall of slavery is as sure as the descent of your own Ohio. Moral laws are as irresistible as physical. In the most enlightened countries of Europe, a man would forfeit his place in society by vindicating slavery. The slave-holder must not imagine that he has nothing to do but fight with a few societies. These of themselves are nothing. He should not waste on them one fear. They are strong only as representing the spirit of the Christian and civilized world. His battle is with the laws of human nature and the irresistible tendencies of human affairs. These are not to be withstood by artful strokes of policy, or by daring crimes. The world is against him, and the world's Maker. Every day the sympathies of the world are forsaking him. Can he hope to sustain slavery against the moral feeling, the solemn sentence, of the human race?'—p. 32.

We must make one exception to the remark that 'in enlightened countries of Europe a man would forfeit his place in society by vindicating slavery.' If that man happens to be upheld by the treasury and by the ambassadorial dignity of the most 'free and enlightened nation upon earth,' he does *not* forfeit his place in European society. Of this we are condemned to have *daily* experience. Even the ill manners of telling *Englishmen* that 'there can be no real liberty without slavery,' does not appear to be a consideration, which at all restrains the belchings of such apostles of liberty as the American Republic has of late sent forth.

Extended as our extracts already are, we are persuaded that our readers would welcome more, and when they had finished the last, would rise up and possess themselves of the entire pamphlet. The coincidence of the views of Dr. Channing upon all the leading points of the case with those, which we were at the same moment expressing at a distance of 3,000 miles, cheers and strengthens us in our determination that, if this grand outrage must be done, it shall not be for want of a thorough exposure of it to the just abhorrence of the British nation.

'By this act, slavery will be spread over regions to which it is now impossible to set limits. Texas, I repeat it, is but the first step of aggressions. I trust, indeed, that Providence will beat back and hum-

ble our cupidity and ambition. But one guilty success is often suffered to be crowned, as men call it, with greater, in order that a more awful retribution may at length vindicate the justice of God, and the rights of the oppressed. Texas, smitten with slavery, will spread the infection beyond herself. We know that the tropical regions have been found most propitious to this pestilence; nor can we promise ourselves that its expulsion from them for a season forbids its return. By annexing Texas, we may send this scourge to a distance, which, if now revealed, would appal us, and through these vast regions every cry of the injured will invoke wrath on our heads.

‘By this act, slavery will be perpetuated in the old States as well as spread over new. It is well known, that the soil of some of the old States has become exhausted by slave cultivation. Their neighbourhood to communities which are flourishing under free labour, forces on them perpetual arguments for adopting this better system. They now adhere to slavery, not on account of the wealth which it extracts from the soil, but because it furnishes men and women to be sold in newly settled and more southern districts. It is by slave-breeding and slave-selling that these States subsist. Take away from them a foreign market, and slavery would die. Of consequence, by opening a new market it is prolonged and invigorated. By annexing Texas, we shall not only create it where it does not exist, but breathe new life into it where its end seemed to be near. States which might and ought to throw it off, will make the multiplication of slaves their great aim and chief resource.

‘Nor is the worst told. As I have before intimated,—and it cannot be too often repeated,—we shall not only quicken the domestic slave-trade; we shall give a new impulse to the foreign. This indeed we have pronounced in our laws to be felony; but we make our laws cobwebs when we offer to rapacious men strong motives for their violation. Open a market for slaves in an unsettled country, with a sweep of sea-coast, and at such a distance from the seat of government that laws may be evaded with impunity, and how can you exclude slaves from Africa? It is well known that cargoes have been landed in Louisiana. What is to drive them from Texas? In incorporating this region with the Union to make it a slave country, we send the kidnapper to prowl through the jungles, and to dart, like a beast of prey, on the defenceless villages of Africa. We chain the helpless despairing victims; crowd them into the fetid, pestilential slave-ship; expose them to the unutterable cruelties of the middle passage, and, if they survive it, crush them with perpetual bondage.

‘I now ask, whether, as a people, we are prepared to seize on a neighbouring territory for the end of extending slavery? I ask, whether, as a people, we can stand forth in the sight of God, in the sight of the nations, and adopt this atrocious policy? Sooner perish! Sooner be our name blotted out from the record of nations!’—pp. 25, 26.

Is there a soul not steeped in corruption, that can withhold a ready amen to this?

Art. VI. *The Christian Professor addressed, in a Series of Counsels and Cautions to the Members of Dissenting Churches.* By JOHN ANGELL JAMES. London: 12mo. pp. 384.

MR. JAMES needs no introduction to the readers of the Eclectic. Extensively known as one of the most able men, and one of the most popular preachers, in the body to which he belongs, he is also highly esteemed as the author of several valuable works in the department of practical divinity, by which his usefulness has already been widened beyond the scope of his personal ministry, and will be prolonged beyond the term of his earthly labours. In this walk of theology we are truly happy to meet him again. We have read his 'Christian Professor' with unfeigned delight—we hope, with profit; and we can assure our readers, that it ranks not at all below its sister volumes, *Christian Charity*, *The Family Monitor*, *The Anxious Inquirer*, and *The Church Member's Guide*. It is as a sequel to the last named volume, Mr. James informs us, that he designs the present. 'It was not my intention,' he adds, 'in this work, to enter into the consideration of private, experimental, or doctrinal religion, so much as into its practical parts; and to contemplate the believer rather as a professor than a Christian, or at least, rather as a Christian in relation to the church and to the world, than in his individual capacity, or in his retirements.'—pref. p. viii.

There can be but one opinion of the importance of the track which our author has marked out for himself, more especially in a period of great profession, like the present; nor can there be more than one opinion, we think, of the manner in which he has executed his design. Without a style which can be called classical, or a habit of thought remarkable for compactness, he has given us, in a free and familiar manner, a large quantity of most excellent advice, in which many matters not often treated of are brought forward, some points of considerable difficulty are judiciously handled, and all things are touched with the kindly feeling, the lively imagination, the deep-toned piety, and the enlarged knowledge of the world, by which he is well-known to be characterized. We shall not give a table of contents: but shall satisfy ourselves with laying before our readers a few valuable passages, as samples of the whole; interspersing such remarks as may occur to us on the matters treated of. Our first extract shall be taken from the second chapter, which is on the Obligation and design of the Christian Profession.

'Profession is for the WORLD 'Ye are the salt of the earth, ye are the light of the world,' said Christ to his disciples. The church is the pillar and ground of truth, intended to hold up, to send round, to

hand down, the truth. To shew what truth *is*, what faith *is*, what holiness *is*. To exhibit the truth, and a living comment upon it too: to send out life-giving voices, attended by life-giving actions; to speak for God *to*, and to act for God *upon*, the dark and inert mass around. The true church of Christ is evidently designed, not only to receive the truth by faith for its own sake, but to reflect it, by profession, for the world's sake. It seems to bear much the same relation to the word of God as the moon does to the sun; and to perform somewhat the same function in the spiritual economy as the satellite does in the planetary system. It is not the original source of light, for that is the Bible; but it is the recipient and depository of this light, which it receives for its own benefit, and reflects for the benefit of a benighted world. The church revolves in the attraction of this moral orb, and exhibits to those who would not otherwise receive them, its glorious beams. Hence by the Lord's supper, which is strictly and exclusively an ecclesiastical ordinance, the church is said to '*shew forth*' the death of Christ till his second coming.'—pp. 23, 24.

It is for the sake of this reference to the Lord's Supper that we have quoted the preceding passage. We are not quite certain that we understand the author, when he calls the Lord's Supper an *ecclesiastical* ordinance. If, as we suppose, he means that it is necessarily a *church*-ordinance, or that no persons ought to celebrate it who are not in a state of church union, we are hardly sure that we agree with him. It has sometimes occurred to us to regard the Lord's Supper as an ordinance of social piety, well-adapted, no doubt, to a state of church-union, but neither necessarily involving it, nor attaching criminality to any who, not being in church-union, might thus commemorate the death of Him they love. But this is not our principal point. We beg the reader's further attention to the following passage, which constitutes a note on the phrase '*shewing forth*' the death of Christ:—

'Does not this expression of the Apostle's plainly prove, that the Lord's Supper ought to be observed publicly, before the whole congregation?' How else can we by that act '*shew forth*' the death of Christ?'—p. 25.

We have had many thoughts on this subject, and we cannot say that our opinion coincides with Mr. James's. We might assign many reasons for preferring that the holy supper should be received by the church, without any spectators, and might draw arguments of no small weight both from Scripture and ecclesiastical antiquity, in defence of such a method. But we have observed, that this question, instead of being gone into at length, is always disposed of at a single blow by means of this declaration of the Apostle, that the institution is designed to '*shew forth*' the death of Christ. So Mr. Orme dispatches it, also, in a note.

Mr. James fortifies himself by telling us, in the text, that 'the word signifies 'to publish openly and effectually,' 'to declare in a joyful and emphatic manner.' ' If there be faith in critics, this is going rather far, as to the meaning of *καταγγέλω*. It is rendered by Schleusner, *to make known, to tell a person any thing, to relate things unknown*. He gives, however, not a single instance of its scriptural use in this sense. Its scriptural meanings, according to him, are two: first, *to teach or preach*; as in Acts iv. 2, '*preached through Jesus the resurrection from the dead.*' Second, *to celebrate the memory of any one, to commemorate*; as in Rom. i. 8, '*that your faith is spoken of throughout the whole 'world.'* And this is the meaning which Schleusner assigns to the term in relation to the Lord's Supper: '*ye do commemorate 'the Lord's death until he come.*' We think this both sound criticism and excellent divinity; and, for our parts, should like to see it acted on. We should first wish to know, however, from those who have so strongly maintained the necessary publicity of the Supper, whether they have any arrow but this in their quiver, or whether, upon the supposition of their being beaten upon this ground, they are ready to abandon such other positions as may remain to them?

Our author, in passing, adverts to the various modes of admission into Dissenting churches; which, as he justly says, if in some cases too lax, are certainly in others much too severe. We cannot omit the opportunity of referring particularly to the demand made in some quarters, that candidates should, before the assembled church, give a detailed account of their experience, and undergo an examination concerning their faith. Whenever the endurance of this harrowing process is voluntary, of course, we can have nothing to say; let those who like it, suffer it. But by what authority on earth, even one as essentially Anti-Christian as that of the pope himself, it can be *demanded*, and made an obligatory condition of being admitted to a religious profession, and the communion of saints, we are utterly at a loss to conceive. Yet *demanded* it is, and insisted on; so that whoever will not submit to the rule, is kept back from privilege. And many, undoubtedly are kept back, not unreasonably deterred by the terrors of such an ordeal, and perhaps indignant too, with quite as good reason, at the unscriptural assumption of authority. We are not advocating the admission of members without evidence of their piety and knowledge, quite as satisfactory as can at any time be obtained by this mode of torture. On the contrary, we hate it because it is as useless as it is revolting; and because we are sure that a great deal better evidence of character may be obtained, by private conversation and unexceptionable testimony. Purity of profession it is unquestionably of the first importance to maintain; but surely there is no reason why the methods of

doing so should not be accommodated to the feelings of the parties concerned, in the meekness and gentleness of Christ. We hope and believe this venerable Anti-Christian usurpation is decaying; and we shall be very happy to ring the knell of it.

But, amidst these ecclesiastical topics, we are almost forgetting the character of the book under review. Let our readers, then, take the following extract, on a very important subject at the present day, as a sample of the hortatory style of the author. It is from a chapter on conformity to the world:—

‘2. Our nonconformity to the world must include in it a *stern refusal to adopt those corrupt principles, or rather that want of principle, on which a great part of the modern system of trade is conducted*. I dwell on this subject with a repetition that many will dislike, because of its great importance and necessity. We are commanded to follow whatsoever things are true, just, honest, lovely, and of good report; and we are to do nothing contrary to this rule. This is the Christian law of trade, the New Testament system of commercial morality, from which we may not depart. In reply to all this it is said by many professors, that if they do not in some degree, conform to the practices of others, in the manner of conducting their business, although their practices cannot be justified on the ground of Scripture, they cannot live. Then, I say, they *ought* not, in their meaning of the phrase, to live. For what *does* it mean? Not that they cannot subsist, but that they cannot live comfortably; cannot have so good a house, such elegant furniture, such luxurious diet. What saith Christ? ‘If thy hand offend thee, cut it off; it is better for thee to enter into life maimed, than having two hands to go into hell, into the fire that never shall be quenched,’ Mark ix. 43. ‘Who-soever will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me,’ Mark viii. 34. There was an age of the church when its members were required to burn a little incense to the statues of the gods or the emperors, and upon noncompliance with the command, were hurried off to be torn to pieces by lions in the amphitheatre. Upon that single act, because it was regarded as a test of Christian character and influence, depended not only their property or liberty, but their life; and myriads sacrificed their lives rather than conform. What is now the ordeal? What is now the trial of integrity? Not an act of homage to Jupiter or Trajan; but bowing the knee and burning incense to Mammon. And shall there be no martyrs for Christian morality, even as there were once martyrs for Christian doctrine? If the early Christians could not serve God and Jupiter, shall we try to serve God and Mammon? If they hesitated not to sacrifice their *lives* for their profession, shall we think it hard to give up a portion of our *gains*? Trade is the trial of the church in the present day, and fearful are the disclosures which it makes. Other ages, beside our own, have been in some measure exposed to this trial. ‘The disciples of Wycliffe,’ says the Roman Inquisitor, Reinher, ‘are men of a serious, modest deportment, avoiding all ostentation in dress, mixing little with the world. They maintain

themselves wholly by their own labours, and *utterly despise wealth, being content with bare necessaries*. THEY FOLLOW NO TRAFFIC, BECAUSE IT IS ATTENDED WITH SO MUCH LYING, AND SWEARING, AND CHEATING. They are chaste and temperate, are never seen in taverns, or amused by the trifling gaieties of life.' To go out, or keep out of business, however, in order to avoid its snares, is not required of Christians; but it is evidently their duty to avoid all ways of transacting it that are contrary to the rules of the word of God; the morality of which does not fluctuate with the customs of men and the manners of the age. If we cannot get any more than bread and water without lying and fraud, we must be content even with this hard fare.' pp. 128—130.

We take another extract from the sixteenth chapter (the whole of which is excellent), on the conduct of Christians away from home :

'*But what shall be said of the conduct of some professors at our WATERING PLACES?* It has become almost one of the necessaries of life to Englishmen, to pay a summer or an autumnal visit to the coast, or to one of our inland places of resort. To say that this is wrong in those who can afford to pay for it, is certainly not my intention. That many purchase the trip at other people's expense, is an undoubted fact; for those who have been seen dashing away one year at Brighton or Cheltenham, have been seen the next year in the gazette. Tradesmen, and even *Christian* tradesmen too, have ruined themselves, and plunged their families into poverty and distress, by habits of expense and idleness, acquired by this annual excursion to the sea. The taste of the age is for luxurious gratification, and it is certainly *one* of these luxuries, to while away a month amidst the beauties of the coast, or the gay throng of a fashionable lounging-place. But to do this without ample means for paying for it, is to do an act that is dishonest in a man, and most disgraceful in a Christian.

'I will suppose, however, that there is no lack of wealth, and that the professor can command the gratification, without putting other people's property in jeopardy; still are not his spendings for this enjoyment out of all due proportion to his donations to the cause of Christ? When did he ever give in one amount to any religious object, what he gives in one amount for his treat of his family to a watering-place? Nay, put together all he gives to the cause of the Lord for a *whole year*, and does it equal what he spends on one excursion? How often does he turn away a claimant, sent to him in the name of the Lord, with the excuse that he has nothing to spare? Perhaps he says this, just after he has been lavishing tens or scores of pounds, in riding into the country, sailing on the sea, and luxuriating in other ways on the shore. When a world is perishing, and immortal souls are sinking daily in crowds to perdition, a Christian should look with grudging eye on almost every shilling he spends in luxury.

'But let it be granted that professors are liberal in the use of their property for humanity and religion; and that they can in all consist-

ency spend a few pounds a year in recreation, a case that often occurs ; still are there no perils for piety at a watering-place ? Temptations abound every where, entering like a poisoned atmosphere into every place ; but surely no one acquainted with the subject will deny, that they are found in greater number and force in those places which fashion has set apart for relaxation and amusement. The sudden transition from employment to idleness, is rarely friendly to habits of devotion. It might indeed be supposed, that the Christian, finding himself released from the demands of business, and obtaining thus a respite from the urgent cares of secular pursuits, would hail with delight a season for meditation and prayer, and convert his absence into one long sweet sabbath for his soul, to enjoy communion with his God. But does experience prove that the supposition is well-founded ? Perhaps 'the soft dominion of perfect idleness,' and the opportunity for luxurious repose are more unfriendly to the cultivation of piety, than the ceaseless round of worldly occupations. We then lounge away our time, without either glorifying God or benefitting our fellow-creatures. If a moralist were justified in saying, that but few individuals know how to take a walk, the Christian preacher is certainly warranted in affirming, that but few, even among consistent Christians, know how to spend a month from home ! The mixed society to be found in such haunts of pleasure, the amusements which are resorted to, and the general air of dissipation which pervades the whole scene, are all uncongenial with the spirit of piety, which flourishes best in silence and the shade. If in the crowded city men appear as if they lived to get wealth by labour, at a watering-place they look as if it were the object of existence to spend it in pleasure ; in either case, religion seems to be banished from their minds.' pp. 307—309.

These passages will afford abundant evidence of the vigorous, courteous, and eminently *useful* manner, in which Mr. James handles the topics he has chosen ; and we regret that our limits will not permit us to adduce others of equal value. There is an admirable chapter on the conduct of professors in reference to politics, which we should like to extract entire. But it is vexatious to select, where almost all is of such eminent worth. We say *almost* all, because the author has not treated every one of his topics with equal care and effect, though the more negligent portions are few, and do not materially diminish the value of the work. We are not quite sure that he is so good a hand at untying a metaphysical knot, as he is at unravelling the mysteries of trade. In p. 113, he raises the question, whether we are bound, in *all* cases, to follow the dictates of conscience, since, as conscience is often misinformed, we may sometimes do that conscientiously which is evil. He puts the matter very forcibly :

'If we say that conscience is *not* to be followed in all things, we depose this internal monitor from his throne, and affirm that we are

not always bound to do that which we believe to be right ; while, if we say we always *are* to follow conscience, we seem to prove that some do right in sinning against God, because they do it conscientiously.'

We cannot think that his solution of this difficulty is satisfactory ; we think rather, that he would have done better not to raise it, unless he had intended to treat it with more power. The case seems to us to involve the confounding of two things, which are perfectly distinct in themselves, and which require to be kept so in the argument. These are essential rectitude, and personal rectitude ; or the rectitude of actions, and the rectitude of agents. Whether an action is right, is one question, and a question which nobody thinks of answering by appealing to any man's conscience, but by a reference to the eternal standard of righteousness. Whether an agent would be right in the doing of a given action, is quite another question ; and a question to be decided, not necessarily by an appeal to the law, of which the person about to act may be either wholly or partially ignorant, but by a reference to the state of his moral powers, and the measure of his knowledge. Such, indeed is the scriptural rule. 'To him that knoweth to do good, and doeth it not, to him it is sin ;' the converse being evidently of equal truth, that it is not sin to him that does not know. Constituted as the moral powers of man are, it must always be a matter of rectitude in the agent to act according to his conscience. He may thus indeed perform an action which is wrong in itself ; but whether he may find reason to reproach himself with it must still depend on the answer to this question, Whether the erroneous dictates of his conscience arose from inevitable or voluntary causes. In the former case, surely no blame can attach to him. In the latter whether the cause may have been negligence, prejudice, or passion, both he and his Maker will find sufficient scope, both for condemnation and for punishment. We do not think, however, that the cases in which people really act wrong from conscience are so numerous as is pretended ; this noble name is often used as a disguise for what might much more truly be called pertinacity, or wilfulness.

Art. VII. *The Monk of Cimiés*. By Mrs. SHERWOOD, Author of 'The Nun.' London: William Darton & Son, Holborn Hill. 12mo. pp. 428.

THIS work belongs to a class of which we fear we cannot express much commendation—that of religious novels. There has been a great rage for publications of this sort, and they have had their day. But their popularity is on the wane. The more judicious and considerate seem to abandon them for two reasons: first, because the medium has proved too fascinating for useful impression; and, secondly, because the perusal of them generates a taste for novel reading, apart from any regard to religious benefit at all. Without intending our suspicion to apply universally, we do suspect that many writers of this class have not sincerely aimed at conveying religious instruction; but have only availed themselves of the admitted plea of religion to sanction the production of a novel. We are sure that many readers of religious novels, and religious readers of them, have read them for luxury, and not for profit; still, under that admitted plea, justifying the mental intoxication resulting from their perusal. And there thus arise two reasons why the popularity of such works should decline among the mass of readers. The more sober portion relinquish them because they find them injurious; and the more light abandon them for the more frequent productions which have no religion. The religious novel was, doubtless, in the first instance, a well-intended experiment; but it is an experiment which has failed: and both readers and writers would do well to remember it.

To turn, however, from the class to the specimen which lies upon our table, we must speak of it certainly in terms of praise. The author is already favourably known to the public by a series of works, which are all like herself, and most of them indicate improvement with years and practice. *The Monk of Cimiés* is just Mrs. Sherwood over again. It is not only by the author of *The Nun*, but it is a tale formed on a similar plan, and told in a similar way; the incidents being more complex, and the interest more tragical. It would be tedious to give an outline of the long series of events which the monk narrates, nor would it be worth while to introduce our readers to the heroines of the drama. We must say a few words, however, concerning the hero himself, in order to introduce the notice we mean to take of the theological matter which the volume contains.

The Monk of Cimiés, then, is an Englishman, of noble descent, his immediate progenitor being a dean, and himself being brought up to the church, in the period preceding the French revolution. From a priest of the church of England, he becomes a

priest of the church of Rome, and ultimately returns into the bosom of his mother church; from whence, in his old age, he utters the following language, which we quote, because it sets the whole subject of the volume before us.

‘ Although I look forward with dread to the work of destruction which is now meditated, whereby all ecclesiastical national establishments are in danger of perishing; yet I do not approve the ground on which the friends of the church of England too often station themselves for her protection. The position is untenable, and precisely so, because her advocates can there only use defences which will assist one of her most powerful and dangerous enemies more than themselves.

‘ Whilst some of her friends uphold the church of England, on the plea that she is the only church now on earth which answers to the character of the one supreme visible church, they instantly direct the eye of her adversary to her origin, and the sources through which she derives her authority; and whether that adversary be an infidel or a Christian brother of a different denomination, the weapon which has been used in her defence will infallibly be turned against her, and that in as many ways as she has enemies of different modes of thinking.’
pp. 5, 6.

Our readers will thus perceive that Mrs. Sherwood enters the arena of ecclesiastical controversy. She is a friend of national religious establishments; but having discernment enough to see that their defence is often rested on a fallacy, she comes forward with a rebuke which is neither groundless nor needless. Her method is to show that, when the church of England is supported (as it often is) by the allegation of apostolical succession and authority, an argument is used which legitimately conducts to popery. The following is part of a conversation on the subject between our embryo clergyman and his tutor.

‘ I was silenced, I recollect, by this piece of casuistry. Nevertheless we fought it out through all the articles, till, turning again to the nineteenth, I posted myself thereon. to pose him with a question by which I had long been perplexed. I wanted much to obtain satisfaction on this question, which I stated as follows, as nearly as I can recollect: ‘ What is that church, which is described in scripture as the spouse of Christ, and the universal mother of all believers? Is she a visible church? Has she always had a seat on earth, since the period of the day of Pentecost—where is her seat, and how shall we know her?’

‘ ‘ You can know her only,’ he replied, ‘ by her characteristics.’

‘ ‘ And what,’ I asked, ‘ may they be?’

‘ ‘ The true church, or a true church,’ he replied, ‘ is her [she] with whom Christ, according to his promise, has always been present, from the commencement of the Christian era to the present hour, and with

whom he will be to the end of the world;—her,' he added, flying off into a sort of oratorical harangue, 'to whom the Almighty has committed the care of the divine oracles, and the administration of the means of grace; her to whom it is given to explain and proclaim the gospel, and to guard and protect it from the corruptions of men; to preserve the divine words in their purity, and to unfurl the standard of peace and love to the nations sitting in darkness and the shadow of death. This,' continued he, 'is the character and office of the beloved of Christ; her for whom he shed his precious blood, and her whom he will present without spot or wrinkle, as a royal bride, before the throne of the Father.'

'How long he might have gone on in this strain I know not, if he had not observed marks of impatience in my countenance; on which, coming to a sudden stop, he asked me what I had to say? 'Simply,' I replied, 'that I desire to know where the seat of this church is to be found?'

'He shrugged up his shoulders, raised his eye-brows, and really seemed to be at a loss to answer me.

'I became more impatient, and said, 'Am I to understand that the seat of this church is, and always has been, on earth?'

'Certainly,' he replied. 'If her duties are to administer the means of grace to men in the flesh, her seat must necessarily be on earth.'

'I said, 'Where is this church? For either she, as being the spouse of Christ, and the universal mother of all believers, is spiritual; and hence not to be discerned in any forms and ordinances; or else she is visible, divided, frail, and apt to fall—and hence a doubtful guide, a broken and mutilated pillar.'

'What, Mr. Etherington,' replied Mr. Short timidly, yet with a meaning look, 'What think you of the Church of England?'

'Where was this our Church of England before the Reformation?' I asked.

'Her doctrines being scriptural,' he replied, 'were, no doubt, in the hearts of many; therefore, though under another form, she has existed from the era of Christianity.'

'Where?' I said.

'In many secret and hidden places, no doubt,' he answered.

'How, then, in secret,' I replied, 'was she visible? How did she raise her standard to the nations, or even hold communion with her own people?' pp. 66—68.

The pupil is here evidently an overmatch for the tutor. But we have next given us the argument in a different style. It is the firing of one of the great guns of the cathedral. Let us hear the dean.

'My father happening to enter at this moment, the chaplain instantly stated the nature of our argument to him, which, when he had heard, he became more excited with what he was pleased to call my pertina-

city, than even the chaplain had been awhile before. His address to me was to this effect :

‘ You require us to say what the church is ; and I answer, Edmund Etherington, is it now a time for you to plead ignorance on this subject, when your education, as a minister in the established church of England, is nearly complete ? Tell me, Mr. Short, is there a chorister or a vergier in the cathedral would put such a question ?’ Here he paused, and then proceeded—

‘ If you, the son of a dean, and the grandson of a bishop, a graduate of the first university in the world, are acknowledged on all hands to be an accomplished scholar, put questions which might shame a babe, what can I say ? If you do not comprehend what is meant when we speak of the church, I know not who should. This ignorance, Edmund, must be assumed in order to perplex us—this blindness must be that of obstinacy. If you cannot see the perfection of our beautiful national establishment ; if you discern not in her liturgies, her articles, and her canons, the pillar and ground of the truth : if you see not her vast superiority above all other establishments, and do not confess that if she does not deserve to be pre-eminently called the church, I know not where you will find on earth another establishment which will suit your ideas.’

‘ There was nothing in all my father said, capable of giving me the smallest satisfaction on the subject in question. I was, however, silent, and my father, falling into a habit which he often indulged amongst the inferior members of the clerical body, expatiated a considerable time on his ideas of the question then under discussion. He began with stating the three senses in which the word church is commonly understood : the first being a congregation of men professing Christianity—the second, a building accommodated for Christian worship—and the third and highest, that household of God of which believers are fellow-members, which is built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone, in whom all the building, fitly framed together, groweth into an holy temple unto the Lord. Nor did the worthy gentleman hesitate to assimilate this holy temple, thus erected on the foundation of the apostles, with the church of England, to the exclusion of all other Protestant churches : at least so I inferred, for he asserted that neither the churches of Geneva nor Scotland (which two he particularly mentioned) were episcopalian, and that they therefore wanted one of the distinguishing marks of a true church.

‘ Here my father came, I thought, somewhat nearer the point of my inquiry, and I asked him what he considered to be the marks by which the true church, or a true church, might be apprehended by a sincere inquirer after truth.

‘ Primarily,’ replied my father, ‘ the true church must have been established upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, our Lord being the chief corner-stone, and, secondarily, it must be conformed, as to its government, to the apostolic regulations ; and, thirdly, it must be enabled to trace its ordinations in a direct line from the apostles ; in

consequence of which it will retain its three orders of bishops, priests, and deacons, and will not permit any man to administer its ordinances but those thus authorized, by apostolic succession, to do so.'

'You understand, Mr. Etherington,' remarked Mr. Short, observing that my father was gaining my attention, 'You understand through what channel the sacred unction has descended in a direct line from the apostles to our clergy?'

'I do,' I replied, 'through the church of Rome.'

'As water may pass uncontaminated through a rusty tube, so did the divine unction pass to our reformers,' said Mr. Short, 'becoming henceforward a well-spring of water to fertilize our fields, and cause them to stand thick with corn.' He was proceeding, when my father interrupted him, saying, 'I am not aware, I must confess, that there is a Protestant church now on earth, excepting the church of England, which can trace the ordination of her ministers up to the apostolical age; and, if the statement which I have made is correct, all those who have forced themselves into the fold, without entering in by the gate, are but hirelings, though I hope and trust there are and have been many good men among them.' pp. 68—71.

This is by no means an unfair or a feeble statement of the case on behalf of the church of England. We shall now see how it tends 'towards Rome.' Our young Protestant priest comes in contact with 'the Abbé Beauregard, an accomplished Jesuit,' who was resolved to make him an acquisition for his church.

'—— Taking up again the argument respecting the church, which we had held together several times, he asserted that my father had taught me rightly, when he assured me there was only one pure visible universal church on earth, although he had not gone so far as to admit that this church was no other than the church of Rome. I will again place the arguments which he used in a note, being derived, as they are, from his own books, but will add something of the effect which they had upon my mind. And, first, I was unable to see their fallacy, from not knowing that the Catholic church, spoken of in the creed, must, if it mean any thing definite, refer to the one universal church of which Christ is the head, and the saints the members. But understanding, as I did, and as many others do, that these words related to some visible church, it was impossible for me to be otherwise than confounded by the arguments built upon this false principle, especially since many of these arguments were strengthened by garbled yet ingenious applications of Scripture; however, I was beginning to be weary of the confusion of my mind. I felt that I was all afloat, and exceedingly uneasy. In many respects I loved pleasure, and I feared hell, as understood in vulgar apprehension, and I felt drawn to popery, in the first instance, because it supplied present atonements and satisfactions for those sins which were particularly pleasant to me;

and, secondly, because it was decisive as to that knotty question—What is meant by the holy Catholic church, in which we all declare ourselves to be believers? and which my father had stated to me, as being built upon the apostles and prophets, our Lord being the cornerstone. I was pleased, I repeat, with the Abbé's arguments, because he was so decided on what this church was—what it always had been—what were its pretensions and powers, and how they were founded, even on the basis of the apostles and prophets, for instance, of St. Peter himself, to whom our Lord said, 'Upon this rock will I build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.' This holy personage, as the Jesuit reported, having been the first bishop of Rome, entailed his prerogative through the laying on of hands to his successors, even to the present day; and I was also flattered when I considered that among the prerogatives of the church was that of binding and loosing the souls of men. But, when I would have assumed some of these prerogatives in my own person, as a minister of the church of England, the Abbé told me that the true church did not acknowledge the church of England, as being any thing more than an assembly of heretics; 'for inasmuch as,' continued he, 'your church does not agree with ours in every article of faith, it has not the characters and proper qualities of the true church; for the proper qualities of the true church are that it is one—that it has the same faith and the same chief—that it is universal and perpetual, and that it is holy. Now there is only the Roman Catholic church which has these qualities, from whence it follows that this is the true church, and that all others are but synagogues of Satan.' pp. 126—129.

The apostolical succession and authority of the church of England, is a notion which, after having for some years lain buried in the cloisters at Oxford, has been recently exhumed as an indispensable defence in this hour of the church's peril. It is pleasant to see its fallacy exposed by one of their own party. It is indeed a monstrous thing, that this relic of the dark ages should find favour in the nineteenth century. It stalks through high places, not like one of the living, but like a spectre at noon-tide. But, though it may frighten children, it can never do the work of a living man. It is a matter of mere show—a man of straw, exhibited when every other resource is failing, to give an appearance of strength, but in reality to provide materials for a bonfire; for which Mrs. Sherwood has brought the torch, and which we willingly give her the honour of kindling.

We feel it necessary to add, that we cannot speak of *all* the religious views presented in this volume with approbation. Mrs. Sherwood herself, in her sober judgment, will scarcely deem that so grave a doctrine as that of the eternity of future punishment should be disposed of by a hit in a romance.

- Art. VIII. 1. *The Union of Church and State Anti-scriptural and Indefensible: including a Particular Review of Chancellor Deastry's 'Sermon,' and of Archdeacon Hoare's 'Charge' in defence of the Church of England; and exhibiting every material Argument hitherto advanced for and against Political Establishments of Christianity.* By the Rev. W. THORN, Winchester. London: Jackson and Walford.
2. *The Assumptions of the Clergy as the only Authorized Ministers of Jesus Christ, calmly Refuted, in a Letter to a Friend.* By Philagathon. London: Jackson and Walford. 8vo.

OUR readers, we doubt not, must often have been surprised at the ease with which the most specious arguments of the most redoubted champions for the Endowed Church are set aside when fairly and resolutely attacked. It neither requires great learning, nor much sense, to refute the most renowned partizan of the Establishment. We are thoroughly convinced, that the National Church is not sustained by a deep conviction of its scripturalness existing in the public mind; but, whenever interested motives do not prevail, educational prejudice, resting on no conviction at all, is its main support. This is no harsh censure. It is not an uncharitable opinion. The manner in which the contest is carried on by the bulk of our opponents proves it. The constant appeal to feeling, or to old dogmas, long since obsolete, and only revived for a sordid purpose, instead of an appeal to argument and Scripture, are a complete vindication of the truth of our statement. If any should entertain a doubt on this matter, let him read the works at the head of this article, and we pledge ourselves that he will agree with us.

Mr. Thorn is not unknown as a writer. Nor will his reputation suffer from his present publication. He shines brightest, we think, as a *compiler*. Without being distinguished for originality of thought, great eloquence, severe and compact logic, or much imagination, he thoroughly investigates his subject, masters, with the greatest diligence, the case of his opponent, patiently follows him through all the mazes of his argument, and seizing, with great acuteness on the weak points, places before his reader the loose admissions and false conclusions, so judiciously, that he gets rid of the trouble of confuting an adversary by making him confute himself. If he does not always succeed, certainly *universal* success is hardly to be expected. But he has signally succeeded in the present instance. Now this description of talent is highly valuable; and it requires no small degree of cleverness to do what Mr. Thorn has so well done. Our author will, therefore, plainly see that we have by no means undervalued his talents or his labours, in the remarks already made.

It is not our intention to go into the merits of the general question which is so ably and extensively discussed in the works before us. Indeed, it is not necessary; since it has been so recently brought under the notice of our readers, in some of its most important principles, in many preceding articles. We shall only endeavour to give a general idea of the scope and design of the works now under review.

Mr. Thorn divides his work into six books, of which the following are the titles:—‘Union of Church and State—The Separation of Church and State—Parties most interested in the controversy—Arguments in defence of the Union—Arguments against the Union—Duties and Prospect of Church Reformers.’ Of course there is a due proportion of chapters and sections, that all the ‘material arguments’ on either side may be fairly adduced, and commented upon. The arrangement is simple, and perspicuous, qualities of no common value in such a work.

Our author has issued a sort of commission to establish a court, to try the question. He sends forth a general *subpœna* to writers of all ages and classes, to give evidence touching the matter at issue. He has brought up a strange medley! Dead and living are alike summoned. Though Mr. Thorn is retained on *our side*, yet he will secure the credit of impartiality. It is quite amusing to see how he manages to involve some of these witnesses in the most absurd dilemmas. Without any brow-beating, or distortion of their words; without any special pleading, or chicanery: but by simply letting each of them tell his *own tale in his own way*, he contrives, in the majority of cases, to render their evidence tributary to his own case. For instance, we should have supposed that the notorious Mr. Gathercole would be an evidence against us. By no means. Mr. Thorn manages him better. Almost at the beginning of the trial, we find this witness thus testifying:—‘I confess, that to me, the phrase, ‘Alliance or Union of Church and State, conveys no definite or ‘intelligible idea at all!’ Chancellor Dealtry, and Archdeacon Hoare, are just as easily disposed of; nor, indeed, do any of those who appear on ‘the other side’ present the least difficulty to our accomplished Advocate.

But what a glorious array of witnesses does Mr. Thorn produce to establish his own case! We may, therefore, assure our readers, that having succeeded in making the evidence of opponents either contradict itself, or showed that it was unsustained by authority or fact, they need not entertain any apprehension as to the issue, when Mr. Thorn has examined his own witnesses. Every impartial reader will do him the justice of admitting, that he has most completely established his case. Will there be a speech in *reply*, we wonder?

We have made no extracts from the book, nor could we, with

any case do so, having refrained from discussing the question itself, for reasons already assigned. The best we can say of it is, that we recommend our readers to purchase the work, and then *read* it with the attention it so justly deserves.

‘The Assumptions of the Clergy, by Philagathon,’ who, by the bye, is the Rev. Thomas Finch, of Harlow, has very ably, but in our opinion much too tenderly, exposed the foolish and arrogant statement, that the ministers of the Establishment are the only authorized ministers of the Gospel. This lofty assumption is truly ‘an ingenious device,’ since its tendency is to lead the people to be careless of the personal character of the minister, so long as he can lay claim to this regular succession from the apostles. That those who take ‘holy orders’ for filthy lucre should be vociferous in maintaining this convenient but arrogant pretension occasions no surprise; but that pious men should sanction and support so barefaced an imposition, strikes us as one of the most strange but certain evils of an Established Church. The flattery of such assumptions is so pleasing to a fallen nature as to overcome the influence of true religion. It is painful and humiliating to the last degree to see pious and excellent men so beguiled.

We should like to know how Dr. Dealtry and Archdeacon Hoare feel on this point. It must have cropped their pride a little, we think, when one of the ‘*un-authorized*’ attacks them in their own castle, and shows them, if they really *are* the only true ministers of the Gospel, they do not possess all the piety, talent, and knowledge, necessary to a public teacher of Christianity. We would fain ask them one plain question—Suppose, if Mr. Thorn were *now* to receive ordination from the Bishop of Winchester, what *additional* qualification he would acquire to render him more fit to teach sinners the way of salvation? Whatever answer might be given to such a question, one thing is clear, Mr. Thorn has proved, that though he belongs to the ‘*unauthorized*,’ he can instruct two of the most talented of the ‘*authorized*.’ Now, in this case, we would ask these reverend gentlemen, how much their authorization is worth? *Clearly nothing at all.* And we think Mr. Finch has conducted the argument to precisely the same conclusion.

- Art. VIII.—1. *Gems of Beauty, Displayed in a Series of Twelve highly-finished Engravings of the Passions.* From Designs by E. T. Parris, Esq. With fanciful Illustrations in verse, by the COUNTESS OF BLESSINGTON. London: Longman and Co.
2. *Heath's Picturesque Annual for 1838.* IRELAND. London: Longman.
3. *Fisher's Drawing-Room Scrap Book, 1838.* With Poetical Illustrations by L. E. L. London: Fisher and Co.
4. *Fisher's Juvenile Scrap Book, 1838.* By AGNES STRICKLAND and BARNARD BARTON. London: Fisher and Co.
5. *Friendship's Offering and Winter's Wreath.* A Christmas and New Year's Present, for 1838. London: Smith, Elder, and Co.
6. *Jennings' Landscape Annual for 1838.* Spain and Morocco. London: Robert Jennings.
7. *The Christian Keepsake and Missionary Annual.* Edited by the Rev. WILLIAM ELLIS. 1838. Fisher.
8. *Syria, the Holy Land, Asia Minor, &c.* Illustrated in a Series of Views drawn from Nature by W. H. Bartlett, W. Purser, &c. With descriptions of the Plates, by JOHN CARNE, Esq. Fisher.

WE are reluctantly compelled, by the pressure of other articles, to defer till next month our notice of these elegant volumes. We give their titles now to certify the fact of their publication to our readers, and shall merely remark, that their merits and defects appear to be much the same as on former occasions. But we must defer criticism till the evenings are longer, and the family circle have pronounced its judgment on these annual visitants.

Art. IX. *Menzel on German Literature. Die deutsche Literatur. Von Wolfgang Menzel. 1836. Stuttgart.*

No. VI.—Polite Literature.

IT has been stated that the two remaining articles of this series will contain Menzel's criticisms on the principal writers of Germany in the department of Poetry and Polite Literature. As our space is so limited, we shall be excused from offering any remarks of our own. Indeed, they will be totally unnecessary; for each extract will speak for itself.

The first sketch shall be that of the father of modern German literature,—Klopstock. After speaking of certain imitations of Horace, Anacreon, Pindar, Theocritus, by Ramler, Gleim, Cramer, Gessner, &c., Menzel thus proceeds:

' Far above all these German Horaces, Anacreons, Pindars,
 ' Theocrituses, and Æsops, stands the German Homer Klopstock.
 ' He it was, who by the powerful influence of his Messiah and his
 ' Odes, gave predominance to the classical taste; not, however,
 ' in defiance of German and Christian associations, but rather in
 ' favour of them. Religion and patriotism were in his estimation
 ' above every thing; but in relation to the *form* in which they
 ' should be exhibited, he held that of the ancient Greeks to be the
 ' most perfect, and believed that he united the fairest substance with
 ' the fairest form when he clothed Christianity and Germanism
 ' in a Grecian dress;—an error certainly singular, but altogether
 ' a natural result of the singular development of the public mind
 ' which characterized his time. It is true, indeed, that England
 ' was not without its influence upon Klopstock, for his Messiah is
 ' but the pendant to Milton's 'Paradise Lost.' Yet Klopstock
 ' was by no means the mere imitator of the Englishman: his
 ' merit as regards German poetry is as *peculiar* as it is *great*.
 ' By his Greek Hexameters and the other classic metres, Sapphic,
 ' Alcaic, Iambic, he repressed the hitherto predominant French
 ' Alexandrines and doggrel verses. By this means, too, not only
 ' was the French fashion, and inane *rhymery* set aside, and the
 ' poet necessitated to think more of sense and substance than of
 ' sound; but through the attention paid to rythmical harmony, the
 ' German language was moulded afresh, and a flexibility secured
 ' to it, which will be still useful to the poet, even if he should
 ' again throw aside the Greek forms, as a mere study and exercise
 ' of ingenuity. But more than this; Klopstock, though in form
 ' a Greek, was determined in spirit to be only a German; and he
 ' it was who introduced that patriotic enthusiasm, that reverence
 ' of Germanism, which, since his time, in spite of new foreign
 ' fashions, has never been repressed—or rather, which in its op-
 ' position to what is foreign, has often manifested itself even to a
 ' pitch of injustice and absurdity. Strangely as it sounds, when
 ' he, the child of the French era of foppery, calls himself a *bard*
 ' in Alcaic verses, and mingles three altogether heterogeneous
 ' ages—the modern, the classical, and old German; yet here com-
 ' menced that proud revival of German poetry which at last en-
 ' couraged it to cast off foreign fetters and the humble bearing
 ' to which it had been accustomed ever since the peace of West-
 ' phalia. It was, in truth, necessary that some one should appear
 ' who should smite his breast in freedom, and exclaim, 'I am a
 ' German.' At last, his poetry, like his patriotism, struck root in
 ' that sublime, morally-religious faith to which his Messiah gave
 ' lustre; it was he who, together with Gellert, imparted to Ger-
 ' man poetry that dignified serious pious character which, in spite
 ' of all extravagancies of fancy and of wit, it has never lost, and
 ' which foreign nations have contemplated with wonder or with

‘awe. When we remember the influence of the old French philosophy and Voltaire’s scoffing spirit, we then first perceive what a mighty dam Klopstock threw up against that foreign influence.

‘But his patriotism and his sublime religious character have contributed still more to that honourable position, which he will always maintain, than even his improvement of the German language. They have exerted such an influence that they have rendered him an object of wonder even to those who have not been in a condition to appreciate him: a fact which has exercised the satire of Lessing. It is true, indeed, that Klopstock loses every thing if we examine him too nearly and in detail. He must be regarded *at a certain distance, and as a whole*. While we read him he seems pedantic and tedious; but when we *have* read him, when we recal him to recollection, he is great and majestic. Then shine forth in all their simplicity his two ideas of patriotism and religion, and impress us with a feeling of the sublime. We imagine we see some gigantic spirit of Ossian, striking a huge harp in the clouds. We approach nearer, and he is lost in a broad dun cloud of vapour. But that first impression has operated powerfully on our spirits, and attunes them to greatness. Although too cold and metaphysical, he has in the sublime ideas of his poetry taught us two great lessons; the one, that our *un-German-like* poetry, long estranged from its native soil, must again strike its roots there, and there alone can flourish into a lordly tree; the other, that all poetry must seek its end, as it has its spring, *in religion*.

‘These new doctrines forced themselves upon him from the contemplation of antiquity. Amongst the Greeks, he found of what value poetry is to a people;—that it inspires a sense of patriotism and religion. In this way we may consider Klopstock, as the earliest harbinger of that literary tendency which imitated the spirit of classical antiquity. He opened to his followers two roads—one of which led the way to Grecian *forms*—the other to the Grecian *spirit*. Voss took the first, and Wieland took the second.’

The next sketch shall be that of Lessing. It is a noble piece of criticism:

‘Lessing combined in himself all the studies and accomplishments of all the schools of his age; and passed through the Galomania, the Græcomania, the Anglomania, like the sun passing through the zodiac, without sacrificing a particle of his identity, without inclining to remain either in one place or another, careering freely on his own course. In that age of foreign impulses, when amidst the conflicting principles of taste, great minds could not grow up as from a clear soil, he was obliged with herculean strength to fight his way through a circle of

‘foreign influences at once bewildering and enticing; he was obliged to clear his path before him by means of a sound, comprehensive, incorruptible criticism. Hence with Lessing the critical was closely allied with the poetic faculty; and with him, if with any one, the armed Minerva walked side by side. He practised this criticism in the most extensive sense, in the fields of theology, philosophy, philology, and the histories of art and of literature, as well as in the field of poetry. He combated the unlicked rudeness, the gross fanaticism, the dull pedantry of book-learned faith, in his celebrated controversy respecting the Wölfenbüttel fragments; (where he knew how to avoid falling into the extreme of thorough unbelief, as his excellent Nathan shows,) in consequence of which the rash faction all the time had unjustly called him a blasphemer. An equal influence he exerted upon the advancement of a deep and extensive study, and especially of a better taste in philology; and, by his correspondence with Winkelman, on the revival of the fine arts. Meanwhile, however, he directed his chief attention to poetry, and became the true Hercules Musagetes, the victor over all the still remaining wilderness of French taste and the puling prolixity inseparably connected with it; and equally did he prove himself the trusty Eckart before the Venusberg of the modern sentimentalism and poetical licentiousness, to which, nevertheless, the gates and doors have, since his time, been opened. When we examine into the relation in which he stood to the elder and younger schools of his age, we find that he had seen through them all with the clearest vision, and pronounced upon their faults in the most decided language.

‘With an enlightened intelligence superior to his age, he knew the difference between the true antique, and the French caricature which aped it; and to him first we owe the purification of our German drama from stiff, Frenchified Alexandrines; and, above all, of our style from its old turgidity. Even before the Græcomania arose, Lessing was in the field sooner than Klopstock or Voss; but he was very far from making common cause with them. He did not deliver the antique from French bombast, to surrender it into the hands of German pedantry. The Græcomania was as disgusting to him as the Gallomania; and he did not conceal it. His epigram upon Klopstock is well known:

Few read, but all extol great Klopstock’s lays;
Grant us, kind fate, more readers and less praise.

‘And what thought Lessing of Voss; who has told himself that Lessing once called upon him, but went to sleep during the conversation? With the Anglomaniists Lessing had more affinity; for in these, to say truth, there was the most mind, and

‘the most nature. You may perceive, if you will, a certain resemblance between the great British critics, Johnson, Addison, &c., and Lessing; though he was greatly their superior in extent and depth of knowledge, and especially as a thinker and a poet. Moreover, no one can discover any English plagiarisms in him.

‘While Lessing thus kept himself free from the influence of foreign schools, he could not make his countrymen as free. He saw, and combated, and scorned the various mannerisms of his own and of former times; and he was fortunate enough only just to see the last mannerism of mannerisms, the universal jumble of tastes, the combination of all foreign modes. He lived to witness the beginning of sentimentalism, and against nothing did he show himself more bitter than against this, in the lazy effeminacy and empty affectation of which he recognized and abhorred an absolute contradiction to his own peculiar energy and simplicity. When Goethe came out with a worthless mimicry of Rousseau’s *Nouvelle Heloise*, under the name of the *Sorrows of Werther*, the enervation of Rousseau positively outdone, and yet in spite of this worthlessness, extremely fascinating to the Germans of that day, Lessing then anticipated to what,—we must speak it out,—into what soft sliminess Goethe would bring German literature; and in the year 1774, he wrote to Eschenburg, the historian of literature, and translator of Shakspeare, ‘a youth who reads *Werther* may easily mistake poetical for moral beauty, and believe that he must be good who can lay so strong a claim to our sympathies. But good he assuredly is not.’ Here Lessing struck a hard blow upon the plague-spot of sentimentalism. The immoral is in itself as little unpoetical, as the moral in itself is poetical; and Lessing had neither pronounced Voltaire’s immoral *Pucelle* unpoetical, Schönauich’s very moral *Herrmann* poetical. It was, therefore, laughable to object to him that he had confounded the moral and the beautiful. In this, however, he was thoroughly in the right, that he rejected the sentimentalism, which under the mask of the noblest and loftiest sensibility, substituted nothing but the commonest inanity and sensuality; that he rejected that unmanly, trumpery romance-virtue which perplexes every notion of true virtue, that Goethe-formed virtue ‘of shreds and patches,’ which bears the same relation to the true, as Shakspeare’s ‘king of shreds and patches’ to the legitimate *Hamlet*, whose crown and regal purple he had stolen. Had Goethe, had all his innumerable *sentimentalistic* followers treated their lady-heroes, as Voltaire or Crebillon did theirs, namely, as libertines, *petit-maitres*, effeminate voluptuaries, there would have been nothing to object against them; but this must be ever an indelible reproach that he represents these coxcombs as the ideal

‘ of manhood, as the noblest and the loftiest souls, as wearing the highest of manly accomplishments, as gods in human flesh, and so conceals their intrinsic worthlessness by every kind of glittering outside show, that the deluded reader never takes them for despicable simpletons, as they are, but for infinitely interesting, nay, saintly personages.

‘ And so much for Lessing as a critic. These few remarks are sufficient to show how clearly he discerned the past and future aberrations of German poetry, and how far he was able to follow them. By the way, it is worthy of remark, that Lessing in the following age was always honoured as a great critic, and nevertheless his judgments were reversed. In this also we may recognize the worthlessness, and as it were, political perfidy of the literary oligarchs who succeeded him. They praised the man, whom for their own parts they hated; but this praise was of service to them, in concealing the difference between him and themselves, and gave them the appearance of being peculiarly his natural disciples and his heirs.

‘ When we consider Lessing as a poet, we must not forget that he had first, as a critic, to work himself clear from Gallomania, Græcomania, and Anglomania, and that he exerted himself upon a hundred other subjects besides poetry. Hence his earlier poetical studies and essays, like his occasional pieces of playful poetry, to which he himself attached little value, are separated by a wide interval from the classical works of his full poetical maturity, that is, from *Minna von Barnhelm*, *Emilia Galotti*, and *Nathan the Wise*, every one of which would be alone enough to rank him with the greatest poets of every age. The spirit and the execution of these works are alike superior.

‘ Nobleness is the inmost principle of the poetry of Lessing. It is an intelligible circumstance that the poets and critics, whose guiding principle, on the contrary, is the reverse of nobleness, have overlooked this point, and have so well managed to forget it in sounding the praise of Lessing. I am so much the more bound to revert to it.

‘ I say again that nobleness was the principle of Lessing’s whole life. His poetry and his life were a poetry and a life of intellectual elevation. He had to battle with adversity throughout his whole existence; but he never ‘veiled his crest.’ He wrestled, not for offices of honour, but for his own independence. His extraordinary talents might have enabled him, like Goethe, to revel in the favour of the great; but he despised this favour, he hated it, as unworthy of a free man. His many years of privacy, his service as secretary to stout General Tauenzien during the seven years’ war, and still later as librarian at Wolfenbüttel, all showed that he never aspired after high places. He likewise signified his intention to resign this last situation, the

‘moment the censorship would have presumed to lay fetters on
 ‘his freedom of thought. He gibed at Gellert, Klopstock, and all
 ‘who bowed their laurelled heads before a crown of gold; and
 ‘for himself avoided all contact with the great with that chastity
 ‘of pride, to which the ‘*noli me tangere*’ is native. He upbraided
 ‘the good Winkelmann, who indeed would not have been able to
 ‘exist without the great people, with his dependence upon them.
 ‘When he himself went to Italy, he disdained all introductions.
 ‘In 1768, he thus writes to Nicolai: ‘I make no acquaintances
 ‘in Rome, except those which I make accidentally. If Winkel-
 ‘mann had not become so special a friend and client of Albani’s,
 ‘his ‘*Monuments*’ would have turned out very differently.
 ‘There is a heap of trash foisted into it, merely because it stands
 ‘in the ‘*villa Albani*,’ in respect of the arts it is worth nothing,
 ‘and in respect of learning, there is just as much therein as Win-
 ‘klemann has pressed into it by force. I can see what I like,
 ‘and live as I choose, without cardinals.’ To make himself quite
 ‘independent, and to set a great example before the literati of
 ‘Germany, he wished all the valuable writers to unite for the
 ‘purpose of publishing their works, volume by volume, at their
 ‘own expense, and in conjunction under the common title
 ‘*Museum*,’ and thus to check the exorbitance of booksellers,
 ‘and on the one hand to secure to the authors the requisite re-
 ‘muneration for their independence,—and on the other, to sup-
 ‘press the worthless books and the mere manufactory of litera-
 ‘ture which was then beginning. The plan naturally miscarried;
 ‘for it was as impossible to bring the authors into concert, as to
 ‘disarm the booksellers. The emperor Joseph II., by his liberal
 ‘reforms, excited great attention; and hence it was the talk, in
 ‘1769, to unite all the great and free-thoughted talent of Ger-
 ‘many in Vienna. Lessing expected nothing from this, but he
 ‘expected as little from almost any court-favour. He looked on
 ‘courts, in spite of their then affectation of a love for philosophy
 ‘and the fine arts, as the enemies of all genuine, that is, all free
 ‘intellectual cultivation. Hence he thus expressed himself to
 ‘Nicolai, who took every opportunity of sneering at Vienna, and
 ‘extolling his own Berlin by contrast: ‘Say nothing to me of
 ‘your Berlin freedom in thinking and writing. It reduces it-
 ‘self to the sole and single freedom of bringing to the market as
 ‘many fooleries in opposition to religion as people choose. And
 ‘an upright man must soon be ashamed of availing himself of
 ‘this freedom. But let one once make the trial in Berlin of
 ‘writing on other things as freely as Sounenfels in Vienna has
 ‘written; let him make trial of speaking the truth to great people
 ‘about court as *he* has spoken it; let any one appear in Berlin
 ‘who will raise his voice on behalf of the rights of the subject,
 ‘and in opposition to exaction and despotism, as is done even now

‘in France and Denmark; and you will soon find what country is, even to the present day, the most slavish in Europe.’

‘Such was Lessing himself; and such we find him again in his Major Tellheim, in Odoardo Gallotti, in Nathan. Never were humanity and wisdom so closely combined with the enthusiasm of manly nobleness, as in these characters; and not one of our more modern poets, I say not one, has known, like Lessing, how to represent this union of the graceful and the masculine. And what charming daughters has this severe father! what enchantment dwells in Minna, Emilia, Recha! Who, except Shakspeare, has conceived of feminine nature in gentler softness, in nobler simplicity, in gayer sprightliness, in holier purity, than Lessing? We are astonished at these lovely miracles of poetry; and so natural are these creations, that we could converse with them as if they stood before us.

‘Among our first modern poets, Lessing was the first who completely reconciled the poetical ideal with actual life, who ventured to bring upon the stage heroes of to-day, heroes in modern costume. Hitherto men had only known the masculine virtue of the old Romans through the medium of the French comedies. Lessing, in his Tellheim and his Odoardo, showed that a man might be a hero, a man of true nobleness, even in our every-day, prosaic world. By this modernized costume, by the naturalness of his dramatic personages, and by writing in prose, in opposition to the old French Alexandrines as well as the Greek hexameters, he exerted a mighty influence over the following age, and became the founder of the proper modern poetry of the Germans, which aims at delineating the scenes of daily life, whereas, before they had imitated only the antique and the foreign. The Anglomanists, who also came forward as friends of the natural style in their delineations of present times and common life, Nicolai, to wit, and Müller von Ibezboe and others, were later than Lessing, and the first to follow his impulse. Then came Goethe, and then Schiller, whose first dramas in prose, Götz, Clavigo, the Robbers, Cabals, and Love, everywhere bespoke the school of Lessing, and never would have appeared but for his example.

‘At the same time Lessing was the first who (in his Emilia Galotti) depicted a modern prince. Up to his time they were acquainted only with stiff comedy-kings with crown and sceptre, or abject court-poesies, in which the orgies of Versailles were held up to admiration under the form of pastorals. All at once Lessing surprised the world with a picture of the court, equally novel and true. Every one knows that he produced an immense effect. His simple description of a court wrought on the political notions of the Germans very much in the manner of the later revolutionary philosophers of France. Schiller

‘ continued in the same strain; and if the princes whom Iffland described were patterns of goodness, their ministers were all so much the worse. The immorality of the court became a standing subject of the German drama; and those courts which were still secure were none the worse for it.

‘ Lessing’s Nathan was fashioned according to the illumination of the humane spirit which became predominant in the eighteenth century. The contempt with which his Jewish friend, the amiable Mendelsohn, was sometimes treated, incited him to the production of this master-work, in which the deepest thought is blended with the noblest sentiment. This immortal poem (filled with the mildest, I might say, the sweetest wisdom) was at the same time of great importance to German literature, on account of its form; since it is the parent of the innumerable iambic tragedies, which, after Lessing, were first brought into fashion by Schiller and Goethe.

‘ Yet has no poet reached again the first enchantment of the German iambus, as when in the Nathan of Lessing, with gentle force it seized upon the mind. Goethe improved only the euphony and outward polish of this verse, Schiller only its overpowering energy; while both, together with their innumerable imitators departed widely from the exquisite naturalness and unpretending simplicity of Lessing’s manner. The iambus of the drama has become too lyrical; in the hands of Lessing it was less distant from prose, and more dramatic.’

The next sketch shall be that of Herder:

‘ Lessing was the earliest and best acquainted with the foreign and ancient models of taste; but he did not imitate them, he availed himself of them only by way of comparison, for the purpose of correcting and refining his own taste. If his earlier productions still bear traces of Roman and English imitation, his later works show by his thorough independence, how much he had emancipated himself by the help of a criticism whose proper tendency was not to cover him continually with specious ornaments of foreign patchwork, but on the contrary, to form his own mind to classic truth, power, and beauty, by a casting off of foreign influences. But the effect of those influences was still too powerful; and in the latter half of the last century the passive character of the Germans showed itself more and more decidedly in poetry as well as in politics.

‘ The noble Herder looked at history with the eye of a philosopher; and if people up to his time had seen in national diversities nothing more than a varied costume of the self-same men, and had hence believed it possible to superinduce with ease the habits of the French, the Greeks, the English upon the Germans, Herder (as Lessing had already done in individual instances, viz., with reference to the antique) turned their

‘attention upon the original character of each nationality, upon the deep poetical peculiarity in the idiosyncrasies of nations. But while he was thus directly proving that one nation ought not to imitate another, his examinations and collections of ancient and foreign poetry served only to increase without end the race of blind imitators. Hence we must not judge of his noble works according to their consequences. * * *

‘The spirit of humanity has necessarily two principal directions: the one lifts us on high; it seeks the ideal, its object, in abstract truth, beauty, and goodness; for it is only in this ideal, or in the effort to reach it, that the bond of union can be thrown around the human race. The other direction carries us abroad into the world; it seeks that ideal everywhere, in history, and among all nations; and through it binds together all that was previously separate.

‘Herder’s genius took both these directions fully. But, for that very reason, he was not merely a poet; he was a man in the strictest sense,—a citizen, a philosopher, and a poet. Poetry was of value to him, not merely as an inventive poet; he sought it also in all other nations, and adapted it to the wants of his own countrymen. Philosophy and practical life were valued by him precisely in the same way; and he was a confessor in the cause of the true and the good, as well as in that of the beautiful. But he who reveres this union of the sublimest elements of the ideal as the sublimest form assumed by the soul of man, like a deity in threefold manifestation, and offers to them the flaming sacrifice of his affections, this man’s existence must be pervaded by poetry—must be poetry itself. This union, indeed, is possible only in the poetic mind. The spring of all these impulses and efforts, the spring of a yearning and a love so comprehensive is only to be found in the heart. As they are poetical in their own internal principle of life, so are they poetical in their manifestation to others. Hence has Jean Paul, who honoured Herder from his heart, made use of this striking expression, ‘He was more like a poem than a poet.’

‘The great effect which Herder’s writings had upon the Germans, was owing to his general genius, not to particular poetical creations.

‘What Herder meant by the expression ‘humanity,’ as the great object of all his endeavours, was the flower and crown of all human capabilities—the ideal, the pure, the noble, the beautiful; towards which all ages, nations, and institutions were to contribute, the attainment of which seems to be the final cause of human existence, as well as the condition of human improvement. He saw in the (moral) world an organized whole, a plant which, in its successive developments, was to produce those flowers of the noble and the beautiful.’

‘ Development, evolution, was with him the law of the universe ;
 ‘ no pause, no breaking off, without a higher principle of re-
 ‘ union. In this principle of looking for a living progression,
 ‘ an increase, an improvement in the world, his philosophy
 ‘ preceded that of Schelling, which also obtained the preference
 ‘ by its recognition of the doctrine of evolution.

‘ He considered all individuals and nations only as the materials,
 ‘ and the difficult institutions and spheres of life only as the
 ‘ forms in which that evolution was to be realized. Evolution
 ‘ was the principle by which they were all bound up into the same
 ‘ life and spirit. His ‘ Ideas on the Philosophy of the History
 ‘ of Mankind ’ show us his genius in the wide reach and com-
 ‘ pass of the scheme, according to all its views and bearings.
 ‘ But the execution of this work could not be answerable to the
 ‘ general plan. No *form* would have been sufficiently extended
 ‘ for this. He was well aware of this ; he indicated the frag-
 ‘ mentary nature of the book in the title ; and left it to the
 ‘ discernment of his own and future times to regard all his other
 ‘ writings as appendices, or continuing fragments of this work.

‘ He began his great picture of the developement of the
 ‘ world with a description of the physical world, as in a state of
 ‘ progression. It cannot be questioned, that by doing this
 ‘ he produced a great poetical effect upon his age, and
 ‘ equally enriched science, at least in its method. The Ger-
 ‘ mans, before this, were in want of a great living picture of
 ‘ nature, which should be intelligible and impressive even to the
 ‘ unscientific. The comprehensiveness of the general view,
 ‘ and the development of the beautiful in individual instances,
 ‘ were here combined with the most brilliant effect. While
 ‘ others coldly represented the physical universe as a mere
 ‘ mechanical engine, he breathed into it an organic life, and thus
 ‘ awakened warm feelings of interest in every breast. While
 ‘ others counted on their fingers, one after another, the separate
 ‘ phenomena of nature, well enumerated and arranged, he let
 ‘ them appear as all of them the limbs of a great organization,
 ‘ and lifted each into its proper place. The stone appeared, not
 ‘ in the cotton of the mineralogical cabinet, but in the living
 ‘ bosom of the earth, where it had grown. The plant was found,
 ‘ not faded in the botanist’s herbarium, but fresh upon the
 ‘ meadow on the mountain-slope, springing out of the moist root,
 ‘ and breathing of its earthly bed. You saw the animal, not
 ‘ stuffed, nor yet in cages, but in the freedom of the forest and
 ‘ the field, the sky and water. The eye appeared, not in a round
 ‘ case, but beaming from a beautiful countenance. And man
 ‘ was seen, not in the solitude of the student’s chamber, but as
 ‘ Adam stood among the creatures in the morning of the world.

‘ The world of mind appeared to him raised above that of
 ‘ nature. but only as the flower is raised above the stalk, and

‘ pervaded by a similar vitality. This same doctrine of transition and evolution was applied by him to this higher sphere of being, and he delivered the great principle that the life of individual men was subject to the same laws of evolution which regulate that of the whole species. He placed side by side, with the reason which regulates individual men, a reason which regulates the collective body of mankind. *This* being directed immediately by an eternal Providence towards the life of nations, and *that* being shared by individuals as their divine inheritance, an efflux from the one supreme reason that controls the world, both work together to the same ultimate end, to ennoble the race, and to beautify the life of man. From this stock grow out all the energies of man. Under the guidance of this lofty principle, Herder searched into the depths of the human soul, and traced the evolutions of private life, of manners, of education, of politics, of religions, of sciences and arts, in a word, the history of institutions, of nations, and of all mankind; and pointed out in all the same governing direction, the one great principle of life. All individual phenomena were accounted by him as members of the connected whole.

‘ Among those of his writings which are devoted to the consideration of mankind in general, without reference to any particular nation, next to his ‘*Ideas*,’ the ‘*Metacriticism*’ in philosophy, and the ‘*Calliope*’ in æsthetics are especially deserving of notice. In a narrower range we find his writings upon the Bible, on politics, education, and manners, with which subject his numberless smaller treatises and fragments are especially occupied. In the *Adrastea*, a child of his old age, he has felt himself obliged to devote a particular attention to modern history. All these works are distinguished on the one hand, by the deep truth and clearness of the immediate view which they present, and on the other, especially by the circumstance that they never stand as insulated things or leave a feeling of dissatisfaction on the mind, but on the contrary, combine themselves into a great harmonious view of the world; and, as they originally were component parts of a great whole, so they give us an idea of that whole in each of its parts.

‘ But the lofty genius of Herder did not rest satisfied in tracing the evolution of the intellectual powers, as seated in individuals, up to ‘the high and palmy state’ to which they may bring these individuals themselves. He was well aware that a still higher evolution is attained, in the variety of natures presented both by nations and by individuals. Here he discovered the last and highest form assumed by the progressive evolutionary principle in mankind; and it was, therefore, placed at the summit of his system. In the principle of nationality, Herder perceived the cradle of a yet higher training than men could possibly attain by themselves alone; but the cradle of the very highest was, in

‘ his view, the diversity which exists in human nature. As he placed the moral world of human nature above the physical universe, so also he ranged the civilized nation above the rude, and genius above them all. Yet this highest point of contemplation was in intimate connexion with the whole of his system; and he traced the evolution of the animating spirit of nations only in its connexion with that of mankind in general, and of the physical world itself; while the evolution of the animating spirit of the greatest geniuses was only traced in its relation to all the rest.

‘ To this last view (which makes the production of the finest genius the crowning summit of the whole process of evolution) we owe his most excellent works, as well as the most excellent parts of them all. With an ardour of which none but Germans are capable, and which his example induced them to adopt as their will and law, he introduces, in their different forms, the Germans and all other nations, together with their geniuses, and shows how in them all the most fragrant flowers of the Noble and the Beautiful have burst forth. From all these flowers, he twines the consecrated wreath for the Genius of Humanity; of whom he himself deserves to be honoured as the worthiest priest. Far from the vanity of claiming for his countrymen especial honour, he yet unconsciously secures to them the greatest, by showing in his own mind that he is capable of so comprehensive an impartiality. As in his ‘ Ideas,’ and his other writings, he had represented the spirit of nations, appearing in their history and institutions, always in relation to its evolution into the Noble, the Humane, and the Beautiful, so it appeared to his sound judgment a matter worthy of much estimation to evoke this spirit, in the popular poetry of nations. Hence he made his collection which he entitled ‘ the Voices of the Peoples;’—and of his most excellent works, in which he brought together the most beautiful and characteristic national songs from all quarters of the world into one great ‘ Minstrelsy of the Human Race.’ The general tone of this collection, and, again, the rich variety and wonderful beauty of its contents, did not fail of their effect. The consequence has been, that a high importance is attributed to poetry, both in and for itself, and from its relation to the interests of a people; or rather this importance has been recognized in it, and evolved from it. A living intercourse of living minds with the great departed, over all the world, has since arisen. Men have gone out into all nations and ages, and have lifted out the hidden treasures which the torch of Herder’s genius had discovered. From the distant Indians, Persians, and Arabians, from the Finlanders and Selavonians in the north, from Scandinavia, Scotland, England, and Spain, even from America herself, have men, at Herder’s beck, piled together the gold of poetry in a great and ever-enlarging treasury in the literature of the Germans.’

ART. X. BRIEF NOTICES.

The New Excitement ; or a Book to Induce Young People to Read : for 1838. Containing Remarkable Appearances in Nature, Signal Preservations, and such Incidents as are particularly fitted to Arrest the Youthful Mind. By the Editor of the latter volumes of 'The Excitement.' Edinburgh: W. Innes.

WHOEVER has the happiness of possessing the acquaintance of the estimable editor of this little volume, will need no assurance of its character being unexceptionable, and its influence good. We are sorry to find that 'by the non-observance of a piece of legal form' he is compelled to abandon his old title. His identity, however, will readily be perceived, and we strongly recommend the readers of the former volumes early to possess themselves of the present.

British Feons and their Allies. With Engravings by G. W. FRANCIS. 8vo. London: Simpkin and Marshall. 1837.

WE cannot regard any contribution to our stock of knowledge without interest; and in matters of science our gratification will be intense in proportion as our acquisition is acquired by severe and protracted investigation. The most specious speculations are ever vain and unphilosophic;—a species of literary bubbles, light, insecure, and evanescent;—and if brought to bear in any way upon science, should be at once repudiated. Since the labours of Datrochet, Botany has become more estimated, and the close connexion which that eminent individual established between animal and vegetable physiology, has given it an immense importance. The work before us is evidently the result of much labour, and affords a very perspicuous and comprehensive view of the first order of Cryptogamic Plants. The talented author, Mr. Francis, is a gentleman well known to the scientific world as a botanist in every sense of the word; and we are assured from his present eminence, that his production will be received

as an authority, and speedily be found in the library of every botanist. His motto taken from Linnæus, is admirable, 'I acknowledge no authority but that of observation;' and fidelity to its great principle is conspicuous through every page.

The vignettes by which this work is illustrated are remarkable for their elegance and clearness, and are rendered supremely valuable by their being also the productions of Mr. Francis. We sincerely hope that the author will earn the rewards which he deservedly merits, and that we may ere long be favoured with another specimen of his talent and zeal.

The Dreadful Requisition ; or a Treatise on the Righteousness of God in Punishing the Neglect of Souls. By the Rev. CHARLES STROVEL. London: Jackson and Walford. 1837.

This little volume contains the substance of five lectures, delivered at a series of revival meetings in December last. It is divided into five chapters, which treat 'on the law which defines Jehovah's requisition of those who neglect the souls of men;' and 'the righteousness of God in making requisition for neglected souls, as it is seen in the claims of humanity,—in the principles which regulate society,—in the provisions of mercy,—and in the riches of distinguishing grace.' It is well adapted to the purpose it contemplates, and cannot be circulated without advantage. Its appeals are stirring, and its spirit is warm and earnest. The following touching allusion is a fair sample of the volume:

'Some years since, when residing 'in a village many miles from London, I was one morning called very early to converse with a dying female. The person I had seen before, and made what effort I could to direct her thoughts to the Redeemer, but without effect. I was now putting on my clothes to sit down to my studies. As I was not dressed for the day, I thought I

'might take the time necessary for completing that process. It might have been fifteen minutes before I reached the house. She died as I entered the door. As I fixed my eye on the corpse, which still seemed to breathe, and on which a most awful expression of solicitude was left, this passage came upon my mind, 'The door is shut.' At that moment I would have given all the

'world contained if I could have recalled those fifteen minutes, which might have been spent in prayer by her side. Oh, Sirs! I desire never to feel that emotion again, and should rejoice if its influence could be done away for ever, excepting as its painful recollection may form an incentive to augmented fidelity and zeal.'

ART. XI. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

In the Press.

The Life of Admiral Earl Howe, K.G. From Authentic Manuscripts never before published. Consisting of between Four and Five Hundred Letters in the Earl's own hand-writing; his Private Journal while at Sea with his Flag; several Letters of his Majesty George the Third to his Family; and various Communications from living Flag Officers who served under the Admiral's command. By Sir John Barrow, Bart. 2 vols. post 8vo.

The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. By Edward Gibbon. With Notes, by the Rev. H. H. Milman, and M. Guizot, Minister de l'Instruction Publique, &c. 12 vols. 8vo. To be published in Monthly volumes. Vol. I. will appear on the 1st of January next. The design of this work is to furnish the Original, Unmutilated Text of Gibbon revised throughout, particularly the Quotations, and to subjoin a candid and dispassionate Examination of his Mis-statements on the subject of Christianity, with such additional correction and information as have been brought to light by the inquiries or discoveries of later historians, Foreign as well as British, who have successively treated the different periods comprehended in the History of Gibbon.

Analytical View of all Religions. By Josiah Conder.

The West Indies in 1837; being the Journal of a Voyage to the Islands of Barbadoes, St. Lucea, Dominica, Montserrat, Antigua, Jamaica, undertaken for the purpose of ascertaining the condition of the Negro population. With an Appendix.

The Life of Nicholas, Count Zinzendorf. Translated from the German of Bishop Spangenberg. 1 vol. post 8vo. With a Portrait.

The Life of Edward, first Earl of Clarendon. By Thomas Henry Lister, Esq. With Original Correspondence and Authentic Papers never before published. 3 vols. 8vo. With Portrait.

The Poetical Works of Thomas Campbell. Illustrated by Vignettes from Designs by Turner.

Memoirs of the Life of William Wilberforce. By his Sons, Robert Isaac Wilberforce, M.A., Vicar of East Farleigh, late Fellow of Oriel College, and Samuel Wilberforce, M.A., Rector of Brighstone. Printed uniformly with the 'Life of Mrs. Hannah More.' 4 vols. post 8vo., with Portrait, &c.

These Memoirs are drawn from a Journal in which during a period of fifty years, Mr. Wilberforce was accustomed to record his private sentiments and his remarks on the incidents of the day, from his correspondence with his distinguished contemporaries, Mr. Pitt, Lord Grenville, Lord Melville, Mr. Windham, Mr. Canning, Lord Liverpool, Lord Muncaster, the Emperor Alexander, Prince Talleyrand, La Fayette, Jeremy Bentham, Dr. Cairn, Dr. Burgh, Bishop Porteus, the Rev. Wm. Mason, Dean Milner, the Rev. John Newton, the Rev. John Wesley, John Thornton, Esq., Henry Thornton, Esq., James Stephen, Esq., William Hay, Esq., Lady Waldegrave, Mrs. Hannah More, &c. &c.

Just Published.

Goethe's Correspondence with a Child. 2 vols.

Autumn. By Robert Mudie.

Saunders's Portraits and Memoirs of the most Eminent Political Reformers.

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR DECEMBER, 1837.

- Art. I. 1. *Lectures on the Prophetical Office of the Church ; viewed relatively to Romanism and Popular Protestantism.* By JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, B.D., Fellow of Oriel College, and Vicar of St. Mary the Virgin's, Oxford. 8vo. London and Oxford. 1837.
2. *The Christian Church as it stands distinguished from Popery and Puritanism.* By the Rev. THOMAS GRIFFITH, A.M., Minister of Ram's Chapel, Hemerton. Part I.—The Nature of the Church. 12mo. London: 1837.
3. *Remains of Alexander Knox, Esq.* Vols. III. & IV. 8vo. London. 1837.

MR. NEWMAN is, we presume, known to most of our readers as the principal Editor of the Oxford Tracts, which have startled the religious world by the revival and zealous advocacy of sentiments more decidedly Anti-Protestant, if we may not say Popish, than any thing which has proceeded from the highest of our high-churchmen since the days of the Nonjuror divines. The Vicar of St. Mary the Virgin's is looked upon as the head and chief apostle of the new sect within the Establishment, which has sprung from the ashes of exploded errors, and which avows itself to be 'neither Protestant nor Roman, but proceeds according to that *Via Media* which is the appropriate path 'for sons of the English church to walk in.' This middle way, how appropriate soever, is admitted to be a road more romantic than practicable, scarcely existing, indeed, except in theory,—a mere mule-track over the mountains; and instead of being a shorter cut to Catholic truth, it will be found, after all, only a round-about way to Romanism. Almost as much as this

is admitted by Mr. Newman himself in the following passage of his Introduction :

‘ Protestantism and popery are real religions ; no one can doubt about them ; they have furnished the mould in which nations have been cast ; but the *Via Media* has never existed except upon paper ; it has never been reduced to practice ; it is known, not positively, but negatively, in its differences from the rival creeds, not in its own properties ; and can only be described as a third system, neither the one nor the other, partly both, cutting between them, and, as if with a critical fastidiousness, trifling with them both, and boasting to be nearer Antiquity than either. What is this but to fancy a road over mountains and rivers which has never been cut ? When we profess our *Via Media*, as the very truth of the apostles, we seem to be mere antiquarians or pedants, amusing ourselves with illusions or learned subtleties, and unable to grapple with things as they are. We tender no proof to show that our view is not self-contradictory, and, if set in motion, would not fall to pieces, or start off in different directions at once. Learned divines, it may be urged, may have propounded it, as they have ; controversialists may have used it to advantage *when supported by the civil sword against papists or puritans* ; but, whatever its merits, still, when left to itself, to use a familiar term, it may not *work*. And the very circumstance that it has been propounded for centuries by great names, and not yet reduced to practice, may be alleged as an additional presumption against its feasibility. To take for instance the subject of Private Judgment : our theory here is *neither Protestant nor Roman, and has never been realized*. Our opponents ask, What is it ? Is it more than a set of words and phrases, of exceptions and limitations made for each successive emergency, of principles which contradict each other ? It cannot be denied there is force in these considerations.’—pp. 20—21.

The attempt to discover a middle way between Protestantism and Romanism is not new. It is like the problem of the north-west passage in geography,—a favourite speculation, which has employed abundant pains and learning, but hitherto with no better practical result. It is a search after a lost Greenland,—or rather an ancient Atlantis. Mr. Newman’s object is, to discover ‘ what is the nearest approximation to that primitive truth which Ignatius and Polycarp enjoyed, and *which the nineteenth century has lost.*’ The sacred chart affords no means of making the discovery : this ‘ primitive truth ’ is not laid down in the Bible. Its longitude and latitude are not given by the apostles ; and hence the interest and glory attaching to the adventure. The church is fairly at sea ; but, with Mr. Newman as the pilot, by steadily steering towards the East, that fountain-head of all primitive things, who knows but she may be conducted at last, by the true *Via Media*, to the lost region where Ignatius and Polycarp enjoyed the full light of heaven ?

There have been writers, however, who have supposed that they had discovered this *Via Media*; and Mr. Newman speaks of it, under the name of Anglicanism, as a religion actually to be found on record; the religion of Andrews, Laud, Hammond, Butler, and Wilson;—undefined, indeed, and unrecognized—the Articles of the Church do not embody it; but yet, its floating elements may admit, he thinks, of being made palpable in a fixed shape; and in these Lectures, ‘it is proposed to offer helps towards the formation of a recognized Anglican theology, in one of its departments.’ ‘We require,’ says Mr. Newman, ‘a recognized theology.’ Now let us first be permitted to ask, *Why do we require it?* Because, dissatisfied with Protestantism, and yet not quite reconciled to Romanism, Mr. Newman, and others of his school, require a *tertium quid*, a something which even their own church does not furnish them, a resting-place of certainty which they cannot find, because they are seeking it in a wrong direction. ‘We travel by night,’ says Mr. Newman; and there is something affecting in the bewildered state of mind which is here described;—‘the teaching of the apostles concerning it’ (the church), ‘which once, like the pillar in the wilderness, was with the children of God from age to age continually, is withdrawn; and we are, so far, left to make the best of our way to the promised land by our natural resources.’

To one who identifies the church of Christ with the pale of Episcopacy, and who, confining his view to that narrow horizon, beholds within the sphere of his survey so much that is dark, and corrupt, and waste, and unsightly, such reflections must naturally present themselves. The picture which Mr. Newman draws of the ecclesiastical community to which he belongs, certainly exhibits it as any thing rather than the Goshen of the religious world.

‘In the English church, we shall hardly find ten or twenty neighbouring clergymen who agree together; and that, *not in the non-essentials of religion, but as to what are its elementary and necessary doctrines*; or as to the fact, whether there are any necessary doctrines at all, any distinct and definite faith required for salvation. Much less do the laity receive that instruction in one and the same doctrine, which is the evidence, as may be fairly alleged, of their being ‘taught of the Lord.’ They wander about like sheep without a shepherd; they do not know what to believe, and are thrown on their own private judgment, weak and inadequate as it is, merely because they do not know whither to betake themselves for guidance. If they go to one church, they hear one doctrine; in the next that comes, they hear another; if they try to unite the two, they are obliged to drop important elements in each, and waste down and attenuate the faith to a mere shadow; if they shrink, as they may naturally do, from both the one doctrine and the other, they are taught to be critical, sceptical,

and self-wise ; and all this is sure to lead them to heterodoxy in one form or other, over and above the evil whether of arrogance or of indifference in themselves. If, again, they are blessed with teachable and gentle minds, such uncertainty makes them desponding and unhappy ; they walk in darkness and disquiet, far removed from that ' peace ' which the prophet describes as resulting from the ' teaching ' which the children of the true church receive.

' It may be further observed, that we are in a state of actual warfare with each other, not only differing, but considering our mutual differences perilous or even damnable ; that we have no internal bond of union, but are kept together by the State, which, by a wholesome tyranny, forces us to be friends with each other. And further still, much intemperate declamation may be indulged about our system of patronage in the church, the mode in which our bishops are appointed, their being corrupted by their intercourse with laymen in parliament, and the like topics. Specific instances of scandal may be added.'—pp. 394—396.

In these statements, given as the allegations of the Romanists, there is, Mr. Newman intimates, much exaggeration ; but he does not attempt to deny their substantial accordance with fact. Not less remarkable than this tacit admission, that the Church of England is open to such reflections, is his way of getting rid of the inference. ' After all,' he says, ' the Prayer-book is a practical guide into the sense of Scripture for all teachable minds ; and those of our divines whom ' all the people account as prophets,' with whatever differences of opinion on minor points, yet ' on the whole teach in essentials one and all the same doctrine. ' For instance, such as Bishop Taylor's *Holy Living and Dying*, ' the *Whole Duty of Man*, Hammond's *Catechism*, or Bishop ' *Wilson's Sermons*.' Admirable selection of doctrinal guides ! Conscious, however, that the case of the Church of England is not much aided by this meagre enumeration, Mr. Newman proceeds to adduce the parallel of the Jewish church, as ' a sufficient ' answer to all that has been objected.' The Israelites were especially raised up to be witnesses for the One True God against idolatry ; and yet, there were long periods in their history, during which the whole nation was sunk in idolatry, or lingered on in captivity. In like manner, the English church, as a church, may still be in possession of her ' gifts,' her apostolical powers, although so far gone in denying her own powers as to ' put herself on a ' level with the sectaries around her.'

But this humiliating view of the lapsed, and captive, and divided Anglo-Catholic church, conducts us only to the conclusion, that she may possibly, after all, be still a true church ; whereas the Romanists contend that theirs is undoubtedly the true unbroken apostolic succession ; and Mr. Newman admits, that their pretensions are not easily to be disposed of. But as-

suming, as he feels entitled to do, that *both* are branches of the 'one Catholic church,' the difference of doctrine between the two churches, he regards as 'little of a practical difficulty.' The two rival systems 'agree, amid their differences, in points which 'they each hold to be the highest truths, and which sectaries 'more or less undervalue;' such as, '*the application of Christ's merits through external rites, the singular efficacy and mysteriousness of sacraments, the duty of unity, the necessity of good works.*' These fundamentals, the church of Rome maintains in common with the Anglo-Catholic church. Why then not join the church of Rome as the safest course? Mr. Newman's reply is:—

'Let it be considered whether there be not *some peculiarities hanging about her*, which are sufficient from *prudential* motives to keep us at a distance from her. . . . However the mind may be entangled theoretically, yet surely it will fall upon certain marks in Rome, which seem intended to convey to the simple and honest inquirer a solemn warning to keep clear of her, while she carries them about her.'—p. 316.

Such is Mr. Newman's preservative against Popery! Of the force and validity of his prudential reasons, when brought into conflict with the arguments of a dexterous Romanist, we shall enable our readers to judge. The marks which are to warn a perplexed inquirer to keep clear of Rome, are such as 'her denying the cup 'to the laity,'—not an article of faith; 'her idolatrous worship of 'the Blessed Virgin,'—which, he will be told by Gother, Chaloner, and others of the same stamp, is a Protestant misrepresentation; 'her image-worship,'—which the Council of Trent formally disclaims; 'her recklessness in anathematizing,'—so faithfully imitated in the canons of the English church; and 'her 'schismatical and overbearing spirit.' The latter two of these peculiarities could surely weigh very little with any person tolerably acquainted with the history of England and Ireland; and as Romanism allows of a convenient latitude of belief in the other three points, it would not be very difficult for one previously trained in the *Via Media* to get over them. He would thus be led to the comfortable conclusion, that, between the two communions, there is no such difference as to warrant his foregoing the advantage of reposing upon the infallibility of the more ancient church. And it may perhaps assist his arriving at this conclusion, should a Tract fall in his way, by a late Fellow of Oriel College, (Mr. Newman's college,) in which the Church of England is identified with the second beast of the Apocalypse. He will there find the summary method adopted by Protestant commentators, of interpreting all the prophecies relating to

Babylon as belonging exclusively to the papacy, called in question by one who has neither embraced the Romish faith, nor adopted the *Via Media*.

‘The Church of Rome,’ Mr. Sanderson remarks, ‘is as convenient a scape-goat here in England, as the Church of England or any other professedly Protestant church can be at Rome; and the charge of idolatry, probably, as levelled exclusively against Roman Catholics, sits as lightly upon them as heresy does upon us. We, each of us, think that there must be some mistake in this matter; and, indeed, upon examination, I apprehend it will be found, that, as Protestants are not the only heretics, so Papists are not the only persons chargeable with idolatry, or with image-worship in the world.’—*Church of England identified, on the Authority of her own Historians chiefly, with the second Beast as described in the Book of Revelation, chap. xiii. 11—18.* By R. B. Sanderson, Esq., late Fellow of Oriel College, and formerly Secretary of Presentations to the Lord Chancellor. (London: 1836. pp. 42.)

If Mr. Sanderson be right, one of the peculiarities hanging about the Church of Rome, which Mr. Newman deems a warning mark, would seem to be equally a characteristic of the only other branch of the Catholic church; and thus the perplexed inquirer will find his reasons for Protestantism, so far as they are to be learned from the Vicar of St. Mary the Virgin’s, giving way under his feet. Can there be a more admirable preparatory school for popery, than the *Via Media* theology of Oriel College? If it were Mr. Newman’s object to fit his pupils for embracing Romanism, he could not have adopted a better method. Why should they remain within a communion where all is darkness, and uncertainty, and confusion?

‘In the Primitive Church there was no difficulty, and no mistaking; then all Christians every where spoke one and the same doctrine, and if any novelty arose, it was at once denounced *and stifled*. *The case is the same, indeed, with the Roman church now*; but for Anglicans so to speak, is to use words without meaning, to dream of a state of things long past away from this Protestant land. The church is now but a mere abstract word; it stands for a generalized idea, not the name of any one thing really existing, which, if it ever was, yet ceased to be, when Christians divided from each other centuries upon centuries ago. Rome and Greece, at enmity with each other, both refuse communion to England, and anathematize her faith. Again, *in the English church by itself may be found differences as great as those which separate it from Greece or Rome*; Calvinism and Arminianism, Latitudinarianism and Orthodoxy, all these sometimes simply such, and sometimes compounded together into numberless varieties of doctrine and school; and these not merely each upholding itself as true, but, with few exceptions, denouncing all the rest as perilous, if not fatal

errors. Such is its state even among its appointed ministers and teachers.'—NEWMAN, pp. 310, 311.

Here, the superiority of the Roman church, in point of unity and certainty, would seem to be frankly admitted. It is true, that the Anglican church 'transmits the ancient Catholic faith,' in her formularies and services, so simply and intelligibly, according to Mr. Newman, that 'not the most unlettered of her members can miss her meaning.' But whence were those formularies derived? They were 'not the invention of this Reformer or that,' but borrowed from the Latin church. Both churches, we are told, 'use substantially the same Common-Prayer, ours indeed being actually but a selection from theirs.' Again, then, we are brought back to Rome as the centre of the labyrinth in the mazes of which Mr. Newman has contrived to involve himself and his followers.

Had such a picture of the distracted state of the English church been drawn by a Protestant Dissenter,—had the pen of Dr. J. P. Smith, or Mr. Binney, supplied the paragraphs we have just cited, what vehement indignation would it have excited among the advocates of the Establishment! The truth of the description cannot, however, be denied; and how loudly soever the clergy of all parties may boast of 'our apostolic church,' when inveighing against the Dissenters, their language among themselves is very far from being in harmony with those lofty assumptions, and is more apt to assume the tone of mutual accusation or lamentation.

The recent pamphlet, quaintly entitled, 'What? and Who says it?*' contains some striking exemplifications of the strong language in which advocates of the Establishment can denounce the state of things in their own communion; and it would have been easy for the writer to select from the publications of Mr. Acaster, Mr. Nihill, Mr. Riland, and other ministers of the Church of England, as well as from the Quarterly Review, the British Magazine, the Christian Observer, and other periodicals conducted by members of the Establishment, to say nothing of the testimonies of seceding clergymen, additional statements far more condemnatory of the Establishment *as it is*, than all the charges against the church that are to be found in the writings of Dissenters. The testimony of Mr. Sanderson, in apology for the severity of his strictures on the church, fully corroborates this representation:

'It may be thought by some, perhaps, that the author has been too severe in his strictures on the church. On the contrary, however, he

* See Art. IV. of our November Number.

takes to himself considerable credit for his forbearance in this particular, since it must be obvious to any one at all acquainted with the subject, that, with the opportunities of observation he has had, first, as Fellow of a College, and, afterward, as Secretary to one of the largest holders of church preferment in the kingdom, he might have brought forward many things not very favourable to the church. He might have pointed out, for instance, the very defective system of education, to say the least of it, pursued at the Universities, considered as places of religious instruction, where, if a man be really religious, he must be so *in spite of* the place. He might have enlarged also, on the very exceptionable manner in which the church patronage, especially that in the hands of the crown, is administered; that is to say, by political persons, for purely political purposes. On each of these topics he might have enlarged, if he had liked, and given much new and interesting information to the public; but he has abstained from both, and shall content himself with merely stating, once for all, in this place, the result of the impression made upon his own mind by all that he has seen; namely, that the Church of England is, in its present constitution, a completely secular Establishment, and conducted throughout, from its very cradle in the University, to its crown on the episcopal bench, without any regard whatever to the spiritual advantage of those for whose benefit it professes to have been originally provided.'—Sanderson, pp. iv. v.

It might have been looked for, that a church thus divided against itself should have adopted a moderate and conciliatory tone towards those who belong not to its communion. But never were loftier or more intolerant assumptions put forth by the 'Anglo-Catholic' clergy, or a tone of more angry defiance indulged in towards all who call them in question. The *Via Media* is no peaceful mean, intended to reconcile discordant parties. That which Mr. Newman pants to see restored, is 'the church's sovereignty.' The clashing claims of the Roman church present, in his view, a real difficulty; but, 'in the profession of the sects 'around us,' he says, 'there is nothing to disturb us.'

'They contradict each other, or rather themselves. They pretend to no antiquity; they have no stability, no consistency; they do not interfere with our doctrine and pretensions at all, no more than the schools of philosophy and science. They have taken a different line, and occupy a different province. As well might it be said that astrologers interfere with prophecy; as those who out of their own judgment conjecture the doctrine of Christ, with its traditional delivery through His appointed stewards.'—p. 314.

Here the papist stands forth with scarcely a thin disguise. But admitting the above, for a moment, to be a true picture of 'the sects,' they are not in a much worse plight, on the Author's own showing, than the Church of England. If the sects 'contradict each other,'—we, the clergy, says Mr. Newman,

‘are in a state of actual warfare with each other, considering our mutual differences perilous or even damnable.’ If the sects have no stability, the clergy of the Establishment ‘have no internal bond of union,’ but are ‘kept together by the wholesome tyranny of the State.’ The sects ‘pretend to no antiquity;’ yet, they are at least older than the Reformation,—older than the Protestant Establishment. The sects, ‘out of their own judgment, conjecture the doctrine of Christ’ as they find it in the New Testament; and there is at least a probability that they guess out the meaning of Scripture: ‘we,’ says Mr. Newman, ‘travel by night,’ and ‘are left to make the best way to the promised land by our *natural resources.*’ The ‘primitive truth’ which is the object of search, ‘the nineteenth century has lost.’ If it be so, the sects are in no worse predicament,—albeit without the aid of the *Via Media*, and not cognizant of the authority of the church to determine controversies,—than those within the pale of Episcopacy. If they occupy a different province, it is one which enjoys quite as much of the light and breath of heaven.

The perusal of Mr. Newman’s volume has made us feel more thankful than ever, for the enjoyment of our religious privileges, as dissenters from a church which is ‘neither Protestant nor Roman,’ and for that Scriptural knowledge which, in the arrogance of lettered ignorance, our non-Protestant divine calls *conjecture*. In dissent, as dissent, we do not glory; but we thank Mr. Newman for giving to its distinguishing principles a better name—‘Popular Protestantism.’ To those principles, the spirit of the Establishment has always been hostile; but we are indebted to him for having so explicitly avowed, and so distinctly illustrated the true genius of the Anglo-Catholic theology,—the Popery of Protestantism.

Mr. Newman is neither original nor singular in his views. He may be more of the Romanist in his theological creed than those who class with the evangelical clergy; but, in reference to other Protestant denominations, these will be found occupying the same ground, and maintaining the same exclusive pretensions. In one of the Oxford Tracts, entitled, ‘Adherence to the Apostolical Succession the safest Course,’ we find the following specimen of Anglicanism:

‘Why should we talk so much of an Establishment, and so little of an Apostolical Succession? Why should we not seriously endeavour to impress our people with this plain truth:—that, by separating themselves from our communion, they separate themselves not only from a decent, orderly, useful society, but from *the only church in this realm which has a right to be quite sure that she has the Lord’s body to give to his people.*’

This is language which, we presume, the evangelical clergy in general would scarcely venture to employ, and which many

among them would disapprove. Yet, an indistinct notion of the mysterious sacerdotal power conveyed exclusively by Episcopal ordination, will be found almost universally to govern their habits of thinking and feeling, in relation to the ministers of other Protestant denominations. Bishop Wilson, of Calcutta, would *act* out this idea as loftily as Bishop Phillpotts. Where is the Episcopal clergyman who would not as soon take the wafer from the hands of a popish priest, as receive 'the blessed sacrament' at the hands of a Presbyterian minister?

Mr. Griffith cites the declaration of Archbishop Usher in his letter to Dr. Bernard: 'I do profess, if I were in Holland, I would receive the blessed sacrament at the hands of the Dutch, with the like affection as I should from the hands of the French ministers were I at Charenton.' Possibly, in a *foreign* country, such an act of extraordinary catholicity might be ventured upon by an English clergyman of very liberal sentiments; but where should we now find an Archbishop Usher to approve of it? Mr. Melvill ranks, we presume, as an evangelical clergyman; yet, in a passage cited in our last Number, which occurs in a Sermon, entitled, 'Christ the Minister of the Church,' he maintains the virtue of official priestly services, even when the doctrines taught are false and pernicious. Mr. Newman does not go beyond this; nor do the canons of the council of Trent contain any position more anti-Scriptural and pernicious. High-churchmen there have always been in the Establishment; and, to use the language of a forcible public writer of Conservative principles, 'they have been the scandal and weakness of the church from the day of their parent Laud downward. They are half-papists; men who, in the true spirit of the Jewish priests, would condemn our Lord and his apostles for turning the world upside down, and who practically renounce every principle consecrated by the blood of the Protestant Reformers.*' Such men have always been too numerous; but it is something new and portentous to find high-churchism spreading even among the evangelical portion of the clergy, and propagating itself from our seats of learning as a contagious fanaticism.

We are unable to account for the coincidence, but so it is, that, in the Correspondence of Alexander Knox, recently published, but dating from thirty years ago, may be found all the elements of that refined Catholicism which Mr. Newman is ambitious of forming into a fixed system of theology under the name of Anglicanism. That accomplished and altogether singular man may be described as an English Jansenist. A disciple

* Standard Newspaper, January 11, 1836.

of Wesley, in his theological views, he shared in his 'old friend's' partiality for the writings of the Romish spiritualists; yet, he was neither Methodist nor mystic, but something of each, blending with the piety of the cloister and the superstition of the altar, the free and speculative spirit of a philosophy foreign from both. The first two volumes of his Remains, reviewed in a former series of this journal, * disclosed to us his anti-Protestant notions upon the subject of the Sacraments, as well as upon the turning point of the right of a private appeal to the Scriptures as the only rule of faith. In the volumes now before us, we find a further development of the Author's theological system, and of his views of what he terms 'the Central Character of the Church of England,' answering very exactly to the *Via Media* of Mr. Newman. The coincidence of sentiment, sometimes, indeed, of language, is so close as to lead us to suppose that it cannot be accidental, and that we have in Mr. Knox's writings, the germs of those opinions which the authors of the Oxford Tracts are labouring to propagate. The following parallel extracts will serve at once to show the agreement, if not identity of sentiment, and to illustrate still further the theory of the Anglican Catholicism.

'The Thirty-nine Articles are, 'Articles of *Religion*,' not of '*faith*.' We do not consider the belief in them necessary to salvation, except so far as they embody in them the articles of the Creed. They are of no divine authority, except so far as they embody these and similar portions of Apostolical Tradition. . . . In truth, their imposition, in its first origin, was much more a political than an ecclesiastical act: it was a provision of the State rather than of the Church, though the Church co-operated. I mean that the jealousy of Rome entertained by the Civil Power, was the principle of the Reformation, considered historically; and that the outward form into which our religion was cast, has depended in no slight measure on the personal opinion and wishes of laymen and foreigners.' 'In truth, we must take the Articles as we find them; they are not a *system* of theology, on whatever view, but a protest against certain specific errors, existing at the time they were drawn up. There are, as all parties must confess, great truths not in the Articles.'—NEWMAN, pp. 278, 279, 344.

'I know nothing settled, in the whole Reformed body, but the Liturgy of the Church of England. I do not add the Articles, not because I have any real quarrel with them, but because they have not, in any respect, the same intrinsic authority. Their force arises chiefly, if not solely, from convention. They that have subscribed them, are bound to them; but, to all others, they are but the sentiments of respectable men themselves, requiring the support of some more authoritative sanction. Not so the Liturgy. . . . In the Liturgy, and in that exclusively, I seem to myself to find the *Decus et Tutamen*

* Eclectic Review, Third Series, Vol. xiii., pp. 61, 237.

(under God and his Christ) of the Anglican church; its citadel and temple in one, as far as any visible institution can be such. As I have said above, I have no quarrel with the Articles. I do not think they are perfect.'—KNOX, vol. iii. pp. 61—63.

'To follow the Church, is to follow the Prayer-book, instead of following preachers, who are but individuals. Its words are not the accidental out-pouring of this or that age or country, but the joint and accordant testimony of that innumerable company of saints whom we are bound to follow. They are the accents of the Church Catholic and Apostolic as it manifests itself in England.'—NEWMAN, p. 313.

'It (the Liturgy) is virtually the transcript of what the Church has said, in its converse with God, from the earliest period. It is, verbatim, what the church has been repeating, without deviation or alteration, from the sixth century. . . . In the view of these impressive circumstances, can I estimate our Liturgy as merely human?'—KNOX, vol. iii. p. 62.

'In a former age, the tendency of mere Protestantism had not discovered itself with the fearful clearness which has attended its later history. English divines were tender of the other branches of the Reformation, and did not despair of their return to the entire Catholic truth. Before Germany had become rationalistic, and Geneva Socinian, Romanism might be considered as the most dangerous corruption of the Gospel; and this might be a call upon members of our Church to merge their differences with foreign Protestantism and Dissent at home, as if in the presence of a common enemy. But at this day, when the connexion of Protestantism with infidelity is so evident, what claim has the former on our sympathy? And to what theology can the serious Protestant, dissatisfied with his system, betake himself but to Romanism, unless we display our characteristic principles, and show him that he may be Catholic and Apostolic, yet not Roman?' — 'Romanism has the principle of true Catholicism perverted; popular Protestantism is wanting in the principle.'—NEWMAN, pp. 25, 52.

'I humbly conceive, nothing can be clearer than that, in the matter of Catholic Tradition, the Anglican church adopts the same temperate principle which she manifests in her creeds, her worship, and her ceremonies; in all of which she so evinces her reverence for, and her reliance upon, the *consensus omnium*, as to make her general regard for tradition unquestionable, even had she less explicitly avowed it. It is, therefore, on the whole impossible, at this day, to melt down the definite, though modest character of the Anglican church into the shapeless chaos of *indefinite Protestantism*.' . . . 'The principle (of pure Protestantism) was avowed in that celebrated instrument which was delivered in 1529 to the Diet of Spires, and which gave rise to the appellation of Protestant. . . . It is because the Church of England so substantially rejects this principle, that I am in the habit of maintaining *that she is not Protestant, but a reformed portion of the Church Catholic*. That it was a natural tenet for the Continental Reformers to adopt, absorbed as they were in one terrific apprehension, need not be denied; but surely, in thus excluding every guidance but

that of the text alone, they left themselves exposed to every wind of doctrine, and retained no resource against the most pernicious errors.'—KNOX, vol. iii., pp. 297—300.

It would be easy to multiply parallel extracts, but these will sufficiently answer the purpose we have in view. Mr. Knox proceeds, in the letter from which we cite the last paragraph, to press into his service some 'Dissenting testimonies not barely to 'the utility, but the necessity of Catholic tradition.' They amount to nothing more than an admission, if admission it may be deemed, that, in the study of the Holy Scriptures, it is wise to avail ourselves of the light thrown upon their true interpretation, by the wisest and best of men of every preceding age. Yet, strange to say, this very obvious truism, according to Mr. Knox, 'has been overlooked by all reformed denominations except the 'Anglican church.' How so? it will be asked. Because they do not recognize Catholic tradition as an authoritative arbiter, exalting this vague, and shadowy, and ever varying rule of interpretation to an equal or co-ordinate authority with Revelation itself. Other churches have their symbols or confessions and Articles of faith. But, whatever advantage may be derived from printed forms and explicit Articles, 'this,' says Mr. Knox, 'merely puts 'the evil one step further off.'

'It, perhaps, provides for a longer and more general acquiescence; but, when the public mind becomes bold enough to dispute the truth of the formula, how shall it be sustained, if it have nothing but itself to rely upon? How often were our formulas on the verge of rejection; and had the turn of the scale been different, where would have been our pledge of invariable signification? No little variety of explanation has co-existed with our formulas: had they actually gone down, how endless and remediless had been the dissonance!'—KNOX, vol. iii., p. 305.

State authority is, indeed, a very precarious and shifting basis for Articles of *faith*; and so far, Mr. Knox and Mr. Newman are right in looking out for something else and better, as a ground of certainty, than formulas which may be changed or laid aside by the same authority that ordained them. In this respect, they discover more wisdom than those advocates of State Establishments who contend, that the effectual way of preserving a community from error in religion, is subscription to declarations of faith, as the church's unalterable opinions, and that, by this method, the ministers of religion may enjoy *a certainty* that they 'possess the 'genuine form' of truth,—'such a certainty as excludes doubt, 'as leaves no room and no tendency to question.'* How

* Rose's State of the Protestant Religion in Germany, pp. 22, 23.

can decisions resting upon an authority which may change, be a preservative, or afford assurance, against all future change? How can formulas which derive their whole authority from conventional arrangements, be a pledge of invariable signification? This is making what is but a fluctuating medium the standard of value. It reminds us of the absurd system of the Hindoo cosmogony, according to which the elephant which upbears the world, is upborne by the tortoise; but what does the tortoise stand upon? Truth is first made to rest upon the formula, and the formula upon authority, and authority upon public opinion; but by what is opinion to be sustained? Mr. Knox thinks, he has found a footing for the tortoise in 'Catholic tradition.' Behold something fixed and invariable as the laws of nature! There is, to the imagination at least, a perpetuity in antiquity, because the past is fixed, and cannot be altered. Parliaments may repeal what parliaments have enacted; and future convocations may pass decrees at variance with preceding synods; but dead men cannot change their opinions, and the first four councils can never be made to speak any other language. Here then, according to the theory, we have something invariable by which to abide, an ultimate court of appeal in religious controversy, a prescriptive law of truth, in the consent of Catholic Antiquity, apart from which 'no possibility would remain of ever reducing to harmony the infinite discord of religious opinions.'

'The present church,' says Mr. Newman, 'in our view of her office, is not so much a judge of Scripture as a witness of Catholic truth delivered to her in the first ages, whether by councils or by fathers, or in whatever other way. And if she does not claim any gift of interpretation for herself, in the high points in question, much less does she allow individuals to pretend to it. . . . We have as little warrant for rejecting ancient consent as for rejecting Scripture itself. . . . The phrase, Rule of Faith, which is now commonly taken to mean the Bible by itself, would seem, in the judgment of the English church, properly to belong to the Bible and Catholic Tradition taken together. These two together make up a joint rule: Scripture is interpreted by Tradition, Tradition verified by Scripture. Tradition gives form to the doctrine; Scripture gives life. Tradition teaches; Scripture proves. And hence, both the one and the other have, according to the occasion, been called by our writers* the Rule of Faith, sometimes the Catholic creed, sometimes Scripture.'—NEWMAN, pp. 323—328.

We shall not waste words by showing that this is not Protes-

* By which of our writers? No such ambiguity of language is chargeable upon any of the Reformers or the divines of the Elizabethan age. The only references are to two highly exceptionable passages from Waterland and *Bramhall*, both of them sufficiently papistical authorities.

tant doctrine; Mr. Newman would not pretend that it is; and whether it be the doctrine of the Anglican church or not, we may leave others to determine. But may we be permitted to examine the credentials of this same Catholic Antiquity, this mysterious and supreme Teacher, which is to the Scripture what Aaron was to Moses,—‘instead of a mouth.’ Where does Antiquity begin and end? Within what limits is this Catholicity circumscribed? Mr. Newman tells us, that ‘the ancient church is to be our model in all matters of doctrine, till it broke up into portions;’ and refers us to ‘antiquity as the period when all Christians agreed together in faith.’ (p. 241.) When was this golden age? How long did it last? The Romanists challenge us to draw the line between the pure and corrupt ages of the church. But, instead of meeting the challenge, Mr. Newman says: ‘We are not bound to assign it: it is a question of degree and place.’ The greater ‘number of our writers, whether they say the church’s faith was first impaired at the end of the fourth century, or in the eighth, still agree in the principle of appealing to those ages which they respectively consider to be within the period of ‘peace and union.’ (p. 244.) That is to say, they agree in a principle which is wholly indeterminate in its application. ‘The principle is clear, the fact obscure.’ After referring to the conflicting opinions of different divines as to the limit of the period to which we give the name of Antiquity,* Mr. Newman concludes, that the era of purity cannot be fixed much earlier than the Council of Sardica, A.D. 347, (he must mean, the limit of the age of purity,) nor so late as the second Nicene or seventh General Council, A.D. 787; and observes that, ‘if the voluminous remains of’ the first four centuries ‘will not afford a standard of Catholic doctrine, there seems little profit to be gained from antiquity at all!’ Now then, let us turn to this golden age of Catholic consent, as described by Mr. Newman himself.

‘In the early Ante-Nicene times, the church seemed for a while to be but one sect among many, being confused with Jews and the various Gnostic denominations, as it is at this time in our own country, with the multitude of parties and heresies which prevail. Nay, it had peculiar difficulties of its own, distinct from those of after centuries. While it was still under persecution, with deficient union in its separate branches, private Christians had to struggle with uncertainties,

* Hammond and Stillingfleet are ready to stand by the first six General Councils, A.D. 325—680. Archbishop Bramhall names 500 years. Bishop Ken takes in the whole tract of centuries up to the disunion of the East and West, nearly 800 years. Usher specifies four or five hundred years; Waterland and Beveridge, the first three or four centuries.

and with partial knowledge,—I do not say whether more or less than ours, but certainly such as we have not. *Till the fourth century, there was no unanimous reception of the Canon of the New Testament, no sufficient check upon the fancies and extravagancies of individual teachers.* All the great points of faith, indeed, were thoroughly known by all, in a far higher way than is at present vouchsafed to us; but, in many matters of detail, *or as regards the intellectual comprehension of its terms,* though there was, doubtless, one uniform doctrine handed down from the apostles, *heresy was not so immediately recognised as it was afterwards,* when the stimulus it supplied had retouched and deepened the lineaments of the Creed. It is observable, that the two most learned and gifted of the Ante-Nicene fathers, while explicit in their report of Catholic Truth in all matters of necessary faith, yet are little trustworthy themselves, and are open, in secondary points, to the charge of unwarrantable speculation.—NEWMAN pp. 417, 418.

This is Antiquity, the age of union and certainty! This is the judge which is to 'end the strife, when wit and reason fail!' But, although Ante-Nicene fathers might err, General Councils, it may be, were the infallible depositories of Catholic Truth. What was their real character? Their object was not so much the suppression of heresy, as the ruin and disgrace of some powerful ecclesiastical leader, and the overthrow of a rival faction. In the Council of Nice, the banishment of Arius was the temporary triumph of Athanasius over his not less virtuous rival; and the senior bishop who is said to have framed the Nicene Creed, which all the Arian bishops present subscribed to, except two, 'with the same hand ratified the Arian confession.*' The Council of Constantinople is rendered infamous by the conduct of the same faction towards the pious and accomplished Gregory Nazianzen. The cause of Apollinaris, condemned by that council, was avenged by the Alexandrian primate, Cyril, in that of Ephesus, the scandals of which, Mr. Newman himself affirms, 'are an effectual obstacle to any over delicate and fastidious 'criticisms of Romanists upon our Reformation.' (p. 411.) The second Synod of Ephesus is not reckoned among General Councils, but belongs to the same age of peace and purity. It was there that Dioscorus, the Egyptian primate, at the head of a band of armed partisans, attacked and beat Flavian, the Byzantine pontiff. At Chalcedon, the Egyptians saw in turn their tyrant disgraced, under the influence of Leo, the Roman pontiff; and the inveterate feud between the Byzantines and the Alexandrians has been perpetuated through nearly fourteen centuries. Catholic consent had shown itself sufficiently equivocal at Nice, but it cannot be said to have survived the

* Hooker, B. v. § 42.

ecclesiastical battles of Chalcedon. The well-meant attempt of the emperor Zeno to heal the schism by the decree styled the *Henoticon*, was a complete failure. And yet this was the period, according to our Author, when all Christians agreed together in faith, and the church spoke one language !

Having taken this view of Antiquity, let us look at that great organ of Catholicity, Tradition. Again, Mr. Newman shall supply the portrait :

‘The tradition of *facts* is very uncertain, often apocryphal, as that St. Ignatius was the child which our Lord took in his arms and blessed.* . . . ‘But there is what may be called Prophetical Tradition. Almighty God placed in his church first apostles or *bishops*, secondarily prophets. Apostles rule and preach ; prophets expound. Prophets or doctors are the interpreters of the Revelation ; they unfold and define its mysteries, they illuminate its documents, they harmonize its contents, they apply its promises. Their teaching is a vast system, not to be comprised in a few sentences, not to be embodied in one code or treatise, but consisting of a certain body of truth, permeating the church like an atmosphere, irregular in its shape from its very profusion and exuberance ; at times separable only in idea from episcopal (apostolic) tradition, *yet at times melting away into legend and fable* ; partly written, partly unwritten ; partly the interpretation, partly the supplement of Scripture ; partly preserved in intellectual expressions, partly latent in the spirit and temper of Christians ; poured to and fro in closets and upon the house-tops, in liturgies, in controversial works, in obscure fragments, in sermons. This I call Prophetical Tradition.’—NEWMAN, pp. 298, 299.

Having given this just description of the heterogeneous and discordant mass, Mr. Newman lays down this ‘maxim concerning all that the Church Catholic holds to the full extent of her prophetical tradition ; that her members must either believe or ‘silently acquiesce in *the whole of it*.’ What the early fathers held, we are to receive, ‘no matter whether we can prove it from ‘reason or Scripture ; and we throw the burden of our belief, if ‘it be a burden, upon them.’ (p. 340.) ‘True,’ says Mr. Griffith, (who, though not prepared to go all the way with Mr. Newman, is still a stickler for the authority of the church in matters of faith, as a guide in those things which are left undetermined in Holy Writ,)—‘if we are content with just believing what the ‘church believes, we shall not truly believe at all.’ (p. 163.) ‘It ‘is the temper of reverent faith,’ according to Mr. Newman, ‘to

* Mr. Newman’s mind must be very peculiarly constructed. This apocryphal legend, ‘even if untrue,’ he says, ‘indirectly confirms certain truths, ‘viz. that St. Ignatius was closely connected with the apostles,’ &c.

‘feel that, in coming to the church, it stands before God’s representative;’ and ‘this is faith,—child-like reliance on *the guide* which is ordained by Him to be the interpreter of his message.’ (p. 307.) Admirably has Mr. Griffith depicted in its true colours this implicit faith, which covers before the church in abject obedience.

‘What is the principle here inveighed against by St. Paul (in Col. ii. 16—23)? It is that *prostration* of will, that slavish subjection to *authority*, without conviction, without feeling, and without concurrence, which the church of Rome demands from all her members, professedly to the will of God, but really to the arbitrary despotism of man. That feeling on which the priests of heathenism founded all religion; that on which the tyrants of the feudal system founded all loyalty; that which decked itself in so romantic and almost attractive a garb in the institutions of knighthood; that which crushed the will of every serf into the one will of the chief in the relations of clanship; that which assumed all the ostentation of religious merit in the regulations of the monastic orders,—this forms the corner-stone on which is built, and by which is kept together, the whole close-compacted edifice of Popery. *Obedience*—absolute obedience—prostrate, slavish, unintelligent, mechanical obedience to Mother Church—this is essential to her very being; and to promote this, therefore, every doctrine and practice is made to conspire. . . . But it is urged that this obedience is exacted, not towards man, or towards the church, but *towards God*, whose representative and oracle the church is. Exactly so. But it is just *this obedience as towards God*—it is just the exaction and the fostering of such a feeling towards the Father of mankind,—that forms the very essence of the spirit against which the Apostle warns the Colossian Christians. For from this feeling *as towards God*, flow all the practices of superstition and idolatry.’—GRIFFITH, pp. 263—265.

The volume from which we take this extract, appears to be intended to serve in some measure as an antidote to Mr. Newman’s; and though we might except against many of the writer’s statements, as inconsistent or mistaken, we must pronounce it, upon the whole, highly creditable to his talents and piety.

The note at p. 146, in vindication of the Protestant doctrine of the right of private judgment, is particularly excellent. ‘There is,’ Mr. Griffith justly remarks, ‘no middle point between a religion of *force* and a religion of *moral influence*; between an appeal to the stake, and an appeal to the judgment—*individual judgment*.’ ‘The very publication of a book is itself an appeal to all men to judge of its contents.’

‘It is not to the Bible without note or comment that Protestants appeal as the ultimate standard of religious truth, but (as their constant practice of interpretation from the press and pulpit shows) to the Bible with every note and comment from every quarter; *not from any*

limited set of so called fathers—or rather from certain digests of opinion from them which pass over their manifold contradictions of each other, and of themselves,—but from all those legitimate and necessary helps which are supplied by grammatical, critical, historical, moral, and spiritual considerations, and which regulate our interpretation of every other book.—GRIFFITH, p. 147.

Now, who have availed themselves of these legitimate helps with more diligence than the Puritans and Nonconformists, to whose labours we are indebted for the most valuable portion of our biblical literature? *We* too have our prophets and interpreters; and taking Mr. Newman's definition of prophetic tradition, we may add, *we* have our Tradition also, which, although we do not acknowledge or rely upon it as a rule of faith, we deem worthy of as deferential respect as the works of the Fathers and the decrees of wrangling, ungodly ecclesiastics fourteen centuries ago. The divines of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the biblical critics of the present age, are authorities, *quantum valeant*, as much entitled to our confidence as all the bishops who sat in the first four councils put together. Matthew Henry is quite as good an authority as Origen; and Howe and Baxter far outweigh Athanasius and Jerome. The notion that Antiquity had any superior power or prerogative as an interpreter or judge, or any superior means of judging, rests upon a mere fallacy. Antiquity could not have the authority of antiquity at the time of its acts and decisions, for it was then modern and extant: how comes it to have acquired by lapse of time, what it is a contradiction in terms to represent as inherent in the men of any age? The wisdom which comes with age, ought to be with *us*; with the church of the nineteenth century, not of the fourth, for she is fifteen centuries older. We acknowledge, however, the weight which attaches to the testimony of genuine Catholicity; but our Catholicity is more Catholic than that of either Romanism or Anglicanism. It speaks to us alike from the pages of Chrysostom and Augustine, of Wycliffe and Tyndal, of Calvin and Beza, of Fenelon and Pascal, Bourdaloue and Quesnel, of Leighton, and Hall, and Secker, of Owen, and Watts, and Doddridge. This is the true *consensus omnium*, which is the witness of the true Church Catholic to the truth of the Gospel.

This use of Antiquity, however, Mr. Newman deprecates. 'The mere Protestant and the Romanist,' he says, 'may use Antiquity, but it is as a mere material by which to form his decisions;' whereas Anglicanism 'but alleges and *submits* to what 'is ancient and Catholic.' (p. 322.) The Romanist is more rational in his error, than our Oxford Catholic. Whatever authority the church once had, she must still possess; and the papist is consistent in claiming for the council of Trent the same

authority as the Church of England attributes to the first four councils. Protestantism and Popery are both intelligible and coherent: the one sends us to the Scriptures as the rule of faith; the other proffers its own extant, living authority as that upon which we may safely repose. Anglicanism sends us on a fool's chase after a guide that flits before us like a will o' the wisp, and can never be come up with. 'Scripture has a gift,' Mr. Newman admits, 'which Tradition has not; it is fixed, tangible, accessible, readily applicable, and, besides all this, *perfectly true in all its parts and relations*; in a word, it is a sacred text. Tradition 'gives us little or nothing which can be *argued from*. We can 'argue only from a text; we can argue freely only from an 'inspired text.' As 'a means of proof, a standard of appeal, an 'umpire and test between truth and falsehood,' it 'becomes the 'nearest possible approach to the perpetual presence of the 'Apostles in the church.'

'Scripture alone contains what remains to us of our Lord's teaching.' 'Of this teaching, Tradition contains no remains.' . . . 'For argument's sake even grant to the Romanists in the abstract all that they claim for Tradition as a vehicle of truth, and then challenge them to avail themselves of this allowance; in fact, to add to the sentences of the New Law, if they can. No, the Gospels remain the sole record of Him who spake as never man spake.' . . . 'It is in very name, Christ's Testament; it is an inspired text; and it contains the canons of the new law, dictated by Christ, commented on by his apostles and by the prophets beforehand. Though, then, as the Romanists object, it be incomplete in form, it is not in matter; it has a hidden and beautiful design in it.'—NEWMAN, pp. 347, 355, 368.

How strange does this noble eulogy contrast with the mere drivelling we have cited from the same volume! 'Upon the whole, 'then,' with Bishop Marsh, (in his Comparative View of the Churches of England and Rome,) 'we may safely infer, that 'there is no foundation whatever for the alleged existence of those 'divine and apostolical traditions which are made to constitute an 'unwritten word, or Tradition as a rule of faith. The Church of 'England, therefore, acted wisely in rejecting that rule. And 'when we further consider the consequences of that rejection, 'when we consider the load of superstition from which we were 'freed by *means* of that rejection, we may well assert, that the 'rejection of Tradition as a rule of faith, was *the vital principle of 'the Reformation.*'* Would that the Church of England had acted as wisely in other respects, and in consistency with this vital principle! Based, at the Reformation, upon the rocking-stone of State authority, she has never ceased to oscillate between

* Marsh's Comp. View, p. 74.

Romanism and Puritanism or 'Popular Protestantism.' Proud of her episcopacy, her bauble decorations, her Romish orders, and her legendary antiquity, she has maintained a lofty isolation, disclaiming her Protestant relations, and frowning in scorn or defiance upon the schismatics without her pale, whom she would fain again make to feel the weight of her arm. 'If Scripture reading has, in England, been the cause of schism, it is,' says Mr. Newman, '*because we are deprived of the power of excommunication*, which, in the revealed scheme, is the formal antagonist 'and curb of private judgment.' (p. 168.) Tradition may hinder controversy; but 'what is to be done when controversy is persisted in, and heresy spreads so widely, or is countenanced so powerfully, that it cannot be put down by authority? Excommunication is doubtless the ultimate resolution of the difficulty.' (p. 373.) But what is the power of the keys without the civil sword? Mr. Griffith is right;—there is no middle point 'between an appeal to individual judgment and an appeal to the stake.' Anglicanism is but Popery secularized and chained by the civil power. We thank Mr. Newman for having furnished us with its full-length portrait, and thereby unwittingly supplied so complete a justification of the consistent Protestantism of Nonconformity.

Art. II. *Secret Societies of the Middle Ages.* London: Charles Knight & Co., Ludgate Street. 1837.

IT cannot but have struck the attentive observer, that just as in nature, an Almighty Power provides for existing emergencies, so in society there appears something like the same wonderful variety of adaptation—the same balance between supply and demand—the same preparation of assistance for each occurring necessity. Nor is the general correctness of this remark invalidated, as we think, by the social provision failing to possess equal excellence with the natural. In the former case, the imperfection of human agency has intervened, and cannot be concealed; whilst in the latter, there is usually no such intervention. Yet the voice that created the world for the habitation of mankind, could alone gather them into families. It imparted those principles of order on which the welfare of nations is founded. Whenever these are lost sight of, confusion ensues, together with a misery which would become irremediable and perpetual, were it not for compensatory tendencies inherent in the very existence of society, and which, in fact, constitute its centre of gravitation. In Turkey, for example, when the last head had been cut off by an Achmet or an Amurath, which the Janissaries would bear, the sanguinary tyrant him-

self was added to the pile of his victims. Insurrection, in other words, was, and is still, a bridle upon the leviathan of autocracy. And so throughout the feudalism of the middle ages, its ignorance and horrors were alleviated by a system of Secret Tribunals, which often overawed the haughty baron in his fortalice; and paralyzed many a ruthless oppressor, about to crush innocence or helplessness, with heels of iron and a mace of adamant.

Whoever may have read Sir Walter Scott's 'Anne of Geierstein' must remember the thrilling interest which he has imparted to a scene in which the bed of his hero descends at midnight into a vaulted cavern, under the Swiss hostel, where the Black Priest, robed as a judge, and with the dagger and cord, as the apparatus of instant execution, passes over the page, like the phantasma of a magic lantern. That large allowances are to be made for our novelist's poetical imagination on this occasion, almost every one is prepared to admit. Yet there is an instance recorded of such an Assize being held under ground at Heinberg, beneath the house of John Menkin; and where secrecy was so remarkable a characteristic of the entire system, it is but too probable, that there were others. Our intention, however, in the following sketch, is to separate, as much as possible, fact from fiction, and lay before our readers a real picture of the Secret Tribunals of the Middle Ages; more especially those of Westphalia, so fully described by Dr. Berck in his elaborate work on this subject, published more than twenty years ago at Bremen; and which is abridged in the third portion of the volume now before us. The first part of it appears to us little germane to the matter. It affords a succinct account of Hammer's Gerhichte der Assassinen, from which, as well as from M. Jourdain's Extrait de l'Ouvrage de Mirkhond sur la Dynastie des Ismaelites, and Malcolm's History of Persia, the Old Man of the Mountain is represented as the founder of a sect of murderers, no better than the Thugs of India, or the Purrahs of Africa. It is asserted, indeed, that the Assassins held certain mysterious doctrines known only by the initiated: but with much simplicity our compiler observes, that 'secrecy being the very essence of every thing connected with them, what means, it may be asked, had writers generally hostile to them, of learning their internal constitution, and the exact nature of their maxims and tenets? In the present case, our authority for this account of a society flourishing in the tenth and eleventh centuries is Macrisi, a writer of the *fifteenth*! His authorities were *doubtless* of more ancient date—but we know not who they were, or whence they derived their information.' Our mind we confess is far from being satisfied with the doubtlessness expressed in this paragraph; for the absence of proof or testimonial is complete. That Von Hammer has written a vastly entertaining work, and that Doctor Oswald Charles Wood

has translated it into English, is certain; that the whole narrative furnishes an exceedingly curious chapter in the history of human affairs, we also believe; but that the Assassins or Ismaelites were much more to us, except as to mere distance of time, than the Pythagorean Missionaries, the Eleusinian, Orphic, Isiac, or Mithraic mysteries, or the imputed abominations of Gnosticism, has not been so clearly demonstrated. And if this be the case with respect to the Sheikh-al-Jebal of the Crusades; still more plainly is it so with the Knights Templars, who occupy the second division of this volume; and from whom our present Free-masons claim to be descended. They never appear to us to have formed a secret society in any other sense, or for any other purpose, than their brethren of the Hospital, and the Teutonic order; or, to say the least, what fanciful authors have imagined to the contrary, seems never yet to have endured the crucible of criticism. We shall, therefore, chiefly confine ourselves to the *Fehme Gerichte* of Westphalia, those celebrated Secret Tribunals, which affected for ages the framework and spirit of our own European commonwealth, and concerning which, ninety-nine persons out of a hundred derive their ideas from the Romances of the Author of *Waverley*.

Westphalia for several centuries comprised all that lies between the Weser and the Rhine on the east and west, the mountains of Hesse on the south, and the district of Friesland on the north; the last then stretching from Holland to Sleswig. It formed a considerable section of that land where lived and died a generation of pagans, who defied for more than thirty years the sword and sceptre of Charlemagne. When at length he conquered them, he abolished their national dignity of *duke*, and extended throughout the country his Frankish system of counts and counties. His death, however, removed the keystone of that imperial arch of government which he had reared with such constant care, and cemented with so much human blood. The Vends and Northmen came down upon Saxony, and occasioned the revival of its ancient ducal sovereignty in the person of Ludolf the grandfather of Henry the Fowler. Under the emperors of his family, as might have been expected, their native territories were favoured in every possible manner; but for that very reason, the transfer of the German diadem to the house of Franconia pressed the more heavily upon Westphalia and its borders. Law and justice were then swallowed up in the anarchy of the times. The castles of nobles became dens of robbers. Involved in the reverses of Henry the Proud and Henry the Lion (interesting to us as ancestors of our Hanoverian monarchs), Saxony was torn in pieces, and given up to spoilers. Arnold of Lubeck declares that there was then no ruler, for 'every one did that which was right 'in his own eyes.' Now this was exactly the state of things

which could not continue; and hence, amidst the turmoil and uproar of the social chaos, whatever elements of order existed at all, blended together almost of their own accord, and ran like quicksilver into the necessary combinations. Cities and towns rose into consequence under the Othos and Henries of the tenth and eleventh centuries; some through multitudes flocking to them for the sake of securing a refuge from barbarians less civilized than themselves; some from their attachment to abbies, churches, and episcopal residences; and some from their connexions with secular potentates. Bishops and barons had grown into popes and kings within the limits of their peculiar domains; but, as they waxed greater and greater, the emperors fostered the towns as a counterbalance in the machinery of government. Hence sprang up two contending forces—an aristocracy on the one hand, and burghers in guilds on the other. The latter, having once caught the bright idea of the bundle of fagots, stroked their sleek sides with sebaceous complacency; whilst many a stalwart knight—many a starving magnate in mail, too haughty to trade or labour, and fit for nothing but blows, lived like mastiffs in kennels and strongholds, upon the splendid but cruel uncertainties of ravine and plunder. Necessity, ‘the mother of invention,’ thus originated the famous Hanseatic League, of which every large Westphalian community was a member; and from the same source arose the *Fehme-Gerichte*, to secure for *individuals* what the other had obtained for *incorporations*—namely, something like one of the rights of man—Common Justice!

The earliest document, in which any express mention of them occurs, bears date A. D. 1267; when Engelbert, Count of the Mark, frees a certain person from feudal obligations, at a place named Berle, in the presence of the *Fehmenotes*. By these were always understood the initiated in the secrets of the Westphalian tribunals: and from this era, they began to exercise decided influence upon public and private affairs. They regarded the emperor as their head, as the fountain of all judicial power and dominion, and as having a control over their constitution and decisions. The right of inflicting capital punishments was considered to emanate, either mediately or immediately, from him; and as it was obviously essential that he should be *initiated*, the necessary ceremonial followed his coronation at Aix la Chapelle, under the auspices of the hereditary Count of Dortmund. Next to the emperor came his imperial lieutenant, at least from the fourteenth century; and subordinate to him were the Lords, lay and ecclesiastical, of the tribunals, styled the *Stuhlherren*, each possessing a peculiar district, beyond which his authority could not extend. Within those limits, however, the lord had the power of erecting courts, over which he presided in person, or appointed a *Freigraf* or count, as his deputy. When this substitute was

presented for investiture, it was certified upon oath that he was a native Westphalian, of unimpeachable character, and qualified by his abilities for the office. He swore on his part, that he would be just and equitable in his decisions, according to the laws and regulations of the Great Charles, *and the closed tribunal*; that he would obey the emperor and his lieutenants; and that once a year he would give an account of his conduct before a general Chapter. His income arose from fees and fines, besides a fixed allowance in money or in kind from the Stuhlherr, or lord of the seat. His assessors, or assistants, were called the Schöppen, a name equivalent to the Latin Scabini or the French Echevins. They formed the main body and strength of the Society, and derived their nomination from the count, with the approbation of his superior. It was requisite that they should be Germans by birth, born in wedlock of free parents, of the Christian religion, neither excommunicated nor outlawed, nor members of any spiritual order, nor involved in any Fehme-Gerichte process. They were divided into two classes, the Knights and the Respectable: the former paying on admission a mark of gold, and the latter one of silver, to the Freigraf or free-count, as the regulations expressed it, *for the repair of his countly hat*: and as the maxim prevailed universally that every man should be judged by his peers, the Fehme-Tribunals in this respect presented no exception. It must also be remembered, that there were two sorts of these Assizes; one open or public, held thrice in the year, to which every freeman had access; the other private, which constituted the really Secret Tribunal, at which no one who was not initiated, could presume to appear, without suffering instant death. The same Count presided at both. The open court was announced by appropriate messengers fourteen days beforehand; and every householder, whether initiated or otherwise, whether free or servile, was bound to produce himself under the penalty of *four heavy shillings*, and declare on his corporal oath whatever crimes he knew to have been committed in the county.

Previous to their admission into the mysteries of the Society, the Schöppen were denominated ignorant; but after their initiation, they were called the Fehmenotes or Knowing Ones. To be numbered amongst the last, the aspirant had to pass through a very solemn and appalling ceremonial. Bareheaded before his inquisitors, they questioned him respecting his qualifications: and if all proved satisfactory, he knelt down, with the thumb and forefinger of his right hand upon a naked sword and halter, pronouncing after the court the following adjuration:

‘I promise on the holy marriage that I will from henceforth aid, keep, and conceal the holy Fehms from wife and child, from father and mother, from sister and brother, from fire and wind, from all that

the sun shines on and the rain covers, from all that is between sky and ground, especially from the man who knows the law, and will bring before this free tribunal, under which I sit, all that belongs to the secret jurisdiction of the emperor, whether I know it to be true myself, or have heard it from trustworthy people, whatever requires correction or punishment, whatever is fehm-free, (that is, a crime committed in the county), that it may be judged, or with the consent of the accuser, be put off in grace; and will not cease so to do, for love or for fear, for gold or for silver, or for precious stones; and will strengthen this tribunal and jurisdiction with all my five senses and power; and that I do not take on me this office for any other cause than for the sake of right and justice; moreover that I will ever further and honour this free tribunal more than any other free tribunals; and what I thus promise I will stedfastly and firmly keep; so help me God and his Holy Gospel.

‘He was farther obliged to swear that he would ever to the best of his ability, enlarge the holy empire; and that he would undertake nothing with unrighteous hand against the land and people of the Stuhlherr. The Count then inquired of the officers of the court, which were called *Frohboten*, (or sacred messengers,) if the candidate had gone through all the formalities requisite to reception, and when these officers had answered in the affirmative, the Count revealed to the aspirant the secrets of the tribunal, and communicated to him the secret sign by which the initiated knew one another. What this sign was is utterly unknown: some say, that when they met at table, they used to turn the point of their knife to themselves, and the haft away from them. Others take the letters S. S. G. G. which were found in an old manuscript at Herford, to have been the sign, and interpret them *Stock Stein, Gras Grein*. These are however the most arbitrary conjectures, without a shadow of proof. The Count was then bound to enter the name of the new member in his register; and henceforth, he was one of the powerful body of the initiated. Princes and nobles were anxious to have their chancellors and ministers, corporate towns their councillors and magistrates, among the initiated. Many princes sought to be themselves members of this formidable association; and we are assured that in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (which are the only ones of which we have any particular accounts) the numbers of the initiated exceeded 100,000. Their duty was to go through the country to serve citations, and to trace out and denounce evil doers; or if they caught them in the fact, to execute justice upon them. They were also the count’s assessors, when the tribunal sat. For that purpose, seven at least were required to be present, all belonging to the county in which the court was held; those belonging to other counties might attend, but they could not act as assessors: they only formed a part of the bystanders of the court. Of these there were frequently some hundreds present.

‘All the initiated of every degree might go on foot and on horseback through the country, for daring was the man who would presume to injure them, as certain death was his lot. Dreadful punishment also awaited any one of them who should forget his vow and reveal the se-

crets of the Society: he was to be seized, a cloth bound over his eyes, his hands tied behind his back, a halter put about his neck; he was to be thrown upon his belly, his tongue pulled out behind by the nape of his neck, and he was then to be hung seven feet higher than any other felon. It is doubtful, however, whether there ever was a necessity for inflicting this punishment, for Eneas Sylvius, who wrote at the time when the Society had degenerated, assures us, that no member had ever been induced by any motives whatever, to betray its secrets; and he describes the initiated as grave men and lovers of right and justice. Similar language is employed by other writers of the time concerning them.

‘ Besides the Count and the assessors, there were required for the due holding of a Fehm-court, the beforenamed officers named *Frohnboten*, the messengers or serjeants, and a clerk to enter the decisions in what was called the blood-book. These were of course initiated, or they could not have been present. It was required that the messengers should be freemen belonging to the county, and have all the qualifications of the simple *Schöppen*. Their duty was to attend the court when sitting, and to take care that the ignorant, against whom there was any charge, were duly cited.’ pp. 349—351.

It has suited the purposes of Romance, to describe the Fehme-Gerichte as generally held in subterranean chambers, or amidst the gloom of impenetrable forests: and that something of the sort might now and then occur, we have already intimated an opinion. But the fact was, that all the judicial institutions of the middle ages were invested with a certain amount both of mystery and simplicity. Lawyers and judges came to be looked upon as very like conjurors, while knowledge was getting daily scarcer, and one of the characteristics of the human mind was an exceedingly large swallow. How otherwise could such mummeries have been tolerated, as we know to have every where prevailed?—and with regard to the simplicity of the affair, it was neither more nor less, as we have just said, than another feature of the times. Joinville assures us in his pages, (unparalleled for interest by any novel or drama ever penned,) that he had often seen Saint Louis, as king of France, receiving appeals, under the shade of an oak in the wood of Vincennes, when all who had complaints freely approached him. At other times he gave orders to spread a carpet in a garden, and seating himself upon it, he would then hear the causes brought before him.* Hence the favourite places for holding the Fehme-courts were in suitable analogy with contemporary circumstances. They often met in the open air, under the blue canopy of heaven, like their progenitors of old, in the neighbourhood of trees, which even imposed their own names upon the pro-

* Hist. de St. Louis, p. 13. 4to. edit. 1761

ceedings themselves; so that we hear of the tribunal at Arensburg in the Orchard; of another under the Hawthorn; of others under the Elder, the Pear-tree, the Linden, the Broad Oak, and so on. Superstition, not to say religion, threw solemn associations upon such transactions, from the earliest periods, as is well known: and we seem reminded of Deborah under her Palm, and Saul beneath his Pomegranate at Migron: as well as of the Druids in Britain, and the description of Tacitus as to the ancestors of these very Saxons in Germany.* The historian tells us with what discernment they treated criminals in those days: *Distinctio pœnarum ex delicto, proditores et transfugas arboribus suspendunt*; nor were the Fehmnotes much unlike them in the mode and promptitude of their capital executions. If the criminal were present at his condemnation, he was instantly seized and hanged by the youngest of the Schöppen upon the nearest tree. His quality moreover was particularly attended to; for if initiated, he was, as we have seen, suspended seven feet higher from the ground, than a common person. Hence the convenience of not being under a roof was manifest: although we find instances of the Westphalian tribunals assembling in the town house of Paderborn, in the castle of Wulften; and now and then in churchyards, and market-places. The notion of their being held at night has no satisfactory foundation to rest upon. It would rather appear that day-break was the usual hour. We may further observe that Jews, heathen, women, children, clergy of the tonsure, and according to some accounts the very highest of the nobility, were exempted from Fehme jurisdiction. The reason assigned for the last is, that it would have been impossible to find a sufficient number of peers to sit in judgment upon the culprit. The authenticity of the exemption however is not free from the strongest suspicion: and as to the clergy, any of them might voluntarily subject themselves, if desirous of participating in the advantages of initiation.

In their original constitution, the Secret Tribunals limited their cognizance to criminal matters, renouncing all interference with those which were purely civil. Yet the category of what they designated offences was ample and expansive. It comprehended every 'transgression against the Christian faith, the holy gospel, the ten commandments, the public peace, and private honour!' Sacrilege, robbery, rape, murder, apostacy, treason, perjury, coining, are all enumerated: nor was any exception regarded in cases of contumacy, or of persons caught in *flagrante delicto*. When an individual, duly cited, neither appeared nor answered, the process of outlawry issued against him, even in a civil cause; and his offence became *Fehmbar*; the entire forces of the Society ga-

* Germ. cap. xii. Judges iv. 5. 1 Sam. xiv. 2.

thered over his devoted head, and escapé was scarcely possible. Yet pleas of unavoidable non-appearance could be urged even in arrest of this judgment; such as previous imprisonment, sickness, pilgrimage, public employment, inability to cross a river through want of a bridge or boat, or on account of a storm, the loss of his horse when on the road to the court, or 'absence from the country on knightly, mercantile, or honest occasions;' or lastly, the service of his lord paramount. When an affair came before a Fehm-court, the first point determined was, whether or not it was within the jurisdiction; and if it proved so, the accused was summoned to answer the charge before the Open or Public Court. Should he fail to appear there, or on his appearance fail to clear himself, the affair was then transferred to the Secret Tribunal. There were three modes of procedure,—namely that of being taken in the fact; that of the inquisitorial; and thirdly, that of the purely accusatorial process. The requisites of the first were the being apprehended in the act of committing the crime; or of running away after the commission; or holding some weapon in the hand in cases of murder; or having the stolen articles in possession in cases of theft; or the wound in the body of the slain suiting the instrument which struck the blow; or oral confession as to larcenies. It was necessary, however, that a man should be captured immediately; and that there should be at least three initiated persons present to seize, try, and execute him. If he escaped, or was himself not one of the initiated, the inquisitorial process issued upon the ground of common fame. He was then not cited to appear, nor ever vouchsafed an audience. The denunciation of his accusers alone underwent investigation before the secret court; and supposing that to be deemed sufficient, in the opinion of his judges, he was outlawed or *forfehmed* forthwith, and his name inscribed in the book of blood. Alas for the unhappy wretch thus beneath the ban of justice. The curse of Cain was literally his lot; apart, too, from the personal prerogative possessed by the primeval homicide. He became a fugitive and a vagabond upon the earth; without a city of refuge; with the arm of vengeance at his heels; and the certainty that every one finding him would slay him. Not only had he, like Damocles, a death suspended over his head at dinner,—but it pursued him wherever he might move, on the wings of the wind;—it haunted him as his shadow, at noonday;—it dogged him amidst the dreams of agitated slumber;—it glared from the ambush of the thicket, or in the house of his friend. Kinship constituted no cover, nor a fortress any protection. The knife was at his throat in the secrecy of his chamber, or a halter awaited him in the forest. This fatal noose was a *withy*, agreeable to the usage of the middle ages; and so expert were the Schöppen in their business, that the word *fehmen* began at last to signify *hanging*, as execution now often does in English.

Whenever resistance occurred, the captor of a malefactor could summon others to his assistance, who knocked the culprit on the head, bound his body to a tree, and stuck their knives beside it; to intimate that he had not been slain by footpads, but dispatched in due course of justice, under orders from the Emperor. Fearful as such measures must appear, our compiler properly observes, that violent evils required violent remedies, when the disorganized state of Europe in general, and of Germany in particular, almost exceeded conception. He further adds "that it was only when crimes were of great magnitude, and the voice of fame loud and constant, that the *inquisitorial* process could be adopted. In cases of a minor nature, the accused had a right to be heard in his own behalf. Here then it had its limit: for if report was not sufficiently strong and overpowering, and the matter was still dubious, 'the offender was to be proceeded against *accusatorially*. If he 'was one of the initiated, such was his undoubted right and privilege in all cases.' p. 359.

This brings us therefore to the third process, which commenced with a summons written on parchment, without erasures, and sealed with the seven seals of a Count and his six assessors. It was served by two Schöppen, and contained the names of the count, the accuser and the accused, the charge and the place where the court was to be holden. If no appearance took place to this primary summons within six weeks and three days, another issued, served by four of the Schöppen, after which a second interval of six weeks only was allowed to elapse; and it was requisite that a piece of imperial coin should be given with it. Should there still be no appearance, the last summons was served by six Schöppen and a count, and the term set was similar to the first, namely, six weeks and three days. In cases where the accused happened to be a man of rank, the first writ was served by seven Schöppen; the second by fourteen and four counts; the third, by twenty-one and six counts. No uninitiated person shared in these indulgences of delay. A single summons sufficed, served by one messenger on themselves, or left at their residence. Towns, and even whole communities, sometimes received a notice from the Fehme-courts, addressed to all the male inhabitants, who felt thereupon obliged to send a deputation of their most honourable members, and render strict account as to the matters alleged against them. The free companies moreover, and other military banditti, with which every portion of the mediæval period swarmed, were brought under the influence of these Secret Tribunals, in a manner eminently characteristic. Supposing one or more of them charged with some heinous atrocity, four summonses were posted up at a cross road facing the four cardinal points, with a piece of money placed against each, five-and-forty days before the court was to sit; and this was considered valid service. The boldest

brigand of the mountains, galloping off with his spoil, would recognize the symbols and tremble; though unable to read the characters. So also in instances of anticipated resistance, the summons might be affixed to the gate of a city or castle, to the door of the accused, or even to the nearest almshouse. The Schöppen employed would then desire a watchman, or any chance passenger, to mention the circumstance; and they cut off a chip from the portal to carry back with them as a proof of service.

Like the German courts in general, the Fehme Tribunals met on a Tuesday, called for this reason in their language *Dienstag*, or probably *Dinstag*,—that is the court-day. Non-appearance to the first summons incurred a fine of thirty shillings; to the second sixty; but to the third, unless the accused presented himself, there followed the dreadful sentence of *Fehmbar*. The court however might, in its mercy, suspend judgment for yet another term of six weeks and three days,—styled the Kings-dag, or the Emperor Charles's day of grace. Even the fines were sometimes remitted upon the plea of abject poverty; of which oath was to be made on the edge of the naked sword, and 'the death which God endured on the cross.' Solemn and strict examination then ensued to ascertain that none but the initiated were present. Should an intruder be discovered, his hands and feet were tied together without the smallest ceremony, and the nearest ornament of the forest formed his ready gallows. The ordinary proceedings then commenced by a series of formal questions put from the Count, as to whether the session were a lawful one, how many assessors there ought to be upon the tribunal, and how the seat should be filled. These preliminaries having been settled, a proclamation opened the trial, to which each party might bring thirty unarmed witnesses or compurgators. They might also be represented by an attorney, and supported by a suitable advocate: yet what ensued seems little else to us than a tragedy or comedy, as circumstances might turn out. The accused, if initiated, could clear himself from the charge, by an adjuration of his perfect innocence; except when the complainant barred his doing so, by offering, beside his own oath, that of six others swearing to the truth of his allegations. Yet here again every thing might turn upon brazen perjury; for the accused had it in his power to outweigh this last testimony, by bringing forward counter-compurgators,—not less than thirteen, nor more than twenty. The latter number finally acquitted him; but the former left it open once more to the accuser to substantiate his accusation, with the vouchers of twenty friends. In later times however, sense and reason at length superseded folly; and facts were determined by oral, written, or circumstantial evidence. Sentence followed hard upon conviction, after encountering the severe scrutiny of the assessors. What the penalties were for

minor offences is not known. A capital punishment was inflicted in the manner already mentioned: and should the accused be absent, he was declared an outlaw from peace, right, life, society, church, and privilege. His body was condemned to death, and his soul commended to God: his wife was held a widow and his children orphans; the ravens were to devour his neck; and beasts, birds, or fishes, the remainder of his carcass. The judge flung the halter over his head out of the sacred enclosure; the Schöppen spat on it; and a copy of the sentence, sealed with seven seals, was given to the prosecutor. In a year and a day after the outlawry, all the property of the criminal escheated to his sovereign: and even a prince or borough, *forfehmed*, lost every thing he or it might before-hand have possessed.

Yet it must never be forgotten, that when witnesses glaringly disagreed in their evidence among themselves, or when the assessors could not agree in their verdict, or if agreeing, when they returned one which was palpably atrocious, an appeal might be demanded; provided that were done before the court broke up. The parties retired for a few minutes on publication of the sentence, for the purpose of consulting with their friends. If they did not then say that they would appeal, the sentence became absolute; but if the contrary was the case, bail had to be given on both sides. Should either party be unable to offer proper security from destitution, or other reasonable causes, his mere oath could be received as sufficient, under the sanction of the tribunal, in order

‘That the poor man should seek his right in the holy Roman Empire as well as the rich man; nor should a stranger be worse off than a native. The appeal lay to the general chapter of the *secret closed tribunal of the Imperial chamber*, which usually, if not constantly, sat at Dortmund; or it lay to the emperor, or king [of the Romans] as the supreme head of these tribunals. In case of the monarch being initiated, he could examine into the cause himself; otherwise he was obliged to commit the inquiry to such of his councillors as were initiated, or to initiated commissioners, and that only on Westphalian soil. Of these species of appeal there are numerous instances. Finally, the appeal might be made to the imperial Lieutenant, who then inquired into the matter himself, with the aid of some initiated Schöppen, or brought it before the general chapter of which he was president. There was no appeal to the emperor from his sentence, or from that of the chapter.

‘There were, besides the right of appeal, other means of averting the execution of the sentence of a Fehme-court. Such was what was called *replacing in the former state*, of which however it was only the initiated who could avail himself. Sentence having been passed on a person who had not appeared, he might voluntarily and personally repair to where the secret tribunal was sitting, and sue for this favour. He was to appear before the court which had passed the sentence, accompanied by two free-Schöppen, with a halter about his neck, with

white gloves on him, and his hands folded, with an imperial coin, and a green cross in them. He and his companions were then to fall down on their knees, and pray for him to be placed in the same condition he was in before the proceedings commenced against him. There was also what was called the complaint of nullity, in case the prescribed form of the proceedings had been violated.'—pp. 370, 371.

We have only farther to remark that the General Chapter was an assembly of the tribunal-lords or Stuhlherren, Counts, and Schöppen, summoned once a year by the emperor or his lieutenant. Its business was to inquire into the conduct and procedures of the different Fehme-courts; to investigate all accounts, and inspect the lists of those who had been initiated; to receive appeals, and depose from their situations of profit or honour, whatever officers might be found to have neglected their duties. Here it was that all regulations and reforms, as well as all abuses, had their origin. It has been observed that they seem to have attracted less general attention than before, throughout Germany, under Lewis the Bavarian, Charles the Fourth, and Wenceslaus; although the last had Count Henry of Wernengerode tried and hanged for treason, by his faithful Schöppen in the year 1389. But it was subsequent to the establishment of the Archbishop of Cologne as imperial lieutenant *ex officio* over all Westphalian tribunals, and their Reformation under Rupert at the commencement of the fifteenth century, that they reached their zenith, and pervaded the entire empire. In some instances they even extended beyond it; but from the same epoch, paradoxical as the assertion may appear, their tendencies toward declension may be dated. Prosperity brought pride, and pride corruption in her train. Citations were indeed served, and punishments imposed upon individuals, and even as before, upon refractory cities, such as Bremen, Lubeck, Augsburg, Nuremberg, Erfurt, Gorlitz, Breslau, and Dantzic; or upon whole countries, such as Prussia and Livonia;—yet another and more enlightened age was at hand, calling for better institutions. The mischief inseparable from a system, wrapped by its very nature in mystery, grew daily more rampant and intolerable. In the lapse of years, all jurisdiction of the sort became an evil rather than a benefit to mankind. It is affirmed by a writer, under the emperor Sigismund, 'that those had gotten 'authority to hang men, who were themselves not respectable 'enough to keep pigs;' their own carcasses being due to the gibbets, which their injustice too often erected. The saying passed into common parlance, that the course of a Fehme-court was first to execute an accused person, and then investigate his cause! In a solemn recess of the Germanic Diet at Triers in 1512, it was declared that the Westphalian tribunals had cost many an honest man 'his honour, body, life, and property:' whilst a capitulary of the grand Lieutenant himself at Cologne, in the same

year, asserts that 'by multitudes they were shunned as neither 'more nor less than so many seminaries of villains!' Their formal abolition, however, soon ceased to be necessary. The Perpetual Peace and Imperial Chamber of Maximilian, the grandfather of Charles the fifth, gradually discouraged, and at length obliterated them. They slowly disappear amidst the obscure exemptions and privileges acquired by successive generations; or if still retaining some nominal existence in the kingdom of Hanover, they remind us of the Rhine at Catwyck, dwindled into an auxiliary canal, and only thus connecting the phenomena of the middle ages with the expansiveness of modern times.

We confess ourselves at a loss to account for the fact, that so curious a social combination, as the Fehme-Gerichte, should have escaped the notice of such historians as Doctor Robertson and Mr. Hallam. It is the more extraordinary with regard to the latter, since besides the German work of Doctor Berck, Archdeacon Coxe published a treatise on the subject; which is however no longer, we believe, in print; or at least it has never been in our power to obtain a copy of it. The results, produced by these secret tribunals, were neither few nor inconsiderable. They insinuated themselves into the texture of society, and advanced upon the whole its progress in civilization. To demonstrate after what manner, and in what particulars this occurred, requires a proportionate elevation of observance; which might be usefully taken advantage of, by many a modern philosopher, to widen his intellectual range over the vast field of history. The truth is, that had it not been for them, Feudalism with its polymorphous and hydra-headed aristocracy, would have trampled out the very existence of justice, as to its administration between the weak and the strong. Every count and baron would have swollen into 'monarch of all he surveyed,' in his own eyes. Rapacity, prowling for its prey, must always have clothed itself in cruelty. No Naboth could have been long without an Ahab; nor an Ahab without a Jezebel. Resistance against invasion of right would thus have become monopolized by the masters of moated walls and rude retainers. Even as things were, the best portions of Europe, for a long period, bristled with fortified abodes, beyond whose precincts, security alone subsisted, by crouching under the protection of superstition. That social framework, intended by the divine Creator and Father of all, to be at once homogeneous and beautiful, seemed fast breaking into fragments, which either mouldered or consumed away through their insulated insignificance; or ground each other to powder in the processes of their perpetual collision. Melancholy as it may be to glance at the brutalism and barbarity of these times, the retrospect seems relieved, when we contemplate the far deeper abysses into which our species might have plunged for ever, had it not been for certain compensatory principles already alluded to.

It had become essential that these should be displayed and vindicated: but how was it to be done, when Force was lord of the ascendant, and monks had the key of knowledge? As in creation, however, the light sprang up from darkness. Ignorance proved a nursing mother to mystery; and no sooner had it grown out of its gristle, than she presented it with an enchanter's wand. Knights and nobles professed themselves giants and heroes within the circumscribed sphere of their five senses; while their practice was that of being ogres to all the rest of mankind. But when justice whispered to them, like a wizard from the wall, or 'a familiar spirit out of the dust,' the hearts of the most boastful quivered and quailed. Not children of the last generation, in a churchyard after nightfall, felt a tittle of their apprehensions. The proudest baron would turn pale at the mention of a Felme-Tribunal, even with the wine at his lips, and his hand upon his sword. The mere naked name brought up a spectre before his mind of something that made the blood run cold,—a power known and yet unknown,—the waving of a witly or the glimmering of steel,—balances trembling in the air,—the scorpions of an accusing conscience,—the apparition of implacable Retribution! By thus appealing to the voice of an influence strangely indefinite; and by shrouding under a veil of secrecy that common sense, which Guizot calls the genius of humanity, some check existed upon the despotism of oligarchy; and provision was made for the preservation of at least one of the virtues. Never was the *Omne ignotum pro magifico* more happily illustrated. The pillars of equity rested upon a basis of fear;—an unenviable state of affairs indeed; but one which Lord Stanley and the conservatives of the present day would rejoice to see realized in Ireland.

Nor did this constitute the sum total of the benefits produced in certain stages of their existence, by the Westphalian and similar courts. Identical with a love of justice is an attachment to order; an obedience to the regulations and customs of what we call our country; a preference of pacific rather than violent measures; that partial sacrifice to the general welfare, which is the price paid for the advantages of society. Among the characteristics of Feudalism itself, some may be ready to affirm that subordination was prominent; which in a certain sense may be admitted: but this subordination, it must be remembered, was a mere scale of external rank identified with prerogatives for oppression. The lord of a manor, for instance, fleeced his villains, after the most approved methods of robbery according to the statute; while the baron, from whom he held, was only another robber of larger dimensions. The next above him might seem perhaps a perfect monster of iniquity; yet it would often be so in appearance simply; and from his altitude happening to be higher in the sublime and beautiful of Chivalry. Useful then, in the way of tem-

porary expedient, as the feudal system undoubtedly was for defensive purposes, confusion and anarchy were its certain offspring, when no enemy thundered at the gates, or devastated the land. It was like Milton's Sin in Paradise lost :

About whose middle round,
 A cry of hell-hounds never ceasing, barked
 With wide Cerberean mouths full loud, and rung
 A hideous peal ; yet when they list, would creep,
 If aught disturb'd their noise, into her womb,
 And kennel there, yet there still bark'd and howl'd
 Within unseen'—Book ii. ver. 654.

To escape from such anarchy, many a fugitive fled to the altars of religion, until passing storms blew over ; whilst others not un seldom immured themselves in monasteries for life. But neither the cloister nor the cell, whatever they might afford as shelters, could do any thing to allay the tempest itself. Secret societies, on the other hand, could and did perform something. Apart from the mere administration of justice, or its contrast, the tendencies towards a dissolution of the social fabric were stemmed and turned back. Magnates the most ruthless and mighty found a limit to their misrule ; a point where resistance was strong, and further on, where it was overpowering. They might be willing worshippers of mammon and licentiousness, but there was something like the presence of a death's head amidst all their orgies ; the more awfully dreaded, from the circumstance of its not being visible to vulgar eyes, as at an Egyptian banquet. The seeds at least therefore of peace and order were not utterly destroyed. They thus survived the deluge of the dark ages, and developed the efficiency of combinations.

The Fehme Courts also favoured the study of law in general, and prepared for that of the Civil Law in particular. Symbols and hieroglyphics, the immemorial characteristics of this science, here found a congenial asylum. Some sort of secrecy and mystery had constituted its vitality from very early times. The want of letters was thus imperfectly supplied, as Gibbon long ago remarked ; and the vestiges of conjuration, which we now stigmatize with propriety as juggles, were essential to an age, whose eye-sight was no stronger than that of moles and bats. Hence jurisprudence was at one period a kind of parabolic pantomime : gestures were adapted to words, and words to gestures ; and the slightest error or neglect in the forms of procedure annulled the substance of the fairest claim. The marriage-life was described under emblems of fire and water ; the resignation of a bunch of keys denoted a divorce ; works were prohibited by the casting of a stone ; the manumission of a son or slave was effected by a blow on the cheek ; the clenched fist betokened a pledge or deposit ; or

an open-hand faith and confidence. In civil actions, the plaintiff touched the ear of his witness, and seized his adversary by the neck, imploring the aid of his fellow-citizens. Two competitors would grasp each other as if prepared for combat before the Prætor; and a clod of earth was thrown at his feet to represent the property for which they contended. 'This occult science was the inheritance,' says the historian of the Decline and Fall,* 'of pontiffs and patricians;' but it is not true, what he subsequently asserts, that 'the same antiquity which sanctified the practice, obliterated the use and meaning of such primitive language.' The real fact is, that it merely changed masters, and what the higher classes at Rome practised for their own profit in open day, was copied, *mutatis mutandis*, and allowing for the substitution of Christianity in the place of paganism, at a later period, into the more plebeian combinations of the Fehme Gerichte. Every ornament and officer of the court,—every article of their dress and costume,—every motion of the head or hand,—their being with weapons or without them, conveyed a mystic meaning to the initiated:

'When a Fehme court sat the count presided; before him lay on the table a naked sword and a withy-halter; the former, says the law, signifying the cross on which Christ suffered, and the rigour of the court; the latter denoting the punishment of evil-doers, whereby the wrath of God is appeased. On the right and left stood the clerks of the court, the assessors, and the audience. All were bareheaded, to signify, says the law, that they would proceed openly and fairly, punish men only for the crimes which they had committed, and *cover no right with unright*. They were also to have their hands uncovered, to signify that they would do nothing covertly and underhand. They were to have short cloaks on their shoulders, signifiatory of the warm love which they should have for justice; *for as the cloak covers the other clothes and the body, so should their love cover justice*. They were to wear neither weapons nor harness, that no one might feel any fear of them, and to indicate that they were under the peace of the emperor, king, or empire. Finally they were to be free from wrath, and sober, that drunkenness might not lead them to pass unrighteous judgment, for drunkenness causes much wickedness.'—p. 364.

And so the attorney of a prince of the empire appeared with a green cross in his right hand, and a golden penny of the empire in his left. He was also to have a glove on his right hand. If there were two attorneys, they were both to bear crosses and pence. The representative of a simple prince bore a silver penny; and here follows the reason, in what may be termed the mysticism of Westphalian law. It says, that 'by the cross they intimate that

* Chap. xlv. vol. v. p. 328.

‘the prince represented will, in case of his being found guilty, amend his conduct according to the direction of the faith, which Jesus Christ preached, and be constant, true, and obedient to the Holy Roman empire and justice.’

But although superstition often moulded and coloured these Secret Tribunals, as well as the more open jurisprudence of the middle ages, the former resisted its influence in one remarkable respect. *They rejected the trial by ordeal!*—no trifling testimony, we think, to their value and character. Who can say that the gem of truth and common sense, as to judicial procedure, might not otherwise have remained much longer under an eclipse than it did throughout the Teutonic Circles? Violent or even unrighteous as the Fehme Gerichte, no doubt occasionally were, they appear like Solomon on his ivory throne, when compared with the hot bars of iron, the scalding water, the molten lead, or the preposterous combat, which disgraced every kingdom of Europe. A silent protest was thus made throughout numerous and influential classes of society, (especially after the abolition of compurgators) on behalf of a better system; and it contributed in a greater or less degree, beyond all question, to substitute examination by evidence in the place of an appeal to heaven. Royal power, about the same period, began to blend its interests with those of the middle classes; and under their united protection, forensic forms and practice grew more consonant with reason. Mankind soon perceived the advantage of this. They got increasingly alive to the grand principles on which judges ought to regulate their decisions. The new study moreover, having derived importance from the discovery of the Pandects, was still further favoured in the north of Europe by the sound and practical character at that time of the Westphalian judicatories, as well as by the freedom then beginning to dawn amidst the more universal diffusion of municipal institutions. Thus each of these circumstances promoted and accelerated the amount and progress of human enjoyment. The anomalies of local customs gave way before a more regular system. Hence arose fresh distinctions between different professions, improvement of talents, regard for mental accomplishments, and general amelioration of affairs. New roads seemed opening to wealth and eminence. The arts and sciences culminated towards their proper position, and received something like their due rewards: nor while we avoid giving greater weight than it may deserve to any single cause in producing these beneficial consequences, should we omit the meed of acknowledgment, whenever it may be equitably claimed.

And above all, let us be grateful to Providence that the period in which Secret Societies could be of the slightest service, has for ever passed away. It has been well observed that the facilities they afford, and the temptations they present for the pursuit of

illegal objects, are so great, as to justify all governments in suppressing them. No pretence, we sincerely believe, can now be found, even to palliate, much less justify, their introduction amongst ourselves. Liberal as are the political views of this journal, there is no protest which we should consider too strong against such an evil. During the dark ages when might prevailed over right, and the creed of an aristocracy 'sheathed in steel,' was in effect to worship their own swords, it seemed necessary that the Nemesis of Equity should clothe herself in a cloud, that she might sometimes strike, and always overawe. Through the mercy of God to mankind, another era has arrived. Let us therefore be the children of light, and of the day; and not of night, nor of darkness. Those who projected and those who supported the famous, or rather infamous Orange Lodges of Great Britain and Ireland, will go down to posterity, as the Protestant assassins of the nineteenth century; a combination of evil workers abjuring sunshine; *protestants* against the diffusion of liberty and knowledge, — *assassins* of the religion of love! All the blood which has flowed at Rathcormac and a score of other places; — all the amount of hatred which now constitutes a canopy of sulphur and electricity over our sister island, will be laid at their door. They have sown a seed of serpents' teeth, which at no distant season may spring up into the elements and machinery of a sanguinary civil war. They have exorcised from a Geheima of conflicting passions, that dread Aleeto, the Irish association, which, except at the present moment, when it just holds itself in temporary abeyance,

De culmine summo

Pastorale canit signum, cornuque recurvo
Tartaream intendit vocem; quâ protenus omne
Contremnit nemus, et silvæ intonare profundæ!

Allowing, as candour perhaps compels us to do, for a few individual exceptions of thoughtless enrolment under banners so sable and fearful as not to endure being unfurled in daylight, the vast majority of Orangemen (and it is of them we are writing) knew well what they were about, and have therefore richly earned that storm of execration, which will howl in their ears to the end of time. Let no reformers imitate their grievous example; for though something might have been once effected, as we have seen, by such associations, a similar mode of procedure *in rerum naturâ*, might be equally efficacious for the overthrow of a good government.

‘Bad men are as likely to combine in the dark for their objects, as good men are for theirs. In any circumstances, a secret association is an *imperium in imperio*, a power separate from, and independent of, that which is recognized as the supreme power in the state, and there-

fore something essentially disorganizing, and which it is contrary to the first principles of all government for any state to tolerate. In the case of a bad government indeed, all means are fairly available for its overthrow, which are not morally objectionable; the simple rule for their application being, that it shall be directed by considerations of prudence and discretion. In such a case, a secret association of the friends of reform may sometimes be found to supply the most effective means for accomplishing the desired end; but that end, however desirable it may be, is not one which the constitution of the state itself can rationally contemplate. The constitution cannot be founded upon the supposition that even necessary alterations of it are to be brought about through agencies out of itself, and forming no part of its regular mechanism. Whenever such agencies are successfully brought into operation, there is a revolution, and the constitution is at an end. Even the amendment of the constitution so effected is its destruction.' —pp. 4, 5.

Fortunately the case of bad government, here supposed, has been placed by the Reform Bill beyond the limits of probability in our country. We cordially recommend this volume, which is published as part of the Library of Entertaining Knowledge, to the favour and perusal of our readers.

Art. III. *A History of British Fishes.* By WILLIAM YARRELL, F. L. S. Illustrated by nearly four hundred Wood Cuts. In 2 vols. 3vo. London. 1836.

The pious intention of the late Earl of Bridgewater has, we think, been fulfilled; though not by the wisest possible disposal of his bequest. It brought to bear against the impugners of natural religion, the great principle of tactics which Napoleon employed so successfully in warfare, that of concentration of force on one point of attack: and the discomfiture of the foe has been too complete to allow of his taking the field again. This might have been done so that none but the speculative and studious should have been aware of the result. But the circumstances which gave rise to this combined effort, and the reputation of those who were selected to achieve the task, gave to it a notoriety beyond the cloister and the study. The whole intellect of the empire, may we not say that of the civilized world, was engaged to survey the conflict and attest the victory. All the known sciences, in their most competent professors, have contributed to establish the truths on which religion is based; and the mutual light which they cast on each other has been concentrated to illustrate this high argument. It is not too much to expect that the question is set at rest for ever: that the popular mind has been so determined by this signal discussion that just views of its

subject will pervade its whole thought and discourse, taking rank among the salutary prejudices of education, and becoming a part of the birth-right of every Englishman. Henceforward it will not be possible for any who pretend to education or power of reflection, to write, speak, or even to think of the results of creative power without recognizing its existence and the wonderful benevolence and wisdom which control its operations. The a posteriori argument for the being and attributes of God has superseded all other proofs: and we are willing that this should be so, because it is of equal force upon all orders of mind from the highest to the lowest.

Is there then to be no pause in the inculcation of these truths? May it not suffice that eleven thick volumes have been written with this purpose? May we not hope that the Bridgewater Treatises have taught us to preach to ourselves? If they have not, they have not fulfilled their mission. The hen who scratches up the grain for her brood, not only feeds them, but better still, she teaches them to provide for themselves. It would matter little to the chickens whether their parent's care or their own ingenuity found them the means of support. But the case is very different with the moral aliment to be extracted from the contemplation of the works of nature. Here, one spontaneous, unsuggested inference of those divine attributes which address themselves to our feelings of wonder and gratitude, is worth much more in permanent effect on the individual who makes it, than whole pages spent in the elaborate and declared attempt to impress the lesson on his heart. The grain he scratches up for himself, nourishes him more than all he is called to swallow by the ceaseless *cluck cluck* of the solicitous authors of our now almost sufficiently abundant works on Natural Theology.

Let us not be misunderstood. There cannot be too wide an investigation of the works of God: the more extensive this is, the more will the harmony of design be perceived between these operations of his hand which are apparently the most diverse and disconnected—the more will He be felt to be wonderful in counsel and excellent in working. But there may be in the religious mode of treating the subject, that which dulls the edge of the truths which all such studies have we acknowledge their highest use in impressing. They cannot be denied, as we have said, by any sane mind, but they may be received with mere languid acquiescence, which is no better than denial for any effect it produces on the heart. Let the things which were to be proved, be taken as proved. The evidence is certainly cumulative, and will be until the finite can comprehend the works of the Infinite; but the argument need not be treated as if it were still incomplete. May we not regard the being of God, his benevolence, power, and wisdom, as axioms in all our speculations on the works of

creation—among the number of *first truths*, without which the mind is defective, and the reason without fulcra—the always understood, though seldom expressed convictions which should accompany all the operations of our minds to which they have any relation—a part of the common sense of educated mankind. What would become of us were it necessary to introduce in our communications all that a sane mind takes for granted? We are sure that any one professing his disbelief of the truths taught by Natural Theology, should meet with as little quarter from our ridicule or our pity as he may expect who doubts the plainest intuitions of our intellectual constitution.

We have appeared to draw a parallel between those truths now recognized as *intuitions*, instinctively believed and preceding all reasoning, and these which come under the province of Natural Theology. We think there is a close similarity. The proof of a designer and of his character, follows from one of the most important of those intuitions; the belief, that similar effects have been produced by similar causes. We perceive in our own works and those of our fellow creatures, the invariable connexion between *adaptation* to an end and *intelligence*, and we necessarily conclude that, in the infinitely more sublime works of nature, being infused with similar characters of design there is also a presiding intelligence. Before this is arrived at there is a process of reasoning certainly, but in how few cases do we apply this principle, as a premise in any process of reasoning of which we are *conscious*. Let but *man* find us the occasions, and the inference is made with a promptness and certainty which earns for it the title of an instinctive conclusion, as the principle which enables us to arrive at it, is an instinctive belief. As these points of *belief* are *irresistible*, *universal*, and *immediate*, so these *conclusions* would be, were it not for a moral indisposition in man to receive and entertain them. They have moral bearings, and thus come under the influence of the will—they involve duties and bring God too much into our thoughts to gratify its prevailing bias—they lead to what is unwelcome, and we therefore turn from contemplations which appear likely to become practical. This is the view taken by St. Paul in his epistle to the Romans, ‘for the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead; so that they are without excuse; because that when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful.’

It is only because the Bridgewater Treatises embrace a wider range of phenomena, and are thus enabled to support the truths of natural religion by evidence more imposing from its novelty, and the remoteness of the sources from which it is drawn, that they are to be preferred to any *popular* exposition of the sciences

and their mutual connexion. A professed atheist might have written them with the same moral effect, if he had indicated the same facts, and illustrated them with equal felicity.

In his beautiful Monograph on British Fishes, Mr. Yarrell has given his readers the opportunity of constructing a Bridgewater Treatise for themselves; though he makes no other reference to the wisdom and benevolent Providence displayed in the structure and economy of the inhabitants of our waters than would naturally fall from the pen of an intelligent and well-disposed man, where his subject seemed to require it. Yet they cannot fail to be suggested in every page where organization is connected with its use, or the coincidence between a blind instinct in the creature and the supply of human wants is noted: and, if our former remarks be agreeable to truth, suggested with a force of impression superior to that obtained by direct inculcation.

There are many reasons why the natural history of fishes should be less interesting to the general reader than that of almost any other class of animated beings. The inhabitants of the land and the air, whether quadruped or biped, birds or insects, manifest so much that engages attention by provoking comparison with ourselves. We can observe them in their modes of intercommunication, in the exercise of their instincts and affections, and detect, in one species or another, the rudiments of all which we possess in common with them.* Even our boasted prerogative of reason (in the popular sense) may find itself more than adumbrated in some of the lowest species of the animal creation. We refer to instances where unforeseen contingencies are met by expedients which we ourselves could not improve upon. The humble-bees recorded by Huber who *shored* up the tottering mass which inclosed their progeny, by stretching themselves with their heads downwards over its edge, and fixing their forefeet on the table—relieving each other in this painful duty for three days, until they had prepared sufficient wax to build pillars that kept it in a firm position, provided for a case ‘which probably never occurred to the nests of ten humble-bees since the ‘creation.’† The elephant, who having killed his governor, and on the man’s wife, in a moment of frenzied grief, flinging him her child to destroy as he had done his father, adopted it with

* It is customary on the part of those who oppose these claims of the animal creation, to appeal to such facts as that of a plant growing in an opaque box, turning itself towards the aperture which admits the light, whatever contortion may be necessary. If such instances had any force in the argument, we must either ascribe consciousness to the plant or deny it to animals; either would be going too far surely. It is of course on the presumption of consciousness that the views implied in the text, depend.

† Kirby and Spices’ Entomology.

evident marks of relenting, (never afterwards allowing any one but his protégée to mount him,) manifested, what it would be in the highest degree credulous to believe a blind instinct.

'A partridge,' says Mr. White, 'came out of a ditch, and ran shivering with her wings and crying as if wounded and unable to get from us. While the dam feigned this distress, a boy who attended me saw the brood, which was small and unable to fly, run for shelter to a fox's hole under the bank.' The hooded crow carries the shell which contains his prey up into the air, and lets it drop; the act is repeated till the wished-for fracture takes place, but with this difference, that he flies higher after every failure.* The familiar instance of the dog who runs out as soon as he sees his master put on his hat, only showing himself when there is no chance of his being prevented from joining him in his walk—but examples multiply too fast. Why should we hesitate to impute to brutes a low degree of some of the faculties on which we pride ourselves, when 'a little reflection must compel us to confess that they are endowed with discriminating powers totally unknown to, and for ever unattainable by man.†' Unless we refuse evidence merely because it controverts our favorite opinions, we must acknowledge that the creatures we call dumb because we cannot converse with them, are capable of mutual attachment and of something akin to the moral sentiments, exhibiting as perfectly the characters of parent, spouse, and subject, as we ourselves could do, were our souls metempsychosed into their bodies. But fishes, with fixed eyes, immoveable faces, and no other organs adapted for the expression of emotion—inhabiting the region of silence and destitute of voice—with a sense of hearing that seems useful only by alarming‡—subsisting by the capture of prey which can only be secured by swallowing it at once—denied, for the most part, by the conditions of their being, the joys which in other animals lead to the preservation of the species—present to us the idea of an existence peculiarly uninteresting. The craving of hunger their grand and almost sole motive—to destroy others and escape destruction themselves, the object of their lives.

Yet we are not to conclude that the Creator has constituted them exceptions to the else universal law of enjoyment which pervades the circuit of animated nature. We must recollect that they are out of the reach of our curiosity. Otherwise we might have to enlarge our catalogue of the particulars which compose their sum of felicity.

* Quoted from Fleming's *Philosophy of Zoology*.

† Dr. Jenner on the Migration of Birds. *Phil. Trans.* 1824.

‡ The fishermen say that the banks formerly most productive have been deserted since the track of the steam-boats came near them.

In ourselves we know that muscular motion is always accompanied with pleasure up to the point where fatigue commences. This in structures so compactly muscular as that of fishes, and in such constant, though mostly moderated exercise, must be a great item of enjoyment. No one who has witnessed the uncouth gambols of the larger cetacea, or the more alert display of his good spirits on the part of the porpoise, can doubt this. The pleasures of taste, even without that appreciation of flavours which depends on the nerves of smell, though from the necessity of rapid deglutition, brief, must be taken account of in our estimate. The faculty of smelling affords them probably very great delight. Their olfactory nerves are large, and distributed over a very great extent of surface. By this sense most fishes select their food, and when not pressed with hunger with great fastidiousness. The shark, though satiated, has been seen to dally with a tempting lump of rusty bacon, tossing it about with his snout with plain signs of approval, until the *haut-gout* of the morsel was no longer to be withstood, and he has fallen a victim, like many other people, to the pleasures of the palate. According to Mr. Yarrell, the pike has no more toleration for stale fish than ourselves, and will reject the bait of an over-kept gudgeon with unequivocal marks of contempt. It would be unreasonable to deny that they derive pleasure from the pursuit and acquisition of the aliment proper to sustain them; and whatever may be the feelings of the flying-fish who leaps into another element to escape his enemy, the dolphin must enter into the pleasures of the chase with a keenness of relish not surpassed by any human sportsman. We do not see why the zest of the thing should be destroyed by the consciousness that his dinner depends on his success.

Nor are they wholly without the more interesting instincts. The goramys of the Isle of France, General Hardwicke informs us, construct nests in which they deposit their eggs; so also the doras and the callicthys. These species are monogamous, and display the greatest solicitude in protecting their spawn.

‘Considerable attachment is often exhibited between the parent fish. Mr. Jesse relates that he once caught a female pike during the spawning season, and nothing could drive the male away from the spot at which the female disappeared, whom he had followed to the very edge of the water. In some species this attachment is not confined to the season of spawning. A person who had kept two small fishes together in a glass vessel, gave one of them away; the other refused to eat, and showed evident symptoms of unhappiness, till his companion was restored to him.’—Vol. I., p. 150.

The pilot-fish forms a friendship with the shark, which, for any thing we can see, is really disinterested. They have been

seen to direct his attention to the bait: but Mr. Yarrell quotes an instance where their art was employed to prevent his snapping at it, but he over-reached them by a stratagem, swimming off a long distance from the vessel with his companions, when, suddenly turning, he dashed up to the bait, and was taken before they could arrive to interpose. Had they perceived the hook and its murderous intent? We have often noticed in the demeanour of those fishes which we trepan by the more recondite arts of the angler, strong signs of a conflict between prudence and appetite. 'The thing looks like a fly, but its movements are very grotesque and unusual, and its plumage not altogether natural to my thinking—then, that line above it, has some connexion with it I suspect, and I do not remember seeing this before—it is mysterious—but never mind, if I don't like it, I can but spit it out again.' Alas, nothing but the rude hand of the harmless craftsman himself can tear the barbed bait from the gorge of his quivering prey.

Mr. Yarrell's volumes are devoted to the true fishes of British waters, i. e. *vertebrated animals, with red blood, breathing through the medium of water, by means of branchiæ*; so that his readers must not seek in his pages any information about whales or lobsters, or any other aquatic animal which does not fulfil the conditions of the definition given. We shall proceed to extract from Mr. Yarrell, a few interesting particulars of some of those species, which are most esteemed at the table or most important as articles of commerce—the bounty of nature has generally combined the two, making the luxuries of the rich part of the staple diet of the poor.

In our way to the mackerel, we cannot pass over the sticklebacks, so named from the spines with which they are armed. These weapons of offence vary in number in the different species, and, together with a coat of mail composed of bony plates, qualify them for the exercise of their chief propensity. The following is an account of their behaviour as observed in a large tub.

'When a few are first turned in they swim about in a shoal, apparently exploring their new habitation. Suddenly one will take possession of a particular corner of the tub, or, as it will sometimes happen, of the bottom, and will instantly commence an attack on his companions; and if any one of them ventures to oppose his sway, a regular and most furious battle ensues: the two combatants swim round and round each other with the greatest rapidity, biting and endeavouring to pierce each other with their spines, which on these occasions are projected. I have witnessed a battle of this sort which lasted several minutes before either would give way; and when one does submit, imagination can hardly conceive the vindictive fury of the conqueror; who, in the most persevering and unrelenting way, chases his rival from one part of the tub to another until fairly exhausted by fatigue.

They also use their spines with such fatal effect that, incredible as it may appear, I have seen one during a battle absolutely rip his opponent open, so that he sank to the bottom and died. I have occasionally known three or four parts of the tub taken possession of by as many other little tyrants, who guard their territories with the strictest vigilance, and the slightest invasion invariably brings on a battle.'—ib., pp. 77, 78.

Such is their idea of domestic peace. Happy is the man to whose lot it never fell to live with a human stickleback. To us, we confess, the account has the force of a moral allegory.

The mackerel, that beautiful and delicious fish, in whose sole favour the fourth commandment is by inviolable prescription suspended,*

'Was supposed by Anderson, Duhamel, and others, to be a fish of passage; performing, like some birds, certain periodical migrations, and making long voyages from north to south at one season of the year, and the reverse at another. It does not appear to have been sufficiently considered, that inhabiting a medium which varied little either in its temperature or productions, locally, fishes are removed beyond the influence of the two principal causes which make a temporary change of situation necessary. Independently of the difficulty of tracing the course pursued through so vast an expanse of water, the order of the appearance of the fish at different places of the shores of the temperate and southern parts of Europe, is the reverse of that which, according to their theory ought to have happened. It is known that this fish is now taken even on some parts of our own coast, in every month of the year. It is probable that the mackerel inhabit almost the whole of the European seas; and the law of nature which obliges them and many others to visit the shallower waters of the shores at a particular season, appears to be one of those wise and bountiful provisions of the Creator, by which not only is the species perpetuated with the greatest certainty, but a large portion of the parent animals are thus brought within the reach of man; who, but for the action of this law, would be deprived of many of those species most valuable to him as food. For the mackerel dispersed over the immense surface of the deep, no effective fishery could be carried on; but, approaching the shore as they do from all directions, and moving along the coast collected in immense shoals, millions are caught, which yet form but a very small portion compared to the myriads that escape.'—ib., pp. 121, 122.

As an article of food, transported inland, cooked with various

* Mackerel, on account of their liability to spoil, have been allowed to be cried on the Sabbath, ever since the close of the seventeenth century.

arts, and, as is most likely, its native flavour obscured by graveolent fennel, the mackerel cannot vindicate his true rank amongst the *res saporatæ*. Chosen from the fisher's boat, for the brightness of his colours, more than for his size, let the minutes be few before he is stretched, divided down the back, and duly cleansed, but not by ablusion, over the clear sharp heat of wood embers. Let not the Erythoë of your meal spare the dredging box, lest the tender fibres be torrifed into unsavoury hardness. He is ready when the back bone will lift from the meat.—There are flavours, which, like the hues of the dolphin, do but briefly outlast the life; and, reader, the learned shall give thee reasons for it.

‘The branchiæ or gills of fishes possess complex powers, and are capable of receiving the influence of oxygen not only from that portion of atmospheric air which is mixed with the water, but also directly from the atmosphere itself. When fishes confined in a limited quantity of water are prevented by any mechanical contrivance from taking in atmospheric air at the surface, they die much sooner than others that are permitted to do so. The consumption of oxygen, however, is small; and the temperature of the body of fishes that swim near the bottom, and are known to possess but a low degree of respiration, is seldom more than two or three degrees higher than the temperature of the water at its surface. Dr. John Davy, however, in a paper read before the Royal Society of London, in 1835, on the temperature of some fishes allied to mackerel, all of which are surface swimmers, with a higher degree of respiration, observed that the bonito had a temperature of 90° Fahr. when the surrounding medium was 80° 5'; and that it therefore constitutes an exception to the generally received rule that fishes are universally cold-blooded. Physiologists have shown that the quantity of respiration is inversely as the degree of muscular irritability. It may be considered as a law, that those fish which swim near the surface of the water have a high standard of respiration, a low degree of muscular irritability, great necessity for oxygen, die soon, almost immediately when taken out of the water, and have flesh prone to rapid decomposition. Mackerel, salmon, trout, and herrings, are examples.’

The mackerel fishery is occasionally very profitable to those engaged in it. ‘In May, 1807, the first Brighton boat-load sold at Billingsgate for forty guineas per hundred. The success of the fishery in 1821 was beyond all precedent. The value of the catch of sixteen boats from Lowestoffe, on the 30th of June, amounted to £5252; and it is supposed that was no less an amount than £14,000 altogether realized by the owners and men concerned in the fishery of the Suffolk coast.’

The pike, the shark of our streams and ponds, is the longest lived, and the most likely to attain the largest size, of any fresh-water fish.

‘Pennant refers to one that was ninety years old; but Gesner relates that, in 1497, a pike was taken at Hailbrun, in Suabia, with a brazen ring attached to it, on which were these words in Greek characters: ‘I am the fish which was put into this lake by the hands of the Governor of the Universe, Frederick II., the 5th of October, 1230.’ This fish was therefore 267 years old, and was said to have weighed 350 pounds. The skeleton, nineteen feet in length, was long preserved at Manheim, as a great curiosity in natural history. The lakes of Scotland have produced pike of fifty-five pounds weight; and some of the Irish lakes are said to have afforded pike of seventy pounds: but it is observed, says honest Isaac Walton, ‘that such old or very great pikes have in them more of state than goodness; the smaller or middle-sized pikes, being, by the most and choicest palates, observed to be the best meat.’

Walton was himself sufficient authority in such matters. We recommend those house-wives who are ‘careful about serving’ to consult him on the mode of roasting the pike. The result is a dish ‘too good for any but anglers and very honest men.’

The trout of the Stour, at Fordwich, near Canterbury, is the most esteemed. This is the salmon-trout. Isaac Walton says of it: ‘that it is thought to eat nothing in fresh water; and it may be better believed, because it is well known, that swallows, and bats, and wagtails, have been found, many thousands at a time in hollow trees, or clay caves, where they have been observed to live and sleep out the whole winter, without meat. And so much for these Fordwich trout, which never afford an angler sport; but either live their time of being in the fresh water, by their meat formerly gotten in the sea, (not unlike the swallow or frog) or by virtue of the fresh water only, or as the birds of Paradise and the chameleon are said to live, by the sun and air.’ There is a better reason now why they afford the angler no sport. The water is farmed, and the fish taken solely by nets.

Trout fishing was apparently Walton’s favourite sport. He dilates on it with even more than his usual unction. The pleasant episode of Maudlin, and her Mother the Milk-woman, occurs in his instructions to Venator on the art of taking this fish. We have been convinced, by experience, that every body does not, though every body should, turn the pages of his *Complete Angler*. The effect may occasionally be a short-lived passion for the ‘blameless sport;’ but Walton has small hopes of such a pupil! This ‘calm, quiet, innocent recreation,’ is provided only for those who have a native fitness to it, as he believes. But it is possible to enjoy the country, to respond to Virgil’s ‘*flumina amem inglorius*,’ without the embarrassing equipment of an angler—and he is rich who can prize such cheap delights. Nothing is more adapted to foster these simple and purifying tastes than the perusal of his book;

‘ Whose pen the mysteries of rod and line
 Unfolding, did not fruitlessly exhort
 To reverend watching of each still report
 That nature utters from her rural shrine.’

Here is a page of poetry. But turn out of ‘ the way a little, good scholar ! toward yonder high honey-suckle hedge ; there we’ll sit and sing, whilst this shower falls so gently upon the teeming earth, and gives yet a sweeter smell to the lovely flowers that adorn these verdant meadows. Look ! under that broad beech-tree I sat down when I was last this way a-fishing. And the birds in the adjoining grove seemed to have a friendly contention with an echo, whose dead voice seemed to live in a hollow tree near to the brow of that primrose hill. There I sat, viewing the silver streams glide silently toward their centre the tempestuous sea ; yet, sometimes opposed by rugged roots and pebble-stones, which broke their waves and turned them into foam. And sometimes I beguiled the time by viewing the harmless lambs ; some leaping securely in the cool shade, whilst others sported themselves in the cheerful sun ; and saw others craving comfort from the swollen udders of their bleating dams. As I sat thus, these and other sights had so fully possessed my soul with content, that I thought as the poet has happily expressed it,

‘ I was for that time lifted above earth ;
 ‘ And possessed joys not promised in my birth.’

We are tempted to transcribe the stanzas in which Walton presents the very spirit of his ‘ Angler.’

‘ I in these flowery meads would be :
 These crystal streams should solace me ;
 To whose harmonious bubbling noise
 I with my angle would rejoice :

* * *

Or on that bank, feel the west wind
 Breathe health and plenty : please my mind,
 To see sweet dew-drops kiss these flowers,
 And then washed off by April showers.

* * *

Here give my weary spirits rest,
 And raise my low-pitch’d thoughts above
 Earth, or what poor mortals love :
 Thus free from law-suits, and the noise
 Of princes’ courts, I would rejoice :

Or with my Bryan and a book,
 Loiter long days near Shawford-brook ;
 There sit by him, and eat my meat,
 There see the sun both rise and set :
 There bid good morning to next day ;
 There meditate my time away ;
 And angle on ; and beg to have
 A quiet passage to a welcome grave.'

He who can echo this wish, though it need not be literally, is already lifted above the sphere of a host of petty and debasing solicitudes. His pleasures, so far as they are not social, are in his own power. Self-supplied, he needs not to join the mendicant throng which beset the avenues of amusements rather worse than idle, and support a literature rather worse than frivolous.

Science has decided against the fifteenth printed rule of the Lord Mayor's Court of Conservation, 'that no person shall take 'the fish usually called white-bait; it appearing to this court 'that, under pretence of taking white-bait, the small fry of various 'species of fish are destroyed.' Mr. Yarrell's papers in the *Zoological Journal* determined their species as distinct; and we suppose they are now eaten with a gusto qualified by no twinge of remorse. Yet, while this dainty dish could only be procured under a liability of pains and penalties, it is pleasing to reflect upon the readiness of Lord Mayors and Aldermen, to afford, by their example, a practical excuse for the prohibited custom.

The white-bait (*Clupea Alba*) is taken in the following manner :

'The mouth of the net is by no means large, measuring only three feet square in extent; but the mesh of the hose, or bag end of the net, is very small. The boat is moored in the tide way, where the water is from twenty to thirty feet deep; and the net, with its wooden framework, is fixed to the side of the boat. The tail of the hose is from time to time handed into the boat, the end untied, and the contents shaken out. The wooden frame forming the mouth of the net does not dip more than four feet below the surface of the water; and except an occasional straggling fish, the only small fry taken with the white-bait are the various species of sticklebacks, and the very common spotted goby, neither of which are of sufficient value and importance to require protection.'—Vol. II., pp. 128, 129.

The only river besides the Thames from which Mr. Yarrell has received specimens, is the Hamble, which runs into Southampton water. But this he believes 'to be owing rather 'to the want of a particular mode of fishing by which so small a 'fish can be taken so near the surface, than to the absence of the

'fish itself.' We hope this opinion will prompt experiments; the habitats of such morsels are worth discovering.

'About one-fourth of the whole supply of turbot to the London market is furnished by Dutch fishermen, who pay a duty of £6 per boat, each boat bringing from one hundred to one hundred and fifty turbot. A very considerable quantity is also purchased of the Dutch fishermen at sea on the fishing stations near their own shore by English fishermen, and is brought by them to our market in their own boats, paying no duty. Along our southern coast many turbot are caught by the trawling vessels, and long-line fishing at particular seasons on the Varne and on the Ridge,—two extensive banks of sand, the first about seven miles, and the second about twelve miles from Dover, toward the French coast.'

But wherever we get them from,

'The number of turbot brought to Billingsgate market within twelve months, up to a recent period, was 87,958; and the number of lobsters within the same period, 1,904,000. The Dutch are supposed to have drawn not less than £80,000 a year by the portion they have supplied; and the Danes from £12,000 to £15,000 a year for sauce to this luxury of the table, extracted from one million of lobsters taken on the rocky shores of Norway,—though our own shores are in many parts plentifully supplied with this marine insect, equal in goodness to those of Norway.'—Vol. II., pp. 234, 235.

There is reason to suspect that the duty paid on the foreign supply of this luxury only protects its extravagant price and the supineness of our own fishermen.

We have only room to notice one more species—the short-nosed hippocampus; a fish the most remarkable in its habits and exterior. The portraits Mr. Yarrell has given might be taken as designs for ornamental door-knockers: no previous idea of a fish can prepare one against surprise at their extraordinary configuration.

The illustrative figures of these volumes are great achievements in wood-engraving. Beyond the extremest nicety of delineation, many 'effects' which depend on the peculiar nature of the surface to be represented, shot with brilliant colours only seen in their beauty through a glistening film of water, are *suggested* with great fidelity. It does not belong to plain black and white to do more. It is high praise to have done this. (Vide the plates of the holibut and the sappharine gurnard.) There are also numerous vignettes, for the most part very beautiful and 'germane to the matter.' They are chiefly placed where they are most welcome—at the end of the more directly scientific parts of the work, which facilitate the detection of species by a description surpassing the minuteness of the 'Hue and Cry.' When

Mr. Yarrell's readers have a kindred object with the students of that valuable gazette, these instructive paragraphs will be perused. Nevertheless, the number of really scientific observers must be increased by a publication so calculated to recommend the science of Ichthyology, and this we imagine was Mr. Yarrell's great motive.

Art. IV. 1. *On the Principles of English University Education.*

By the Rev. W. WHEWELL, Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge; Author of 'A History of the Inductive Sciences.' 1837.

2. *Thoughts on Academical Education and Degrees in Arts: occasioned by the grant of the Royal Charter for the Incorporation of the University of London.* By JOHN HOPPUS, M.A., Professor of the Philosophy of the Human Mind and of Logic, in University College [London]. 1837.

IT seems to us a matter of congratulation, that the minds of men are so stirred up to inquire, what is the best *curriculum* of University study. So far from looking at it with alarm, as a symptom of a 'revolutionary' age, we think it is a necessary result of awakened intelligence in the nation. At present, the subjects of study are widely different, (as indeed is the mode of instruction,) in the English and Scotch Universities, while Oxford and Cambridge are as singularly contrasted with each other. The French and German Colleges are strikingly different again. It would imply absolute torpor of intellect not to be led to consider which of these various plans is best, and a most shallow credulity to suppose that each is best in its own place, when the systems are by no means always the result of deliberate comparison and choice.

Yet we would not imply that all Universities should be formed exactly on the same model. We deprecate any Procrustean legislation which should enforce such a thing. The wisest system devisable would have its defects, and a forced uniformity would condemn all to err in the same way. As in churches, so in Universities, since absolute perfection is unattainable, it is desirable for them to err in different ways, that the errors may correct each other. As not all kingdoms, nor all counties, grow the same fruits, so neither need they all cultivate the same sciences, nor in the same proportions. It is only essential that the energies of able men should in all be set free, and undue obstacles to change be removed. The government might then exercise the same *indirect* influence over the Universities, as

these exercise over all the schools in the country. This seems to us more wholesome than direct parliamentary control.

It is very satisfactory when proposals for the amelioration of old institutions proceed from men of tried character and experience, who are practically versed in the routine of business, and whose credit is bound up to a great extent with the institutions themselves. We suppose it will be allowed that we state only matter of fact, in referring to the author of the work first named at the head of this article, as a man of very extensive acquirements. Of high name as an analyst, skilful as a practical mechanic and experimentalist, profound in his researches concerning crystallography, interesting as the tourist and amateur of architecture; he more recently edited Sir J. Mackintosh's History of Ethics, with an able Introduction; and finally has published an original History of the Inductive Sciences. A diligent college tutor, and esteemed writer of elementary works on Dynamics and Mechanics, he has shown that he can labour as the drudging workman or as the scientific architect, with equal cheerfulness. Such are the claims on our attention which Mr. Whewell brings, in aiming to set forth the principles on which English University Education should be cultivated, with a view to its improvement and perfection.

We must add, that is impossible to read his treatise without admiring (what seems quite characteristic of the author,) the intimate acquaintance he displays with the fundamental principles of his subject. He always knows exactly what he means, and why he says it: while he has an energy and earnestness, rising from his own full conviction, which carries the reader along with him.

Like most men whose minds work intensely at the groundwork of their views, he has a tendency to invent a phraseology of his own; and several terms used by him must be explained.

1. Teaching is of two kinds; that which takes place in the preaching of sermons or other public lectures; and that in which (as in teaching arithmetic and languages,) the pupil has to do something as an exercise and test of his acquirements. Mr. Whewell entitles the two methods *speculative* and *practical* teaching; terms which (he confesses) are liable to mislead his readers.

2. By the term *philosophy* he understands such subjects as from their very nature cannot be taught in the latter way; inasmuch as no new *power* is imparted to the hearers, which can be exercised before the teacher. Such subjects are the Philosophy of History, Rhetoric, Poetry, Metaphysics, Ethics, and such like. The only examinations possible in these are, (1) such as merely try the memory and clearness of apprehension; (2) a

higher kind of exercise, as when an original essay on the subject is demanded.

3. Again, he divides teaching into *direct* and *indirect*. A college is said by him to teach that *directly*, the learning of which it enforces by injunction and recommendation; but to teach *indirectly*, that for which it only offers premiums by honours. Thus the University of Oxford 'taught Hebrew indirectly,' when it accepted Mrs. Kennicott's legacy for founding Hebrew scholarships.

Mr. Whewell limits his treatise to *English University Education*; his main object seems to be, to warn those who desire improvement, against such innovations as should approximate the English Universities to those of Scotland and Germany, with imminent risk of mischief, and little prospect of permanent good.

He holds that induction is a process, which a student cannot be set to practise; but that *he* is likely to prove aptest at induction, whose mind is most exercised in deduction: since the verification of general principles is always carried on by deducing particular instances.

He bases the advantages of mathematical studies (*viz.* the exact sciences generally) on their accustoming the mind to demand of itself clear notions to correspond to all the words employed; as well as on their being a perpetual exercise of rigid deduction.

He regards *logic* as the teaching of reasoning by rule; *mathematics*, as teaching it by practice. Now, reasoning being a practical process, must be taught as fencing or riding, chiefly by practice. 'It is desirable,' says he, 'not so much to define good arguments, as to feel their force; not so much to classify fallacies, as to shun them.' He therefore greatly prefers mathematics. He positively denies the assertion often made, that men trained in mathematical reasonings become less able to appreciate reasonings on other subjects, where the fundamental principles are different.

He defends the culture of Greek and Latin, on the grounds,—that they link us to antiquity, to the master minds whence proceeds the cultivation of Europe,—that they bind all Europe in a common chain of associations and sympathy,—that without a taste for them, the best modern authors would prove insipid to us,—that their grammar is a universal standard of comparison,—and that they are the sources whence our own languages derive both supplies of new terms and clear apprehensions of the old ones.

While he thus regards the study of the best authors of Greek and Rome as *an indispensable and cardinal element* in English University teaching, he demands that the philosophy and analysis of the languages themselves be examined with searching analysis. And the union of classical study with mathematical, he maintains

to be congenial to minds of much analytical power, and wholesome for all minds soever.

He considers that a competent knowledge of the progress of modern sciences belongs to the *information*, as the exact sciences belong to the *culture*, of the educated man: that they are useful also as supplying examples of Inductive Reasoning: that they open the mind to speculate on the future, as ancient literature connects it with the past.

He deprecates a course of study, in which the professor is teaching doctrines not universally received. If systems of metaphysics (for instance) supplant and succeed each other, the student has not heart to go through the labour of study which may turn out unfruitful; he is in danger of becoming a mere speculator; he is necessarily sitting in judgment on his teacher; he loses the valuable exercise of struggling against difficulties with an assured confidence that they *may* be overcome; (for the suspicion enters, that they are perhaps fatal to the system;) and he never gains 'that steady belief in the permanent nature and value of 'speculative truth, which is an essential virtue of the under-standing.'

He lays it down as desirable, to stimulate students as much as possible by the love of knowledge, and less by the desire of distinction; by making it certain to them, that if they look after the reality, the name and shadow will follow of itself; and to call into action the fear of disgrace as a stimulus to exertion, as little as possible.

He presses the danger of trusting too much to the *indirect* effect of examinations, as tending to call out too often the mere desire of distinction, and produce in the reaction a state of comparative apathy, whence comes a distaste for patient thought. Moreover 'that which must be required of *every one* is far too little to employ and exercise the more powerful and active minds.'

He holds that the advantages of having examinations conducted by the *teachers* greatly surpass the disadvantages; and that the disadvantages of the opposite plan are most serious. 'The establishment of a board of examiners independent of the teachers, 'converts the system from one of direct to one of indirect 'teaching.'

Speculative (or professorial) lectures he maintains to be thrown away on the great majority of young men who frequent a University; although they may be attended with avidity and much profit, by the most generous and active minds.

He thinks that Private Tuition should not be forbidden, but should be recognized and regulated by the University, so as to constitute the private tutors official persons.

He suggests by way of inquiry, whether pupils in the earlier

part of their course (or before attaining a certain proficiency) might not be under direct college teaching, and afterwards be left to the indirect influence of the public examinations, under the advice and direction of his tutor.

Of the 'free' system, (which treats pupils as grown gentlemen attending courses of public lectures,) he expresses his most emphatic disapprobation, because no other set of young men in the kingdom are thus freed from the restraints of family and connections, and because their peculiar circumstances need a peculiar discipline.

College punishments, he regards as *tokens of disapprobation*, an accumulation of which must cause the removal of the student, so soon as they amount to an indication that he has *no intention* to observe the college rules.

Our readers may hence gain some insight into his views, and may be incited to peruse the book itself. We are constrained by our limits to be more concise than we would wish in our own critique; especially as we have also to notice Mr. Hoppus's pamphlet.

1. We are glad that he makes a demand for *information*, as well as for *culture*. The principle being allowed, the question arises; *what species* of information is most important for the educated Englishman? Mr. W. restricts it to 'the progress of modern sciences;' because they connect the mind with the future, as ancient literature connects it with the past. True; but so does other information connect the mind both with past and future. The History of England and of modern Europe may claim some place. It may seem as important to understand the institutions of our own country, as the history of Chemistry. The editor of Mackintosh's *Ethics* will allow that there is much instruction in knowing how men's minds have worked on such topics: nor can we permit it to be assumed as an axiom, that what he calls 'Philosophy,' is, as a matter of mere *information* concerning the history of the human mind, less valuable than the Physical Sciences.

2. We cordially agree with him, that the habit of shunning fallacies is infinitely more valuable than the power of defining them; and that a sound knowledge of Geometry tends more to the acquirement of this habit than the Aristotelic logic. We think he might have added, that the study of a foreign language of very different idiom from our own, (suppose, as Latin), greatly promotes clearness of reasoning. A majority of sophisms and interminable controversies that distract the world, arise from verbal misconception. Geometry accustoms the mind nicely to consider the meaning of each term, but does not so habituate it to value the various *shades* of meaning, as does the practice of translating from one language into another. It has to do solely with the

outer world ; and for this very reason is at once excellently adapted for very young pupils, and less suitable to carry the mind *beyond a certain point*.

3. Allowing the importance of Greek and Latin for some of the reasons which he names, allowing also to Geometry and Mechanics their just value : we can yet by no means infer that these things should so exclusively occupy a course of University Study. The 'discipline' gained by mere mathematical reasoning, we are convinced, ought to *precede* the college course. It is most truly said by Aristotle, 'a boy may become a mathematician, but cannot 'become a counsellor.' The exact sciences generally, need very few facts as their basis ; and (great as were the powers called forth in their discovery or invention, as occasionally in the solving of Problems,) they need absolutely no judgment or sagacity in following their processes, or in what at Cambridge is called *bookwork*. An ordinary boy of sixteen, under good training, may become perfect in all that portion of Mathematics on which Mr. W. lays his main stress : viz. Geometry, Mechanics and Hydrostatics, divested of Algebraic Symbols. Arithmetic and Elementary Algebra are generally found easier still.

Let it be remembered, that 22 is a medium age for taking the Bachelor's degree ; and if until then it be neglected to amass an ample store of information, it is generally afterwards too late. From the age of 8 to 22 we are disciplining, disciplining, disciplining the mind, in hopes that in due time it will use its powers. To judge by the *arguments* used at Oxford and Cambridge, it would seem as though all our aim was to give the mind sharp teeth, without furnishing it with any thing to bite or grind. We rejoice that Cambridge has lately enlarged her demands on candidates for degrees, in requiring some classical, and more mathematical knowledge ; but our conviction is that as much of Latin and of mathematics, as is important for the mere *exercise* of the mind, ought to be exacted and might be attained before the age of 17 or 18, when the student is matriculated. The important four years which follow should then be a period of full residence, and might be devoted to numerous subjects now excluded from both our universities.

4. While connecting the mind with the past and future, we would not overlook connecting it with the present. An educated man should know that there are such cities in the world as Mexico and Pekin ; and it is very advisedly that we allege the importance of including some knowledge of physical and political geography in a university course. We remember a person who had been Public Examiner in the University of Oxford, holding a debate with a friend, whether the Cape of Good Hope or Cape Comorin lay more to the south ; until an appeal to the map showed that the one was 34° south latitude, the other 10° north.

We know a first class man, who thought that Dublin lay on the Shannon, and that the Persian dominions touched those of the English in India. We were once present in an Oxford Common Room, where many persons eminent in the University were assembled (Fellows, Tutors, and Public Examiners), when a wag passed round the question, 'What is the capital city of Brazil?' Lima and Buenos Ayres were guessed, but no one knew. In short, we are confident that *many* who are well skilled in the geography of ancient Greece and Italy, are strangely ignorant even of English geography.

5. We think that Mr. W. does not sufficiently distinguish the Greek and Latin *languages* from the *contents of the authors*; and hereby gives very undue importance to the latter. Admitting the value of Greek and Latin as an exercise of the mind while acquiring them, and as giving a precision to the knowledge of our own tongue; we can by no means concede that Greek and Latin authors are our masters in wisdom, or our instructors in taste; much less the great bond of union between all civilized Europe. Forsooth! there will be no common tastes, no intellectual interchange, no power of understanding each other's thoughts and feelings, if we leave off studying Homer and Virgil. Homer and Virgil do we say? These are school-books, hardly read at the universities; but, to judge by Cambridge study, it is Monk's Euripides, Blomfield's Æschylus, and Mitchell's Aristophanes, which bind and fascinate all cultivated intellects in delightful sympathy; as if it were not the profession of a common religion that originally constituted the bond of Europe, and the more or less successful development of that religion which promotes our humanity, and our best sympathies. We admit the influence which the study of Latin authors (especially Cicero) exercised on us in a time of great darkness; but we believe that the nurses which (be it allowed) reared the infant mind of Europe, are unable to feed the full grown man. Their writings will never be forgotten. A large fraction of the educated English will ever read them, *much outnumbering those who studied them four, six, or eight centuries ago*. But are they, therefore, essential to every educated man? This is to give them a universal empire indeed! Some of the classic authors are men of most superior minds, as Thucydides and Tacitus, every way worthy of being studied by all to whom the effort of understanding their phraseology is not too great. Many of them possessed superior taste, and, above all, were FREE MEN. This stamps the chief value on ancient Greek, and on some Roman literature; the writers were free, and dared to speak the truth. As for courtly writers, like Virgil and Livy, and selfish parasitical sensualists, like Horace; we have little to say in their favour, and wish we had room to express our full disapprobation of the extent to which the last named is

studied. But, while we acknowledge that Aristotle and Thucydides are profound thinkers, we give them no exclusive homage. They are phenomena to be studied; and they contribute their quota towards informing our minds; but they must not supersede modern writers, equal to them in talent, and superior in advantages. Then as to *taste*; we do not for a moment allow that the classics are to be our pattern. The Greek tragedians have scenes most offensive to a modern and purer taste, and conceits equally unbearable: (what shall be said of the comedians?) while the attempt to attain a correct taste by the imitation of the ancients must ever prove a failure, as we believe it ever has done.

The Greek and Latin languages must always be of vast importance to the *divine*, and full of interest to those who have cultivated them adequately. To the historian and to the philologist they are alike necessary. But it is for the *prose* writers that they are mainly important to the great majority of persons, and we believe that only prose should be made essential to a university degree. We have not room fully to develop our meaning, but we will observe that a really sound knowledge of Xenophon's Greek and Cicero's Latin (if a young student were confined to these two authors), might be attained with comparatively little effort; and when acquired, would be worth much more than the shreds and scraps of prose and poetry generally made so much of. *More* than this we fully believe ought not to be exacted for an ordinary degree; and as every pupil might be expected to bring with him to the university at least a competent knowledge of Latin and French, time would be left for other subjects of study.

6. Mr. Whewell anticipates grievous evils from the study of 'philosophy,' because authorities on these subjects clash. We do not at all feel the difficulty as he. No subjects ought to be made the prime part of university teaching, on which a firm basis has not been attained and agreed upon: so far we allow. But when there is a difference between different schools, it is the part of the lecturer to expound their views with his own comment. The interests of truth need not be compromised, nor the student taught to cavil at his teacher. The thing daily occurs in medical lectures with no such result. We again appeal to the 'Progress of Ethical Philosophy,' to show how instructive lectures may be, in spite of this collision of opinion. Doubtless very young pupils are not ripe for *discussion*; but persons of eighteen or twenty years old, are something more than boys. That which Mr. W. regards as a defect, we regard as an excellence, that there is *something* on which the lecturer speaks hesitatingly, and on which their own *judgment* is to be elicited. Of course it is desirable that the disputable parts should be subordinate, and the lecturer should make it felt that he is master of his subject. When this is the case, we very decidedly prefer, that pupils of such an age should be called

on to exert that power of weighing probabilities, which alone will avail them in real life.

7. Neither do we see the arduous difficulties, with which Mr. W. supposes 'speculative' teaching to be encumbered. The medical schools have always to contend with them, and always overcome them. He allows that the teacher may test the memories of his pupils and the clearness of their apprehensions, by interrogation; and when they are more fully masters of the subject, by demanding of them written essays. Their active powers are thus called out, and their attention in a great measure secured.

It rather appears to us, that Mr. W. gives an unfair advantage to his argument, by his use of the terms Practical and Speculative. A fairer division, we think, would be into Catechising and Lecturing; by Catechising meaning all instruction in which the hearer is treated as a pupil, responsible for listening, and liable to interrogation. This term would then include both the Scotch and English university methods.

8. We certainly are not disposed to make light of the advantages of good college lectures, yet we cannot admit that (as he states, p. 53) 'We could not abandon the 'Practical' teaching, 'the mathematical and classical studies, and the College Lectures 'of our Universities, *without putting in serious and 'extensive jeopardy, the interests of the civilization of England 'and of the world.'*

In a rather laboured section (which seems to us the most erroneous in his book, though we expect it will be the most praised), he undertakes to prove historically, that civilization has risen and fallen with 'Practical teaching.' Civilization, according to him, consists in the 'faculty of speculative thought;' and nations are then to be reputed most civilized, when they are most eager in embracing and diffusing scientific discoveries. We are amazed that a man of his grasp of mind should take so one-sided a view. Whether we look to etymology or to actual use, we surely must pronounce moral principles and habits, not scientific powers, to be the main elements of civilization. When a body of men possess such a tone of mind, as to fit them for *good citizens*, they are 'civilized persons.' To this end, they must possess a strong sense of the advantages of order and mutual concession, of the imperative claims of justice, humanity, and faithfulness to contracts, with a power of self-denial and forethought which would enable them on important occasions to display public spirit. Even the *arts* of life might be in a low state among a people highly civilized; although many persons are apt to identify them with civilization, of which they are only fruits, indicating a certain measure of security to property. In our judgment, Norway is at this moment a more civilized country than Italy, or even than

France. But to seek to identify civilization with *speculative science*, (pace viri doctissimi,) is indeed unbearable.

The question is not one of words. Mr. W. does not pretend to lay down his sense of the term arbitrarily and for convenience, but as one who has analysed the meaning that it bears in the mouths of all. The result of his principle would be, to prefer the condition of a despotic monarchy, in which the physical sciences flourish, but in which all moral and religious discussions are prohibited, to that of a free community, where order is upheld by political intelligence and sound good sense; where men are free to lose their labour in endless discussions on religion, politics, and other 'philosophy,' and alas! do not know the laws by which matter is governed, nor the basis on which geometry has crected a vast fabric of substantial, though speculative truth!

To do him justice, we must quote from his 'rapid survey' of the history of education.

'Of the Greek education, up to the time of Plato, we know enough to be able to assert, that it was in the main practical teaching. The 'music' (μουσική) which constituted the principal part of this, was taught unquestionably in a practical manner; and if the occasion admitted, it might be shown, both from the elements which it included and from the way in which it was conducted, that it had nearly the same effect that the practical teaching of mathematics has, in giving distinctness to the ideas—independently of its other and collateral influences. But in the time of Aristophanes,* a change took place in the instruction of the Greek youth. The sophists and philosophers were extraordinarily admired and followed; and to acquire an acquaintance with their doctrines and systems came to be considered as the most essential part of a liberal education. This was still more the case among the Romans, when they attempted to take a place among cultivated nations. Their youth listened to what 'Chrysippus and Crantor taught,' and were thus supposed to be filled with all learning.† The study of *philosophy*, in the general sense, that is, of the moral, metaphysical, and physical doctrines of the framers of universal systems, was, as we know, the highest conception of the Greeks and Romans in their aims at intellectual culture, till civilization itself sickened and declined. It was so, too, among the Neoplatonists, the schoolmen, the theologians of the middle ages; till in the monasteries there again grew up a method of practical teaching from which the system of the English universities had its origin.

'Such is the course of education; now what is the corresponding course of knowledge? The answer is well worth notice. *The progress of science corresponds to the time of practical teaching; the stationary, or retrograde, period of science, is the period when philosophy*

* See The Clouds.

† See the beginning of Cicero's Offices.

was the instrument of education. At the time of Plato, the Greek education had been for a long period virtually mathematical; a fact of which the very term *mathematics* is the record. At that time the greatest scientific discovery of the ancient world—the resolution of celestial phenomena into circular motions—was caught sight of by Plato, and soon after fully brought out by Hipparchus. At a similar stage of Greek culture, although at a later time and in a different country, the science of mechanics was established by Archimedes, on foundations fitted to endure to eternity. What might have been the history of civilization if the Greek education had continued to be practically mathematical, we cannot tell. Speaking according to human views of probability, perhaps the Greeks might, in that case, have anticipated the discoveries of modern times by a thousand years; and the places of Galileo, and Kepler, and Newton, might have been preoccupied by citizens of Athens and Alexandria. But the speculative study of philosophy prevailed. From that time no material advance was made in science.’ pp. 21—23.

‘It is a manifest mistake to ascribe the decay of science to the incursions of the northern nations. Science was dead, and literature mortally smitten, before the external pressure was felt. But the study of speculative philosophy, as the business of cultured men, survived. Still the intellectual world grew darker and darker. ‘Light after light goes out, and all is night.’ In vain do the schoolmen of the middle ages build system upon system, as the schoolmen of Athens and Alexandria had done before. The centuries roll on, and bring no day. But in the mean time the religious orders have established among themselves a system of practical teaching. They introduce mathematics into their course with especial attention. The principle of progress is soon felt to be again at work. A Franciscan friar lifts up his voice against the sway of Aristotle, and points to the far-off temple of science, declaring that *mathematics* is its gate and its key.* His announcement is found to be true. From the like mathematical schools proceed the luminaries of a new dawn—Copernicus, Galileo, Kepler, Newton, are the founders of a fresh era of knowledge, because they are well-trained mathematicians. The universities of Europe assume a form in which such a training goes on; thus the cultured classes become capable of receiving and appreciating the great discoveries by which man’s intellectual position is advanced; and we reach the present condition of the civilized world.’ pp. 23, 24.

As Mr. W. lays so much stress on the *μουσική*, he would have done well to tell us what it was. To us it has seemed rather an obscure subject. Doubtless to play on the guitar, and sing to it the verses of Homer, Alcæus, or Pythagoras, must have been taught then as now. But is it not extraordinary that one who so

* *Harum scientiarum porta et clavis est mathematica, quam sancti a principio mundi invenerunt, etc.*—Roger Bacon, *Specula Mathematica*, cap. i.

truly informs us that 'science was dead, and literature mortally smitten,' before the irruption of the barbarous nations into the Roman empire, should omit to notice *oppressive despotism* as at least *among* the causes which stunted men's intellects? If we rightly appreciate Mr. Whewell's views, had not that mischievous talker, Socrates, and the impudent rhetoricians, come forward at Athens, Greek civilization might have flourished to an unlimited extent; and the Romans, taught by the Greeks, might have upheld the same, until their empire fell before invaders. But civil war is as bad as foreign invasion. The struggles of Athens at home and of the Greek nation within itself did something to divert mathematicians from their tranquillity. In the small states of Greece, times of political trouble demanded the chief energies of the educated citizens; no combination of effort to advance science was possible. Meanwhile at Athens, the unbridled democracy which Pericles left behind him, opened supreme power to every young man who possessed attractive eloquence. It was this that so violently carried the best intellects of Athens to sacrifice all solid knowledge, and aim solely at the mere *art of plausible speaking*. But Mr. W. must not confound, under the name of 'speculative teaching,' the laborious instructions communicated by a Scotch or German philosopher on Ethics, Politics, Political Economy, History, Anatomy, Physiology, Jurisprudence, Metaphysics, &c., with the Lectures of Hippias of Elis, or Gorgias of Leontini. It is further manifest that all original talent expired in Greece, with the establishment of despotism by Alexander the Macedonian; and we may confidently say it would have expired with or without the sophists. Geometry and astronomy were cultivated and made progress at Alexandria, but with no very striking result. Mr. W. implies that Athenian geometry was taught 'practically,' but that of Alexandria 'speculatively.' Will he assert this?

To turn to Rome. Her literary genius was scarcely kindling, when it was quenched by the despotism of her emperors. All the noblest and most highly cultivated minds in her were formed in republican times, or on a republican mould; such men had ever to dread the sword of the Ruffian, or the emperor's recommendation of suicide. Her capitol was full of German and Illyrian savages, the body-guard of the emperor, who gave 'the mortal wound' to Roman intellect, before foreign nations had openly insulted the empire.

The intellectual ability demanded by the emperors, was that of the man of business: to be prompt, vigilant, obedient, peremptory, unflinching. Augustus and Tiberius set the pattern which the rest followed, 'to abhor the extremes of virtue and vice.' A few of the Roman grandees, disgusted with public life, did betake themselves to science, but it made no progress; not for want of 'practical teaching,' but because there was no succession of

efforts, no adequate publication of what had been discovered, books dear and scarce, navigation interrupted, universities non-existent.

Then as to the modern rise of civilization. Was the impression produced on Catholic Europe by the successive diffusion of Latin and Greek, with the important historical *facts* therein contained, *nothing*? Nothing, that the cannon battered down the castles of our barons? Was the reformation of religion nothing? Or shall we say that gunpowder and the mariner's compass, the spinning-jenny, and the steam-engine, would not have been invented or applied, without 'practical' teaching? Is it to be supposed, that unless Friar Bacon had announced his grand secret, and the two universities had hit on the bright thought of *college lectures*, we should be at this moment semibarbarians? Nothing is farther from our thoughts than to depreciate the *exact* sciences, with their extraordinary influence over navigation, and by a reacting power on the national intellect; but if ever we are to be stirred up against them, it will be by pretensions so inconsiderate.

9. Finally, we must complain of the tone in which Mr. W. speaks of the German universities. A reader who judged of them by this book, would suppose their teaching very inefficient, their learning frothy and superficial, and the moral state of the students vastly lower than any thing at Oxford or Cambridge. Knowing as we do the comparative poverty of German students, we are prepared to expect ruder manners and vice with an uglier face. But we are informed by persons not ignorant of German and English Universities, that there is the same, or a greater proportion of moral and exemplary students among them than among ourselves; that the *Burschen* are precisely such rakes as unhappily our universities furnish, with a less measure of refined selfishness and Heliogabalism, though with more that is openly riotous. On the other hand, the wonderful learning of Germany utterly disproves Mr. W.'s notion, that 'speculative' teaching is inadequate to impart efficient instruction.

We are sorry that we have not more space to bestow on Dr. Hoppus, especially as his scheme appears to us by its comprehensiveness far more available for present utility, than that of Mr. Whewell; for with all Mr. W.'s merits and ability, we are constrained to judge him so much enamoured of his own university, as to be little able to appreciate the merits of other methods of instruction. Dr. Hoppus desires to include in a university course, *something from each* of the four grand branches: Philology, Mathematics, Sensible Nature, and Moral or Mental Sciences. He would admit, under the title of *private* students, those who do not aspire to a degree. All others should undergo a preliminary

examination. He proposes that the Bachelor's degree should be after a half university course, but that the Master's degree should be refused except to those who have attended through the entire course; it would thus become a real honour, and not a mere mark of age or standing. He would exact a knowledge of Latin, and of either French or German, leaving Greek as only desirable, not essential. He wishes the student to come prepared in elementary mathematics. He would expect him to undergo examination in some one department of Natural History and of Natural Philosophy, and to have attended lectures on Astronomy and kindred topics. He contends that Mental Philosophy may with propriety be introduced into an Elementary course; but unwillingly abandons Moral Philosophy, as (in his judgment) inadmissible in an institution which upholds no one sect of religion.

We feel much difficulty in forming a judgment on the general question, because of the different circumstances of different Universities. Some, as those of Germany, have to provide persons to fill all the offices under government, which are vastly more numerous in Prussia than in England. The London University has to deal with candidates not yet manifest,—hidden in all the cities and perhaps market-towns of England. The London University College will perhaps only be able to command half courses of study in the majority of cases, while the age of the students will be less than at Oxford or Cambridge. Without knowing on what stuff the system is to act, it is impossible to construct the machinery: for which reason we feel no doubt, that whatever plans the London University shall at present adopt, will need to be reconsidered and greatly modified after a few years' experience.

Dr. Hoppus's suggestion as to the Bachelor's and Master's degrees, seems to us very judiciously adapted to the circumstances of London and England. We do not know whether to approve of his wishing to make no limitation as to *age*. A clever boy is not the same thing as a young man. If instead of a minimum age for admission (suppose sixteen—but we should prefer seventeen) a boy of fourteen is admissible, we apprehend that the standard will be liable to sink, and the lectures must become more boyish. Perhaps the only way to make it a University, and not a school, is to refuse to admit those under sixteen or seventeen: yet if so it be that the institution *cannot live* without pupils, and cannot get any but young ones, we have nothing to say.

Neither are we willing to give up Moral Philosophy so easily. There are, doubtless, differences of judgment among Christians concerning this science, but these differences are not based on distinctions of sect. Successive Moral Philosophy professors at Oxford may possibly differ as much as at London. We well

know that Butler and Paley are much at variance; yet both form a useful part of a University course. But, again we must say, if parties *will* quarrel, there is no help.

That very young students can advantageously be led to any speculative course of Mental Philosophy, few will believe: Grammar and Geometry seem the best metaphysics and logic for them. But if they are beyond the age of sixteen, and previously well trained, a judicious lecturer may doubtless (as Dr. Hoppus alleges), select many portions of mental philosophy that shall be suited for them. Yet, if we understand the vague term Metaphysics, we should prefer the delay of this subject until it could be connected with Physiology.

We have no hesitation in saying, that the grand difficulties experienced at Oxford and Cambridge arise from the want of an efficient Entrance Examination. It is with good reason that Dr. Hoppus insists on the importance of this: but we would combine it with the demand of age, and afterwards raise the standard of the entrance examination gradually, if it seemed possible. But we are not disposed to exact so much Greek and Latin as he wishes. We would decidedly set ourselves against the *poets*; unless Homer be taken, merely as the type of the old Greek dialect. By way of suggestion: suppose a student were required to have a perfect familiarity with one book of Xenophon's Anabasis, with six orations of Cicero; and with one French volume; to understand English grammar, and write English with fluency and ease; to be acquainted with all *the most important facts* in the Jewish, Greek, Roman, and English histories, as narrated in the Scriptures and in good school books, and so much of Geography and Chronology as they involve; finally to be prepared with the elements of Algebra and Geometry, with sound geometrical notions of Geography. A young man who cannot attain so much before seventeen, need not, as we think, aspire to a University degree; or might wait until he was older. If, however, the age of admission could not on an average be so late, and the above is thought too much, let the Greek be dropped; or rather, let a less perfect knowledge of Greek be in the first instance required. As a *minimum*, let a knowledge of the Greek terms which enter, or are likely to enter, the English language, be demanded, with the principles of compounding words and forming the terminations: and then trust to circumstances to allow of afterwards raising the standard.

If sixteen were the lowest age of admission, the Bachelor's degree might be taken at eighteen, the Master's at twenty. In the first two years, we think the student should have less liberty than afterwards to concentrate his powers on one study. The former degree might testify moderate attainments in several de-

partments: as (1) a language; (2) a physical science, or pure analysis; (3) a portion of modern history; (4) something of political economy, jurisprudence, or ethics. This is like Dr. Hoppus's division, but not the same. We give less weight than he to sensible nature (as Natural History), while we think that History should stand out more prominent than in his view.

Honours might be awarded at the Bachelor's degree; but we would wish the Master's degree to be *nothing but honours*, so to say. That is, let the object be, not to attest universal mediocrity of attainment, but peculiar eminence *in a few things*. We will venture to name peculiarly, (1) *Comparative Philology*: from text books such as Grimm and Bopp; Adelung, Klaproth, and Prichard. (2) *Literature*, in any one language, Greek or Latin, Oriental, or Western, ancient or modern, to the extent in which it may be possible to procure professors. (3) *History, ancient and modern*: Text-books, Thirlwall, Niebuhr, Sismondi, Hallam, and others who similarly study the history of institutions and opinions. This most instructive, most splendid study, is, we think, sadly shut out of Mr. Whewell's scheme. (4) *Moral Philosophy, Natural Theology, Logic, ancient and modern*. Text-books: Mackintosh, Butler, Paley, Aristotle, Bacon, Herschel. (5) The Mathematical Sciences. (6) The Imperfect Sciences. Could the average University age be made as at Oxford, from eighteen to twenty-two, it would greatly raise the standard of the lectures and of the degrees.

Experience only can proportion the quantities in each branch; and we are also convinced that an inferior system well executed, would surpass in merit a better system languidly executed. But we cannot admit this in excuse of the Oxford and Cambridge exclusiveness. Cordially do we agree with Dr. Hoppus in the belief that this ought not to be, and we have moreover strong belief that the growing intelligence of the country will not very long permit it to be.

Art. V. *The Bench and the Bar.* By the Author of 'Random Recollections of the Lords and Commons,' 'The Great Metropolis,' &c. 2 vols. 12mo. London: Henry Colburn, 1837.

THE author of these volumes is well known to our readers, from our notice of his former productions. His 'Random Recollections,' and 'Great Metropolis,' have been extensively read; and have afforded probably as much innocent amusement as any modern publications. He is a diligent collector of personal anecdotes, and has done as much as any of his contemporaries to remove the distance between the general community and the chief actors on the stage of public affairs. Without any thing of malignity or ill-will,—but on the contrary, with an overflowing amenity and fixed charitableness of heart, he has sketched the history and character of public men of all parties. Holding his own feelings in abeyance, and dreading to a great extent the prejudices of the man and the author, he has honestly endeavoured to do justice to all, and to minister to the gratification of his countrymen without pandering to their vices. The resorts of the vicious, the gay, and the commercial; the heartless depravity of the aristocracy and the low passions of the vulgar; the positions and talents of statesmen; the successes and failures of authors; and the history of our periodical literature, have all been sketched with more or less of detail. In the treatment of so many and such diversified topics, very various degrees of success were to be expected. To some of our author's statements we consequently demur, and from many of his judgments we dissent, while on the whole we have derived pleasure and gathered much interesting information from his pages.

His present work is to be considered as a companion to his 'Random Recollections,' as it is written on the same plan and in a similar style. He has endeavoured to do in the case of the Bar, what in the former instance he attempted for the Senate. Different opinions will be formed of his success. Our own impression is, that the work will not generally be regarded as equal to its predecessors, either in the value of its information, or in its power to interest. The plan has lost the charm of novelty, and the personages sketched are less known and less regarded by the public. To such of our readers as are acquainted with the author's former volumes, it is unnecessary to remark, that he makes no pretensions to a profound and original investigation of human character. He never attempts a philosophical analysis of the mental qualities of those of whom he treats, or if any thing approaching to this most interesting branch of inquiry be ever attempted, it is soon evident that this is not his *forte*. He deals only with the qualities which are on the surface,—those general and more palpable attributes of character which are

open to the observation of all. The minuter shades,—the more subtle qualities of intellect,—those attributes of mind which give distinction and individuality to the character, are rarely noticed or even glanced at. Our author writes as one who has seen and heard, rather than deeply meditated on the men whom he describes. It is the outer world with which he deals, and with which he seeks to make his readers familiar. The inner compartments of human intellect and feeling are as a temple over whose threshold he is forbidden to pass.

But it is time we present our readers with some extracts from the work, by which, more than by any comments of ours, they will be able to estimate its character. The following passage will be read with interest by all who are concerned for the reputation and moral consistency of Lord Brougham.

‘But I must not occupy too much space in speaking of Brougham as a barrister. It is time I should glance at him in his capacity of a judge. Some men’s greatness comes unexpectedly on them. It was so with Mr. Brougham. Two days before he was in possession of the great seal, he had not, I believe, the remotest idea of ever being raised to the dignity of Lord Chancellor. Possibly some of my readers may recollect, that eight days before his elevation, he mentioned in the House of Commons, that the circumstance of the dissolution of the Wellington government, which had then taken place, would not induce him to postpone the motion of which he had given notice on Negro Slavery more than a few days, adding, that his position could not possibly be affected by any new administration which might be formed. Some persons have doubted his sincerity in this observation, supposing that he must have known at the time, that he was to be included in the ministerial arrangements which were then in embryo. I am able, from a private source of information, to bear testimony to Mr. Brougham’s candour and plain dealing, when he made the remark ‘in question. On the following day he accepted a retainer from a country attorney, in a case of some importance, which should have been heard in a few days afterwards. This he would not have done if aware that the great seal was so near his grasp. By the time the day appointed for his moving in the case had arrived, the seals were offered to him, and he had agreed to accept them, though not formally in his possession. He consequently took no steps in the case referred to. Surprised and indignant at this, the attorney took him severely to task for what he called his improper neglect of his professional duty. ‘You’ll come and take breakfast with me to-morrow morning, when I’ll explain the reason of the seeming neglect,’ said the embryo Lord Chancellor. The attorney accepted the invitation, and breakfasted with Brougham next morning. The former recurred to the inconvenience and disappointment caused by the latter not taking the particular step in the case alluded to. ‘I am sure you will excuse me when you know the reason. I am now Lord Chancellor of England. I last night received the great seal,’ said Brougham. The honour of being

the first to breakfast with Brougham, after his elevation to the chancellorship, reconciled the country attorney to the disappointment of the non-procedure in his action.'—Vol. I., pp. 119—121.

The following account of the circumstances which led to Mr. Denman's election for his native city Nottingham, is a singular illustration of Pope's remark—

‘What great events from trivial causes spring.’

We must at the same time observe, that we can by no means bring ourselves to approve of the *style* of the narrative.

‘Upwards of sixteen years since, Mr. Denman was, on one occasion, as was then his practice, attending the assizes in Nottingham. This was immediately after a dissolution of parliament, and while the good people of that place, like the good people of all other places in the country, were over head-and-ears in the politics of the coming election. It chanced, as well as I can remember the particulars, that there was a division among the liberal electors of Nottingham, as to the fittest person to represent them in the ensuing parliament, when some one having, at one of the public meetings then held on the subject, mentioned the name of Mr. Denman, it was received with very great and general enthusiasm. Encouraged by this favourable circumstance, the gentleman who had named him, and who was also a personal friend of his own, hastened to the court in which the assizes were being held at the time, to communicate to him the gratifying intelligence that so much enthusiasm had been manifested in his favour. He had told the electors previously that he would bring Mr. Denman to them immediately. On reaching the court, he found that Mr. Denman had quitted it, and had stepped into the hotel, there to wait for two or three hours until the next case in which he was engaged should come on. His friend entered the room quite abruptly, and without waiting to give the usual preliminary knock. There he found Mr. Denman, with his wig, and gown, and bands gracing his person, and with a Mont Blanc of briefs and other professional documents piled up on the table before him, in defiance of all the acknowledged laws of architecture. His friend, I forget his name, otherwise I would call him by it; his friend, without waiting to greet him with a ‘How d’you do?’ ‘Good morning,’ or any of the usual salutations, had hardly got to the inside, when he exclaimed, half suffocated from the haste with which he had come on his errand, ‘Holloa! Denman, come away this instant, and you’re sure to be elected.’

‘‘What, what’s the matter?’’ inquired Mr. Denman, evidently surprised at the abruptness of the entrance, coupled with the as yet unmeaning apostrophe of his friend.

‘‘There’s not a moment to be lost—not a single moment, I assure you!’’ said the other, in broken accents, caused by the dispatch he had shown in the business.

‘‘Where do you want me to go to?’’ inquired Mr. Denman, with great coolness but yet marked surprise as to what it could be all about.

‘‘Over to the Town Hall,’’ gasped his friend.

‘ ‘Well, really, Smith,* you do astonish me. Come, take a chair, and sit down and tell us all about it.’ Mr. Denman motioned to Mr. Smith to sit down on a chair which he handed to him.

‘ ‘There’s not a moment to be lost—not a moment to be lost. They’re all met,’ said Mr. Smith, without deigning to look at the chair.

‘ ‘Who are all met?’ said Mr. Denman, still more and more surprised.

‘ ‘The people!’ was the answer.

‘ ‘I’m still as much in the dark as before, Mr. Smith. What have they met for?’

‘ ‘Why, to fix on a gentleman to represent them in the next parliament,’ was the answer.

‘ ‘O! indeed; and who may be the fortunate individual they have in view?’ said Mr. Denman.

‘ ‘Why, yourself, to be sure,’ answered Mr. Smith.

‘ ‘Come, come, Smith, I’ll be quite agreeable to your having a joke at my expense at any other time; but, you see, I’m too busy now for it,’ observed Mr. Denman, resuming his seat, and stretching out his hand for the brief he had put aside on the sudden entrance of Mr. Smith.

‘ ‘But, on my honour, it’s *no* joke,’ said Mr. Smith, with great energy.

‘ ‘Mr. Denman looked him in the face without uttering a word.

‘ ‘I’m perfectly serious, I assure you,’ said Mr. Smith.

‘ ‘You mean to say you are, Smith?’

‘ ‘I do, by all that’s sacred. Come away this instant.’ Mr. Smith as he spoke seized hold of Mr. Denman’s gown for the purpose of persuading him to go.

‘ ‘But, come, do tell me, has my name been really mentioned by any of the electors?’ inquired Mr. Denman, rising from his chair.

‘ ‘It has, upon my honour, and been received with deafening acclamations.’

‘ ‘Now, laying all jocularities aside, do you think I should have a chance of being elected, if I were to stand?’

‘ ‘I’ll pledge my existence that you have not only a chance, but that your return is certain,’ answered Mr. Smith.

‘ ‘Then, I’ll go with you this moment!’ exclaimed Mr. Denman, with a most forcible emphasis; at the same time taking off his wig and dashing it down on the floor at his feet with tremendous energy. The gown was also doffed in an instant, and shared the fate of the wig.

‘ ‘Mr. Smith and Mr. Denman proceeded that instant to the hall, where they found the electors all impatient to see the latter. Mr. Smith introduced his friend: the announcement of his name was received with rapturous applause. He then made a flaming speech of

* I must suppose some name for convenience’ sake, and Smith being the most common name in England, I may as well suppose that that was the name of the gentleman.

upwards of an hour's length, which was greeted with plaudits which a person fond of hyperbolical expressions would say, would have drowned the roar of Niagara itself. At the conclusion of the speech, the hall resounded with shouts of 'Denman for ever!' and in less than an hour there was not a boy in the streets that did not throw his cap up in the air, and shout the same thing. Mr. Denman's election was now, even to his own satisfaction, secure. The day for nomination arrived. Mr. Denman, according to promise, appeared on the hustings. He was proposed and elected member for Nottingham, after a very severe contest.—*ib.*, pp. 171—177.

The following extract is creditable alike to the dexterity and kind-heartedness of Mr. Justice Vaughan, too commonly distinguished as a barrister, by 'his coarse, badgering, brow-beating mode of treating adverse witnesses.' It is but right to say, however, that a perfectly similar anecdote will be found in Rogers's Italy, related of parties who lived at least a hundred years ago.

'Mr. Serjeant Vaughan, as a barrister, occasionally performed some generous actions. I may give one instance out of many which are well known to the profession. Several years ago, while on his way to the Chelmsford assizes, he met with an intelligent and pleasant fellow-passenger on the coach. Mr. Serjeant Vaughan, who was, on such occasions, very fond of what he used to call a little agreeable chat with any talkative person he chanced to meet, soon drew his travelling companion into a lively conversation with him. Having always had a sprinkling of Yankee curiosity, though never venturing to put such point-blank American questions to any one, as—'Are you married?' 'Are you going to be married?' 'How much money are you worth?' 'Have you got any poor relations dependent on you?' 'Have you any children?' 'Was your wife a widow or a virgin when you married her?' 'How much money do you usually spend a year?'—Mr. Serjeant Vaughan, though never, I repeat, having enough of the Jonathan effrontery to put such questions as these to any fellow-passenger he chanced to encounter in his travels, generally contrived to worm out, by a process imperceptible to the party himself, whatever he wished to learn regarding him. On the occasion to which I allude, Mr. Vaughan was not long in ascertaining from his companion that he also was going to the Chelmsford assizes, which were to be held on the following day. 'As a juryman, no doubt?' said Mr. Vaughan, on learning the fact itself.

'No, Sir, not as a juryman,' said the other.

'O, as a witness, I should have said.'

'Not as a witness either: I wish it were as pleasant as that.'

'O, I see how it is, you are the prosecutor in some case which is painful to your feelings. However, such things will happen; there is no help for them.'

'You are still wrong in your conjecture, Sir; I am going to pay away money for a relative who has a case at the assizes.'

‘ Ah, that’s it! Very unpleasant, certainly, to pay money,’ observed the learned Serjeant.

‘ It is indeed, for those who have little to spare,’ observed the other.

‘ Well, but I hope it’s not to any very serious amount.’

‘ Why, the magnitude of the sum, you know, depends on the resources of the party who have to make the payment.’

‘ Very true; certainly very true,’ said Mr. Serjeant Vaughan.

‘ The sum is £500, which, to one with my limited means, is a very large sum indeed.’

‘ O but, perhaps, you expect to be repaid it in some way or other again?’

‘ That is very uncertain; it depends entirely on whether my relative, who has just taken a public-house there, succeed in business or not.’

‘ Well, it certainly is a hard case,’ observed Mr. Serjeant Vaughan, with a serious and emphatic air.

‘ Aye, you would say so, if you only knew it all.’

‘ Indeed! Are there any peculiar circumstances in the case?’

‘ There are indeed,’ answered the other, with something between a sigh and a groan.

‘ Is the matter a secret?’ inquired Mr. Serjeant Vaughan, his curiosity being now wound up to no ordinary pitch.

‘ Not in the least,’ said the other. ‘ I’ll tell you the whole affair, if you don’t think it tiresome,’ he added.

‘ I am all anxiety to hear it,’ said the learned gentleman.

‘ Well, then,’ said the other, ‘ about six weeks since, a respectable corn-dealer in London, when on his way to Chelmsford, met, on the coach, with two persons who were perfect strangers to him. The strangers soon entered into conversation with him, and having learned the object of his visit to Chelmsford, said that they also were going there on a precisely similar errand, namely, to make some purchases of corn. After some further conversation together, it was suggested by one of the parties that it would be much better for all three, if they could come to an understanding together, as to what amount of purchases they should make, and under what particular circumstances those purchases should be made;—for if they went into the market ‘slap dash,’ and without any understanding together, the result would be that in so small a place as Chelmsford they would raise the prices; whereas, by operating slowly and in concert, that would be avoided. The second party pretended to approve highly of the suggestion, and further proposed, in order to show that neither had the start of each other, that they should all deposit the amount of money in the hands of the respectable landlord of the principal inn; taking care that they did so in the presence of witnesses, and that special instructions should be given to the landlord not to give up a farthing to either, until all three returned together to receive the whole; adding that if he did he would be held responsible. The London merchant, knowing the landlord of the inn to be a man of undoubted respectability, at once assented to the proposal, and each of the three parties accordingly placed in his hands, under the circumstances stated, £250, making £750 in all.’

‘ ‘Well,’ observed Mr. Serjeant Vaughan, ‘well, you certainly do interest me in your singular story. And what was the result?’

‘ ‘Why this—that scarcely had the three parties left the inn a minute, when one of the two strangers came running back, and said, that on second thoughts they had all come to the conclusion, that it would be better to make their purchases as early in the day as possible, and that consequently the other two had desired him to return and get the money.’

‘ ‘And the landlord gave him the whole sum at once?’ interposed Mr. Serjeant Vaughan.

‘ ‘He did, indeed; unfortunately for himself and me,’ answered the other.

‘ ‘And what followed?’ inquired the learned gentleman, eagerly.

‘ ‘Why the other stranger, and the London merchant, returned in about an hour after, and demanded their money.’

‘ ‘When the landlord, of course, told them he had given it to the other?’

‘ ‘He did.’

‘ ‘On which, I suppose, they bring an action against the landlord?’

‘ ‘Precisely so; and seeing that defence were useless, inasmuch as he delivered up the money to one when his instructions were peremptory not to deliver it until all three were present,—my friend is to allow the action to go undefended. The money must be paid to the sharper—for both strangers, as the event has proved, were sharpeners—and also to the London merchant.’

‘ ‘And you really have made up your mind to pay it?’

‘ ‘O certainly, because there is no help for it.’

‘ ‘I am a barrister; I am Mr. Serjeant Vaughan; and I will defend the case for the poor landlord gratuitously.’

‘ ‘The other tendered him a thousand thanks for his intended kindness; but expressed his apprehensions that all efforts at defence would be perfectly useless.

‘ ‘We shall see,’ said the Serjeant, significantly, ‘we shall see;—you and your friend the landlord will call on me this evening at eight o’clock, to arrange for the defence to-morrow.’

‘ ‘To-morrow came, and the case was duly called in court. The poor innkeeper, acting on the advice of Mr. Vaughan, but not perceiving in what way he could be benefited by it, defended the case. Everything proceeded so favourably for the prosecution for some time, that though every person in court deeply sympathized with the unfortunate landlord, they saw no possibility of any other result than a verdict against him. Mr. Serjeant Vaughan, when the case for the prosecution was closed, rose and said—‘Now, gentlemen of the jury, you have heard the evidence adduced. You have seen it proved by unexceptionable witnesses, that the defendant received the most positive instructions from all three, not to deliver up the money, or any part of it, to either of the parties except in the presence of all. Gentlemen, my client has got the money in his possession, and is ready to give it when all the three parties come to demand it. Let the absent party be brought to his house, in company with the other two, and

every one will have his money returned to him.' The defence was equally ingenious and complete. The jury looked as amazed at each other, as if some new world had burst on their astonished gaze; so did all the spectators in court. It is unnecessary to add, that the party who absconded with the money never returned, and that consequently the poor landlord had never to pay a farthing of the amount.'—*ib.*, pp. 300—308.

Some of our author's descriptions more than border on caricature, and could scarcely have been penned in serious mood. The following account of Mr. Scarlett, now Lord Abinger, may serve as an instance.

'Mr. Scarlett's splendid triumphs at the bar were not won by his eloquence—for of that, as before stated, he had none—nor by any superior command of words. It was his face that did it all: there was no resisting its seductive aspect. To the cause of many an opposing party, has Mr. Scarlett's smile proved fatal. I have often thought that his making a speech in the usual way, was a mere waste of time, and an unnecessary exertion of his lungs. It would, I am convinced, have been in many cases quite enough, if he had simply told the jury that, everything that was said on the other side was pure nonsense—that it had no relevancy to the case before the court—that the law and justice of the case were in favour of his client, and that he was sure they would not hesitate a moment in returning a verdict to that effect. The resistless logic of his face would have done all the rest; his fascinating smile would have filched the desired verdict from the jury. I have often wondered that the judges, if 'the law allowed it,' knowing as they must have done the many triumphs which Mr. Scarlett daily achieved over law and justice, by the mere 'power of his face,'—did not order the jury either to be blind-folded, or to sit with their backs to him; so as that they might be placed beyond the seductive influence of his smiles, and consequently be able to decide according to the real merits of the case before the court.'—*ib.*, pp. 220, 221.

We have noticed several inaccuracies in matters of fact, which the author will do well to correct in a future edition. Of Mr. Baron Gurney it is said:

'He belongs to the Baptist denomination, and has for a long period been a member of Maze-pond Chapel, in the Borough, now, I believe, under the pastoral care of Mr. Watts. If I am not mistaken, he is a deacon of the church meeting in that place; at all events, I know he takes a lively interest in the affairs of the chapel.'—*ib.*, p. 244.

Mr. Gurney never was a deacon of the church in question, and ceased from being a member some years since. We believe he is now an attendant at the Established Church.

At page 65 of the same volume, it is stated that Mr. Gibbs,

who assisted Mr. Erskine in the trial of Mr. Thelwall, though immeasurably superior to the latter as a lawyer and logician, 'never afterwards rose to any distinction. He was one of the 'many instances which occur in every profession, and in every 'walk of life, of merit not meeting its due reward.' Now, if we are not greatly mistaken, this gentleman, better known to the public as Sir Vicary Gibbs, was afterwards made Solicitor and Attorney-General, and ultimately Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

Mr. Justice Coleridge is represented, p. 208, as the editor of 'a work in two volumes, relative to the life and writings of his 'uncle,' Mr. S. T. Coleridge. This, however, is inaccurate, as the real editor was Mr. H. N. Coleridge. Other instances have occurred to us, but these will suffice. We suspect also that our author is greatly in error in the statements he makes respecting the income of many barristers. The sums specified exceed the probability of the case, though of course we are destitute of any conclusive evidence.

We regret to be compelled to repeat the censure which we formerly pronounced on our author's style. We had hoped that his present volumes would indicate an improvement in this respect, but we have been disappointed. The marks of haste and carelessness are innumerable, a fact which surprises us the more from the opportunity for revision which was possessed. As the contents of these volumes appeared in the *Metropolitan Magazine* before their publication in a separate form, it was not unnatural to expect that they would be subjected to a severer revision than ordinary. But nothing of the sort would seem to have been attempted. On the contrary, the style is more loose and inaccurate than in the author's former volumes. Many passages are wordy and turgid, and a repetition of similar phrases gives an appearance of poverty to the language which might have been avoided. We speak with the kindest and most friendly design when we entreat our author to pay more attention to these points. It is absolutely necessary to his continued success, and would go far to disarm many of those by whom he is assailed. It is much to be regretted that a writer so capable of blending information with amusement should prejudice himself by such neglect.

- Art. VI. 1. *The Presbyterian Review, and Religious Journal.* August 1837. Article III. 'Mammon and Anti-Mammon.'
2. *Anti-Mammon; or an exposure of the Unscriptural Statements of 'Mammon,' with a Statement of True Doctrine as maintained by sound divines, and derived from Holy Scripture.* By TWO CLERGYMEN. Second Edition. London: Nisbet & Co. 1837.

THE honourable and reverend Baptist Noel in the Church of England, and the reverend and learned Dr. John Pye Smith, the Theological Professor of the dissenting college, Homerton, have long sustained a deservedly high character, not only in their respective communions, but among all classes and denominations of Christians. Both have eminently distinguished themselves by earnestly contending for the faith once delivered to the saints, by the soundness of their doctrine and the gentleness of their spirit, by their conscientious piety and discriminating charity. As our readers well know, a prize of one hundred guineas was offered for the best essay that should be presented on the subject of Covetousness; that the adjudication was entrusted to the reverend gentlemen we have thus introduced to their notice; and that among one hundred and forty-three competitors Mr. Harris was adjudged to be the successful candidate. On the part of the adjudicators, this was the result of the most careful examination of the numerous productions submitted to their inspection; they weighed the respective merits of each, and after the maturest consideration, they expressed their united and unqualified decision in the following terms: 'After much thought, and humbly seeking by prayer and supplication that we might be enabled to form a right judgment, we saw it to be our duty to declare the work now given to the public to be the one entitled to Dr. Conquest's munificent prize. But we did not arrive at this determination without a high feeling of gratitude and admiration at the mass of *sanctified* talent which has been brought before our view.'

Thus the character of the umpires was committed in the most solemn manner, not only on the literary superiority which they awarded to Mr. Harris's performance, but on the scriptural orthodoxy of its theological sentiments, and its practical tendency to diminish the evil it was intended to expose. They detected no offence in it; none against evangelical truth, nor against the purity and energy of the principles in support of which they had so often pledged themselves to the public and the church of God. Their decision soon found an echo in the hearts of thousands. Even Mammon quailed on his throne; and many of his

votaries, ashamed of their idol, and confounded in his presence, recorded in large and liberal contributions to various objects of Christian benevolence, their recovery to a nobler worship and a purer faith. This delightful influence, softening flinty hearts, and awakening, we might almost say creating, sensibility in consciences long seared and dead to feeling, we could only ascribe to the power of divine love melting and constraining them: and this we are convinced is the mysterious and all-powerful charm of Mr. Harris's essay. The love of God; the irresistible motive derived from a consideration of 'the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, who, though he was rich, yet for our sakes became poor, that we through his poverty might be made rich,' is, we are persuaded, the secret of all the success which has crowned Mr. Harris's 'work of faith and labour of love;' and which, if left to make its own way unobstructed by mean malignity, disguised in the form of zeal for true doctrine and sound theology, will compel all but the churls of a creed essentially misanthropic and selfish to a liberality hitherto as foreign to their natural dispositions as it is opposed to their habits of thought and action. But this obstruction has been thrown up in his path; and if we had not known the men and their spirit, their faith and its fruits, we should have been unfeignedly astonished at the kind of opposition which it has been the fate of Mr. Harris to encounter. We believe and trust that he will meet it as Michael the archangel met the arch-destroyer of man, not with a railing accusation, nor even with a reply; for his adversaries are below contempt. He may safely leave them to the rebuke of heaven. These nameless calumniators, we doubt not, will one day reluctantly emerge from the darkness they love; but whether known or unknown, they will ever be loathed by all honourable and Christian minds, for having attacked with extraordinary bitterness the character of a man, whose merit is, that he has provoked their enmity, not by assuming the attitude of a controversialist, not by personally giving them any just cause of offence, but simply because in a popular form he has assailed the worst enemy of the Christian church, whom they have affectionately welcomed to their bosoms. 'He has taken away their god, and what have they left?' He has dethroned their idol, and their madness knows no bounds, either of decency or discretion.

We confess that it is with considerable reluctance we transfer to our pages the violation of the courtesies of life and the spirit of fair and just criticism, which the extracts we are about to introduce exhibit. But we should probably lie open to the charge of undue severity in censuring their authors, were we not to compel them to furnish the means of our justification, and thus virtually to condemn themselves. We do not suspect the Rev. Mr. Gathercole to be one of the Siamese authors, the twin cler-

gymen, who figure so conspicuously on the title-page of Anti-mammon, though the production is worthy of him when writing in his happiest mood and in his very best manner; yet we cannot help almost believing that he has rendered his able assistance to that truly 'religious journal,' the Presbyterian Review. Our readers perhaps will incline to our opinion when they peruse the following beautiful selections from its tirades against Mr. Harris and his works. He is accused of *impiety* because he describes angels as *invested* with a high, and man as exercising a 'godlike prerogative.' This the reviewer tells us is 'impiety or it is nonsense;' and as the artifice by which he endeavours to make out the charge is the kind of stratagy which pervades the entire article and discloses the *animus* of the writer, we shall expose it as it deserves. The author of Mammon asserts, in a beautiful passage which has provoked the severest animadversions of a certain description of critics, that when God formed 'the celestial creation, he replenished it with bright intelligencies 'invested with the high prerogative of approaching as near to 'the fountain of excellence as created nature can:' and again, that if the state of innocence had continued, 'man would have 'found greater blessedness in exercising the godlike prerogative 'of imparting happiness than in passively receiving it.' On this the Presbyterian reviewer comments in the following style: 'What can Mr. Harris mean by talking of the angels as invested 'with the high prerogative, &c. Does he not know that the 'word prerogative necessarily means that which one *claims in his own right*? What can any created being claim as a prerogative, an *inherent personal right*, in the sight of God.—But if 'truly a prerogative, how can they be *invested* with it?—*invested* 'with an *inherent personal right*! The two terms contradict 'each other, and so reduce the fine pompous phrase to non-'sense, which alone saves it from being an impious ascription of 'inherent rights to created beings in the presence of their Creator. 'How much more offensively a similar phrase is used with refer-'ence to man—'exercising the *godlike prerogative*.' This *is* 'impious, even in mere phraseology, from which not even its 'being absurd can save it.' The trick which this pious reviewer endeavours to play off on his credulous readers turns upon his dexterous management of the word 'prerogative.' When impiety and nonsense are imputed to a writer on account of the use or application of a single word, it ought to be shown that that word has but one meaning, that it has never been understood and applied in any other sense, and that the new sense attached to it is deliberately designed to insinuate heresy, or that it merely betrays etymological ignorance. In employing the term 'prerogative' in the connexion in which we find it, can Mr. Harris fairly be accused of either? Neither the derivation of the word,

nor the various yet analogous senses in which it is used by the best writers in our language, by any means justify the strict and exclusive idea which, to answer his disingenuous purpose, the reviewer would attach to it. From Shakspeare downwards in the works of poets, philosophers, and divines, we find the word used in reference to the right arising out of delegated authority, and applied in many instances to subordinate agents sustaining offices with which they were invested by others. It must be observed that Mr. Harris employs the word in the common and popular sense—namely, as a peculiar privilege, either personal or relative. This the critic very well knew, but in order to degrade Mr. Harris as a writer and as a theologian, he first, with supercilious arrogance, insults him with his own arbitrary definition of the word, and construing it to mean necessarily that which one *claims in his own right*, namely, an *inherent personal right*, and by implication exclusively an attribute of the Divine Being. He then taunts Mr. Harris with employing two terms which contradict each other—*invested prerogative* and *inherent personal right*—terms which he himself has coined for the occasion, and which do not occur in Mammon; and out of this invention of his own he draws the portentous charge of impiety against its author, or leaves him to digest as he may the imputation that in his ‘desperate straining after effect, he has unconsciously written nonsense when he merely wished to appear striking or original.’ The sum of the matter is simply this: To the word prerogative the writer chooses to attach such a meaning as necessarily converts it into a divine incommunicable attribute, and imputes the consequence to Mr. Harris, that if he does not thus understand it he is a fool, and that if he does he is little better than an atheist. In a lawyer this would be designated what is called sharp practice, and at once consign him to be associated with the blacklegs of the profession. In the same spirit and with the same want of fairness and candour, the critic proceeds: ‘While we should consider it a grievous charge against any author, that his strutting and turgid magniloquence of style rendered it impossible for him to treat without desecrating sacred things, to touch on hallowed themes without being *impious* or *profane*; we are afraid that our censures must proceed much farther. A style intolerably vicious is, we fear, by no means the worst fault of the volume before us. What does the author mean by such a passage as the following?’ the reviewer here quotes a sentence which the twin clergymen have dwelt upon *ad nauseam*, and which we shall have occasion more particularly to notice—and then exclaims, “Is not this to represent the all-wise and Almighty God as baffled in his purpose, from some deficiency of wisdom or of power? Certainly we *did not expect* from Mr.

‘ Harris a complete explanation of the origin of evil, if *he should*
 ‘ rashly enter upon the discussion of that inexplicable difficulty ;
 ‘ but we had a right to expect that he would at least avoid the
 ‘ utterance of language which involves one of the earliest, most
 ‘ extensive, and most fatal forms of heresy, the Magianism of
 ‘ patriarchal times, the Manichean perversion of Christianity.
 ‘ We would willingly endeavour to rest in the charitable conclu-
 ‘ sion, that this is to be ascribed in a great measure to the
 ‘ author’s ignorance of the principles involved in his own lan-
 ‘ guage, presumptuous tampering with matters beyond his reach,
 ‘ and vain attempts to be striking and original, that we may not
 ‘ be compelled to charge him with the more formidable crimes of
 ‘ impiety and heresy.’ The reviewer then goes on, we hesitate
 not to affirm, intentionally and deliberately to pervert the language
 of Mr. Harris, and so to misrepresent his meaning as to fix upon
 him the heretical and impious principle which he thus conveys
 to his readers. ‘ According to Mr. Harris, the intention of the
 ‘ Almighty and All-wise God was to create a universe of happi-
 ‘ ness; but the “awful invasion of sin frustrated the divine inten-
 ‘ tion. Still God resolved on another attempt to remedy the
 ‘ evil, and to restore to the world the lost spirit of love,’ by the
 ‘ “studious adaptations” and “laborious endeavour” of a new plan,
 ‘ which “brought to a trial the relative strength of love and hatred,
 ‘ the darling principle of heaven, and the great principle of all
 ‘ revolt and sin! And has the object been realized? Alas!
 ‘ the question becomes a taunt, a mockery! Could any language
 ‘ more distinctly convey the idea, that this remedial measure also
 ‘ has been completely frustrated! that though Christ is the power
 ‘ of God and the wisdom of God, yet both that power and that
 ‘ wisdom have been defeated by a more mighty antagonist!—de-
 ‘ feated in his *darling principle* and *favourite scheme* of salvation
 ‘ through a Redeemer!—defeated, although every attribute and
 ‘ distinction of the divine nature was displayed; the Father, the
 ‘ Son, and the Holy Ghost, embarked their infinite treasures in
 ‘ the cause of human happiness! We shudder with horror, as
 ‘ our pen traces these words of *most daring blasphemy!* Never,
 ‘ in our opinion, has language more *profane, more impious,*
 ‘ *more blasphemous been uttered by the fiercest and most reckless*
 ‘ *infidel*, than these, we hope we may in charity term them,
 ‘ the vain unmeaning drivellings of imbecility and ignorance,
 ‘ attempting to appear strength and profundity.’ We really
 cannot stain our pages with what follows; though attributed to
 Mr. Harris, like the sentences we have just transcribed, it is a
 pure invention of the reviewer. When, therefore, he talks of his
 shuddering and his horror, if he be not a consummate hypocrite,
 he has proved in his own person that Frankenstein may be a

reality. It seems he is not the only one that has made a monster, and then been frightened, even so far as to shudder, at his own horrible creation.

Like the twin authors of *Anti-Mammon*, the *Presbyterian Review* does not quote a sentence from Mr. Harris's work without perverting its obvious meaning, and drawing from it an opinion or a doctrine which the writer never intended. Thus the distinction which he makes between selfishness and self-love, exposes him to the charge of a metaphysical heresy, of which we are persuaded he never dreamt, and which his words are so far from expressing, that they convey all that the reviewer contends for, if he understands himself. Call it by what name you please, can any better illustration of piety be given than that it is 'the act or habit of a man who so *loves* himself, that he GIVES HIMSELF to God?' After quoting this passage (and he must have read its beautiful and touching exemplification in his progress through the volume) the reviewer, with a strange mixture of temerity and cowardice, concludes the paragraph: 'That the chief end of man is to glorify and enjoy God, is a proposition which has long been held orthodox and scriptural: the chief end of man is to love and enjoy himself, *seems to be* the fundamental proposition of Mr. Harris's unsound, weak, and unscriptural theology.'

Attempting to fasten on Mr. Harris another heresy, the reviewer represents him as maintaining, that 'piety *without the introduction* of any new element into the human heart, is mere refined self-love,' having 'self for its object and motive, instead of the love of God as the sole and sovereign principle of all our thoughts, words, and actions.' On this assertion, contradicted as it is in every page and by the whole tenour of Mr. Harris's book, this critical calumniator dares to assert that 'his views and theory, if carried out to their extremest development, would exclude altogether the agency of the Holy Spirit in the great work of Christianizing the world.'—Page 68, *Presbyterian Review* for August, 1837. But that the Christian public on this side the Tweed may see to what extent mendacious criticism is carried in the modern Athens, and by some of the clergy of 'the sincerest kirk' in Christendom, let them read what follows, and bear in mind at the same time that the reviewer, in legal phrase, 'travels out of the Record,' for the sole purpose of gratuitously increasing the obloquy which he labours to attach to the character of Mr. Harris as an author. To brand Mammon with every epithet of malignant censure, does not satisfy his voracious appetite for slander; the *Great Teacher*, a work by Mr. Harris, which preceded *Mammon*, and has for ever established his reputation as one of the most evangelical and able writers of the day, is introduced, not to be criticised,

in any fair sense in which that term can be used, but simply to afford the reviewer an opportunity of inventing and giving publicity to one of the most egregious falsehoods that has ever disgraced the periodical press. 'With a very few verbal alterations the whole work might have been written by an avowed Socinian; almost all that he says of Jesus being applicable to him solely as a mere inspired man.'—Page 69, Presbyterian Review.

Another quotation, on account of its enormity, we have reserved for the last. We leave the readers of the twenty-four thousand copies of Mammon that are in circulation, to form their own judgment of the audacious as well as the mendacious paragraph. We believe as the Presbyterian churches have no altars, what are called 'the Ten Commandments' have no conspicuous place assigned them, as in the buildings of their sister establishment, we must therefore refer the reviewer to the book where, if he finds not Presbyterianism, he will surely encounter morality, and somewhere in Exodus (if he consult his Concordance for the chapter and the verse) he will read something like this, in the form of a prohibition, 'Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.' And now for the quotation: 'To give money seems to be the whole amount of Mr. Harris's idea of Christian liberality; so much so, that if to hold money in the highest possible estimation be the character of a genuine son of Mammon, we know of no person more completely entitled to the character of a thorough Mammonist than Mr. Harris himself; and we never perused a work so expressly calculated to make men followers and lovers of Mammon, rather than lovers of God, as the very work under review.' We gravely assure our readers that this is the deliberate and recorded *dictum* of the Presbyterian Review, as to the merits of Mammon and its author. We affirm this, lest they might imagine that, wandering with our friends the Pickwickians, we had stumbled upon Shepherd Stiggins, in his cups. We believe that modern literature furnishes no instances of such reckless hardihood in asserting and maintaining what is false, and for a purpose so mean and detestable, as the article before us, written in a religious journal, and avowedly of an evangelical character.

The writer of the Great Teacher a Socinian! what matchless effrontery! That must be a strange kind of Socinianism which unequivocally teaches the doctrine of the Trinity, the incarnation of the Son of God, his atoning sacrifice, the absolute depravity of man, the divinity and office of the Holy Spirit, and his agency and influence in forming a spiritual church! And could the reviewer open a page of the Great Teacher in which these doctrines do not shine as with a sun-beam? But to charge Mr. Harris, while writing against covetousness, with encouraging

and exemplifying in his own character, as well as inculcating in his work, the evil he publicly denounces, exhibits a fearful evidence of the demoralizing influence of the Antinomian heresy. We believe that none but a despiser of all laws, human and divine, could read the following, amongst many similar passages from Mammon, and afterwards write the atrocious calumny we have exposed :

‘ It was the design of Christ in redeeming and saving his people by the sacrifice of himself, to convince them that his interest and theirs is identical, that he and they were one, that to enjoy any prosperity distinct from the prosperity and glory of his kingdom, was impossible ; and by further purposing to employ their instrumentality for the enlargement of his kingdom, he intended to give them an opportunity of evincing their love to his name, and of consecrating all the means they could abstract from the necessary demands of time to the great cause of salvation. It was only warrantable to expect, that the exhibition of his love, and the claims of his kingdom, coming with full force upon their hearts would overwhelm all worldly considerations ; that they would bring forth their wealth, and present it with the ardent devotion of an offering ; that henceforth they would desire to prosper in the world only, that they might have the more to lay at his feet ; that they would instantly devise a plan of self-denial, each one for himself, the object of which should be to augment to the utmost these contributions to his cause ; that nothing but the fruits of such *self-denial* would be dignified with the name of Christian charity ; and that the absence of such self-denial and the consequent fruits of it would be regarded as a forfeiture of the Christian name ; that the church, as ‘ the Bride the Lamb’s wife ’ would feel that she had, that she could have, no interest apart from his, that all her worldly possessions belonged to him, and that she would gratefully and cheerfully surrender them to him, wishing that, for his dear sake, they had been ten thousand fold more.’—Mammon, p. 42.

We have noticed this specimen of periodical criticism from the north, to show that however this kind of literature may be debased and prostituted here, the Presbyterian Review and Religious Journal sinks immeasurably by the comparison. The total destitution of all moral feeling is the most remarkable character of this avowedly religious publication, which professes to be the organ of the established church of Scotland. For the sake of that church, however, we trust that its editor and contributors neither represent its principles nor its spirit ; and we are happy indeed to learn that the orthodox portion of the clergy renounces all connexion with it, and that it is daily dwindling into the insignificance it deserves.

Judex damnatur cum nocens absolvitur.

If this be true, if the judge renders himself infamous who suffers the guilty to escape, of what execration is not he worthy who zea-

lously labours to crush the innocent and the meritorious, who perverts equity, and becomes at once a false accuser and an unjust judge?

In the treatment which the author of Mammon has received from the Presbyterian Review the *malus animus* appears in every line—and its malignity is only exceeded by its meanness. Let our readers judge: we have already quoted language that is now scarcely tolerated from the press, and which would not be endured in any society above that of the very lowest grade; some of the epithets employed we have given in italics, that they may be remembered. But the reviewer is not satisfied with putting forth expressions of his own envy, malice, and uncharitableness. He adopts, he even recommends all, and much more of a similar kind, which disgraces the pages of Anti-Mammon, concluding thus:

‘They [the two Clergymen] consider, and in this we entirely concur, the wide circulation and great popularity of Mammon, as one of the indications of the extensive and increasing prevalence of that reckless indifference to sound doctrine, which is eating up the very heart’s core of pure and undefiled religion in the present day; and calculated to deepen that great evil, of the existence of which the work and its success furnish such a tremendous and appalling proof. They specify also its tendency to foster that spirit to trust in mere human means,—in the wealth and reputation of societies, and in schemes of expediency and accommodation, which so greatly prevail, and than which nothing could be imagined more completely imbued with the worldly spirit of a devoted worshipper of Mammon, or of the God of this world himself. What result, they ask, can be expected from a book which is both deficient and erroneous in point of doctrine, while in a flowery style, suited to captivate the unthinking multitude, and with abundant appeals to the *natural* understanding and the *natural** feelings and affections, it urges to the discharge of one particular duty,—and that more especially the duty out of which the natural man has ever been disposed to construct a righteousness of his own? When we duly estimate the state of the religious world we cannot but look upon Mammon, as calculated in its practical tendency to *darken and depreciate the great doctrine of justification by faith*, by setting men to work more and more to create unto themselves the acknowledged fruits of a justifying faith, while experimentally they know little or nothing of that faith itself.’

In all this the reviewer assures us he fully concurs. Honest man, let us hear him. He is not like Hamlet, he cannot say, I know not *seems*. ‘We do not mean to accuse in *direct terms* Mr. Harris of *profanity, impiety, and socinianism*; on the contrary, ‘we are endeavouring to account for the *appearance* of language

* To what else can either men or angels appeal? God himself and the Son of Man, the Great Teacher, perpetually appeal to the natural understanding, to the natural feeling, and to nothing else.

‘ which *seems* to convey sentiments *apparently* involving these consequences !’ What but a heart of malignity could have brought such charges ? and what but the soul of meanness, stung by remorse, could have devised such a method of escaping from the responsibility of sustaining them ?

Anti-Mammon is, we are informed, the joint production of two clergymen, and its ostensible object is to ‘ expose the unscriptural ‘ statements of ‘ Mammon,’ and to exhibit a statement of true doctrine as maintained by sound divines, and derived from Holy ‘ Scripture.’ This, we say, is the ostensible object of the writers ; their real object, of which they have given sufficient demonstration to convince any person of common sense and ordinary discernment, is to take advantage of the great popularity of Mammon for the purpose of giving a wider circulation to supra-lapsarian and ultra-calvinistic doctrines, as well as to get up a marketable commodity, a kind of Mammonian speculation, which should cast the original work into the shade, and compel its dissenting author to succumb to his ‘ hand in hand ’ competitors of the hierarchy.

That these two Clergymen, like their northern critic, the Presbyterian Review, belong to the School of Hawker and of Huntington, is evident from the bigotry and malevolence of their spirit, —their assumed infallibility ; the ultra and exclusive piety which they affect, and the disgusting cant in which they indulge.

In their attack on Mr. Harris and his popularity, these ‘ Siamese ’ writers betray not merely the bitter intolerance peculiar to their sect as Antinomians and to their order as clergymen, but a degree of rancour for which we knew not how to account till we read a few paragraphs from Mammon, to which in the course of their strictures they invited our special attention. They admit that the popularity of the book in question was the main reason which induced them to come forward to the unpopular office of denouncing it ; and in this highly honourable and gratuitous undertaking, they commence with the motives of the writers who, allured by Dr. Conquest’s splendid bait, covetously engaged to write against covetousness. Those who denounce the motives of others, inspire no great confidence in the purity of their own ; and if they were deterred, as their language more than implies, from putting in their claim with the 143 candidates for the prize, by the circumstance that real self-knowledge plainly taught them they could not write upon it without being continually harassed with the temptation—the temptation of covetousness,—we wonder that they should have so far forgotten the sin that so easily besets them in becoming the authors of Anti-Mammon ; the tendency of which is undoubtedly to repress all generous emotions in the human bosom, to crush and benumb all Christian efforts for removing the ignorance and misery of the world. It offers a premium on indolence in the

form of economical saving of money which zeal would consecrate to the spread of the gospel; and suggests something like a minimum of religion, in endeavouring to show how far the indulgence of a spirit of covetousness may be compatible with a state of grace. What an easy religion that is (and it is the religion taught in the pages of Anti-mammon), which maintains that as far as regards the conversion of the world, Christians have only to wait the Lord's time, and quietly to resolve all the evil of the universe into the absolute agency and sovereign pleasure of the Most High! So much for the temptation which this 'hand in hand' confederacy avoided in the one case, only to fall into it more lamentably in the other.

The hypercriticism of Anti-Mammon is an evidence of the malignity of its authors. Every word is tortured to mean what was never intended by it; a style, in every respect superior to theirs, is warped and twisted to appear any thing but what it really is; and the figures for illustration which flow naturally from such a mind as Mr. Harris's, and which to colder temperaments may seem to border on the extravagant, are shamefully perverted and then ridiculed. Thus when Mr. Harris describes the beauty and perfection of the creation, as the 'type and model of the divine intention,' these Antimammonists attempt to be witty on the occasion; they cannot extract a meaning out of these words, and after several fruitless attempts, they are content to resign the task to those who are adepts in the happy art of extracting sun-beams out of cucumbers; that is such men as Cudworth, Bacon, and Milton. We rather think that these facetious critics are greater adepts at quenching sun-beams than extracting them; they are far more likely to spread darkness than to diffuse light. The next paragraph affects to be very profound—it deals in mathematical theories and metaphysical ideas, for the sole purpose of confusing the meaning of a very plain sentence in Mammon, which they found a sun-beam, and would feign extinguish.

Can anything be more obvious to the most matter-of-fact understanding than the author's meaning in the following passage? Speaking of the love of God as displayed in the glorious work of redemption, Mr. Harris describes it as an exhibition which, if it failed to re-kindle the extinguished love of man, should at least have the effect of *converting his angels into seraphs, and his seraphs into flames of fire*. Is there a reader of this sentence that can detect any thing more in it than that, though depraved man might disregard the astonishing scheme of redemption designed exclusively for his salvation, yet that the various orders of intelligences in heaven, each according to his measure and capacity, would glow with unwonted and ecstatic joy—the joy inspired by this new and unparalleled theme of adoration and praise? What

kind of writers these two Clergymen are, and how qualified for the presumptuous task they imposed upon themselves in becoming the censors of Mammon, the following criticism will show:—

‘This double conversion of the angels is quite beyond us. We have heard of nine orders of angels, and we believe the seraphim are ranked some two or three degrees above the host of plebeian angels; but we never before heard of the conversion of angels into seraphs, nor of any elevation from an inferior order to a superior among the armies of heaven. And this only as a step towards conversion ‘*into flames of fire!*’ What, we could fain ask, is to be the next step in this strange promotion? *Seraphs* converted into *flames of fire!* We read in our boyhood of the exhibition of the head of the Gorgon, which (if we remember right) had the effect of converting men into stones. But even this transformation seems to us less strange and awful than that of *spiritual intelligences* into *material elements*, which appears to be here pre-dicated of these unfortunate *seraphs*.’

Yet we are gravely told in the same page ‘that to write nonsense about sacred things, and on important religious subjects, is no light matter.’ As a set-off to the unfortunate seraphs that Mr. Harris has thus converted into flames of fire, we might fairly offer a few strictures on what follows, ‘Cannot we well suppose that Satan himself will *laugh in his sleeve* when he be-
‘holds them?’—(Anti-Mammon, p. 312.)

Now suppose that, on reading this familiar phrase which every body understands, we were to affect a nicety of devout feeling, and express our horror at the impiety of clothing Satan in flowing robes having pudding sleeves, or in a garb of greater sanctity still, the purple and *the sleeves of lawn*, or even in a common surplice, and then to give vent to a little heavy unseemly mirth at the idea of a sly and laughing devil arrayed in the sacred garments of the church, for the purpose of ridiculing with impunity the hypocrisy of his brother priests; should we more offend against propriety, or transgress the line of fair and just criticism, than our Siamese contemporaries? Would not this have been extracting sunbeams from cucumbers, or turning cucumbers into sunbeams? or performing what is far less wonderful, converting Satan in appearance into an angel of light? In doing this we should not have had to go far for a precedent.

Mr. Harris has offended the exquisite spiritual delicacy as well as refined literary taste of his reviewer in the Presbyterian, and his Siamese censors in Anti-Mammon, by using the phrase in reference to God, ‘Had his great idea been realized.’ The latter exclaim in the nauseous cant of their sect, are *these* expressions to be used concerning our God? ‘Mere heathen blunderers in darkness, who commonly go by the name of platonic philosophers,

might speculate concerning *ideas* in the divine mind, which they imagined to be beautiful prototypes of all existing things—but the Christian will abhor and repudiate such vain conceits, and say with a poet—

‘ But stop ! these theoretic fancies jar
OUR serious minds.’

Serious indeed ! Is not this ‘ much ado about nothing ?’ and how inconsistent in the upholders of a dogma which virtually annihilates a created universe, and regards God as the soul of the world—the only agent in it. As the twin clergymen have set us the example, and quoted poetry against imputed blasphemy—we will quote in our own turn.

‘ Here finished he, and all that he had made
Viewed and beheld, all was entirely good ;
So even and morn accomplished the sixth day ;
Yet not till the Creator from his work
Desisting, though unwearied, up returned,
Up to the heaven of heavens, his high abode,
Thence to behold this new created world,
Th’ addition of his empire, how it show’d
In prospect from his throne, how good, how fair,
ANSWERING HIS GREAT IDEA.’

Paradise Lost, Book VII. 548—557.

This is good poetry, neither is it bad theology. The poet, imbued with the spirit and familiar with the style of the Scriptures, indulges in their freedom of representation. God has thus described himself, and surely it is not impious to take his word for our guide when writing of his attributes, or exhibiting his operations in his works of creation and providence. We might multiply indefinitely from the pages of Anti-Mammon proofs of a personal and bitter animosity against Mr. Harris with which they abound, and which are irrespective of the very grave charges which they contain against the principles and doctrines of his book ; but we shall dismiss this ungracious part of our duty with one curious specimen in addition to the evidence that is before us. It is generally understood that the writers of Anti-Mammon are among the few who have signalized themselves by withdrawing from the Bible Society and other benevolent and Christian institutions, on the ground that they could not act as coadjutors with unconverted persons and men of the world. They are for a pure instrumentality, though it should reduce every society to the numerical insignificance of the one which patronizes their efforts, and affords them occasional opportunities of a little snug advocacy of their favourite dogmas, and of bringing a railing accusation against the Dissenters as nothing better than a sect of Arians and Socinians, who have abandoned the Charnocks, the Owens, and the Howes of their forefathers, for the more modern and heretical

works of Watts and Doddridge.* Yet in their insane vindictiveness against Mammon, these patent purists, with a consistency which marks most of their conduct, hail Fraser as their fellow-labourer; they receive him into their camp with a flourish of trumpets, assuring the public that his article for March against Mammon is a remarkable and indeed a splendid one, adding ‘the Lord *will* raise up witnesses for himself when and where he pleases.’—(Anti-Mammon, p. 3.)

Poor Mr. Harris! How can he stand, now that it has been decreed to crush Mammon, by the combined and pious agency of two clergymen, and Fraser between them—like Richard at Baynard Castle. Sainted Fraser! ‘meditating with two deep divines.’

‘And in no worldly suit would he be moved,
To draw him from his holy exercise.’

The fact is indisputable, that Anti-Mammon breathes a rancorous spirit ostensibly against Mr. Harris’s work, but more directly against its author. It is partly a spirit of revenge, and partly of bigotry, with a large infusion of envy. These hateful elements are mingled in a chalice, presented by a being possessing the features and wearing the garb of an angel of light. Here men call her Piety:—touched by the spear of Ithuriel when attempting to enter holier regions, she drops her disguise, and receives her appropriate appellation.

The author of Mammon, in one or two bold sketches, yet faithful to the life, has drawn the character of certain religionists, whom he represents as opposing themselves to all the benevolent and noble efforts which distinguish the church of Christ in the present day; and whose zeal is wasted in maintaining unprofitable and unholy speculations, entirely at variance with the avowed and specific object which he was endeavouring to promote. His portraiture exhibits them as just the opposite of that Christian character which is delineated in the New Testament, and exemplified in the spirit and conduct of such Christians as are formed according to its beautiful model. Strange to say, in these vivid sketches the writers of Anti-Mammon choose to recognize themselves;—they also imagine that they observe in the same group the features of Toplady and Hawker, for ‘that they seem the very description of persons aimed at.’ And they look upon this

* At a meeting of the Branch Trinitarian Bible Society, held at Epsom, about two months since, all this and a great deal more was asserted by a twin deputation from London, consisting of the Rev. Mr. Thelwall and the Rev. Mr. Ellaby.

portion of the work as making 'covert attacks upon sound doctrine and those who hold it.' (Anti-Mammon, p. 73.) We quote the passage as given in Anti-Mammon: we are glad to find it there. It embellishes the work with a likeness of the authors, and thus supplies the desideratum on the title-page.

'Nearly akin to this is, what, for the sake of convenience, may be denominated, *the selfishness of the pulpit*: that fearful spirit which presumes to limit what God meant to be universal—the overtures of redemption to a ruined world. Selfishness, indeed, in this repulsive form, is of comparatively limited existence; and, as if by a judicial arrangement of providence, it is commonly, in our day, associated with errors and tempers so unamiable, that its own nature forbids it to become general. It daringly undertakes to 'number Israel;' to determine not only that few will be saved, but who that few will be. Its ministers, faithful to their creed, stand before the cross, and hide it; lest men should see it who are not entitled or intended to behold it;—a danger which they jealously avoid, a responsibility they would tremble to incur. The gospel charters redemption to the world,—but they have heard that there are Divine decrees; and until they can logically reconcile their views of the divine inflexibility with the universality of the divine compassion, the charter must stand over; and souls perish unwept; and the gospel of Christ, God's great gift, the adequate image of the infinitude of his love, he branded with the stigma of exclusiveness. Put the affairs of the kingdom of Christ into their hands,—and, under the affectation of a pious dread of contravening the sovereign purposes of God, or of forestalling his appointed time,—they would forthwith call home the agents of mercy in distant lands, break up the institutions, and stop the whole machinery, of Christian benevolence. In the midst of a famishing world, they would establish a monopoly of the bread of life; and, though assailed on all sides by the cries of a race in the pains of death, would not cease to exchange smiles radiant with self-complacency while continuing to cater to their own pampered appetites. 'Lord, lay not this sin to their charge.' 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.' They know not that they are perverting that which was meant to be the destruction of selfishness, into its very aliment and nurse; they know not, that, next to the *destruction* of the gospel, they could not furnish Satan with a greater triumph than thus to silence its inviting voice, and to suppress the agencies of its disciples. It is to arrest the course of the angel having the everlasting gospel and flying through the midst of heaven, and to confine him to their own contracted horizon; to demonstrate that nothing is too monstrous to be apprehended from our nature when its selfish tendencies are the materials employed, since it can construct a system out of the gospel itself, whose most appropriate title would be 'Christianity made selfishness.'

The writers of Anti-Mammon, feeling the application of this severe censure designed not for individuals, but for a class hap-

pily not numerous, and which chiefly infest the Established Church, yet affect ignorance as to whom Mr. Harris can refer,—and they ask, ‘Does he then mean, or does he not, to include in ‘this condemnation, all those who hold the doctrines of Election, ‘Predestination, and the Divine Sovereignty, in harmony with all ‘other doctrines, according to the Articles and Confessions of our ‘own church?’ The readers of Mammon and the Great Teacher will wonder that such an interrogatory as this should be addressed to their author by any who are familiar with his works. The doctrines enumerated, Mr. Harris scripturally and practically maintains, and never shrinks from their avowal; they pervade the Great Teacher, and in Mammon they are taken for granted, and not a sentence is there in any thing that Mr. Harris has written that is not in perfect harmony with them. Those whom he does include in the censure which he passes on the selfishness of the pulpit, are the preachers who confound all moral distinctions; who maintain that sin was part of God’s original plan and intention; that Satan, as his instrument, and our first parents, in partaking of the forbidden fruit, acted in conformity with this original plan and intention; and that the sin of Adam, so far from exciting horror in the minds of Christians, ought to be hailed with delight, ought to be thus apostrophized, ‘O felix Adami peccatum, per quod habemus tantum Redemptorem! O happy sin ‘of Adam, through which it comes to pass that we have so ‘great a Redeemer!’ (Anti-Mammon, p. 240.)

It includes those who do not distress or perplex themselves about the moral evils that have darkened the course of time; who do not wish that any one event in the history of the church or the world had been otherwise than it has been; who declare that, if from the days of the apostles until now, the church had exerted itself to the uttermost, with self-denial, diligence, faithfulness, and devotedness, to fulfil the divine command, and discharge its duty in preaching the Gospel to every creature, there might have been a far more extensive *profession* of Christianity—a vast enlargement of *the visible church*; and therewith a very considerable restraint of those gross vices and outward enormities which cause so much temporal confusion and misery;—but that beyond they do not believe that any possible efforts of men could have availed to make the least difference between things *as they might have been*, and things *as they have been and are*; who would rather restrain than encourage Missionary zeal and exertions, from the consideration that, if in consequence of the greater exertions of the church in faithfully preaching the Gospel, multitudes of the enemies of the Lord should yield feigned obedience unto him, their being thus brought into the visible church would only aggravate their guilt and increase their condemnation—as they would exchange the doom of Tyre and Sidon, Sodom and

Gomorrha, for that of Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum—the condemnation of the servant who sinned in darkness and ignorance, for that of him who sinned against abundant light and knowledge;* and who, in full view of the guilt and misery of the world, the negligence, indolence, and selfishness of the church, offer praise to God that he has permitted such monstrous evils to remain to pollute and destroy so large a portion of his intelligent creation; those who contravene the Divine command, ‘To go into all the world, to preach the Gospel to every creature,’ by interposing God’s time and season, and waiting for special guidance lest they should go where God does not send them.

Finally, Mr. Harris includes in his censure those who charge the religious communities of the land, and the Evangelical Societies that are formed for the diffusion of Christianity, with heresy in doctrine, worldliness of spirit, and a total unfitness for the work of the Christian life and the attainment of their avowed object; who bestow all their praise upon their own piety and infallibility, and all their censure upon those who do not adopt their systematic verbiage, who cannot pronounce their shibboleth, who are powerfully affected with a concern for the salvation of mankind, and hope, and pray, and labour, and make the most generous sacrifices, for the conversion of the world.† As there are some who cannot endure sound doctrine, so there are others, who, writhing under the fidelity of reproof, cherish towards their monitor feelings of revenge rather than of gratitude. Hence the virulence of the clerical twins against the author of Mammon; and their unmeasured vituperation of the work. But this is not all. Bigotry, which superior excellence in another communion only inflames and exasperates, has lent its aid on the present occasion to envenom the shafts of personal revenge. Mr. Harris is a Dissenter. This places him at once under the ban of reprobation. It is thus these meek and holy men speak and write of their Protestant brethren :

‘Meanwhile, in dealing with mere professors, some home truths might have been spoken to those who, under the name and pretence of religion, are making a great outcry about their grievances, and clamouring long and loud—for what?—*for leave to keep their money to themselves* under the pretence, that it goes against their consciences to contribute to the support of what they do not approve. As the author of ‘Mammon’ is himself a Dissenting minister, *he* had a fine opportunity of dealing faithfully with *his* brethren, and of pointing out,

* See Anti-Mammon, in what is called ‘The Improvement,’ page 258, *passim*.

† Anti-Mammon, ‘The Spirit and the Letter.’

that most of their objections and clamours, against a Christian Establishment, may be so easily traced to principles of mere covetousness, that it brings the greatest disgrace and scandal upon their profession of the Gospel. And, alas! how manifest it is, that they have united themselves, in these clamours and outcries, with those whose real objection to church-rates and tithes is this,—that they like not to pay anything, in any shape, to the support of *any religion* whatsoever. And certainly it needs no proof, that all those who are under the dominion of covetousness, which is idolatry, (and therefore directly opposed to Christianity and all true godliness,) will desire nothing more, than to be left at liberty, to give just as much as they please (or rather just as *little* as they please) to its support. And if, besides all this, they can have just a religion of their own choosing, and full license to ‘heap to themselves teachers, having itching ears’—what more could the corrupt and carnal heart, in the full swing of its ungodliness, desire? But (not to digress)—on the gross and sordid covetousness which is manifested so often under the plea of conscience, we wish that the author of ‘Mammon,’ had taken the opportunity of speaking a few plain words to his brethren. *He* might have entered upon the subject rather more fully than *we* can, without any appearance or suspicion of that which is invidious. And the omission of all allusion to this subject, we must consider as a glaring defect in a work, which is specially directed against *the sin of covetousness, in the Christian Church.*—ib., pp. 294—296.

Much to the same purpose we find in various parts of the work. Wherever malevolence against Dissenters can show itself, the opportunity is embraced with avidity.* We cannot help thinking that the charge against Dissenters of ‘heaping to themselves ‘teachers having itching ears,’ comes with a very bad grace from the *ad captandum* preachers who embark in those modern godly speculations called Proprietary Chapels; who must adapt their spiritual wares to the taste of those on whose voluntary contributions all their support depends. Nor do we think it very consistent in those who ridicule ‘the glories of the voluntary system,’ to advertise their own necessities, and to make appeals to the principle they are so ready on all occasions to condemn. We find the following pithy note in page 309 of Anti-Mammon :

‘We beg to suggest, that Christians, who have much at their disposal, will do well, if they seek out those many feeble and depressed Institutions, and faint and weary labourers, *where* the work of faith and love is going on, or is attempted; and so to become their own almoners to cases and persons which manifestly need assistance, and which, in faith and love, may be haply afforded.’

* Anti-Mammon, pages 67 and 68, also page 54.

That a moderate Calvinist, who so fearlessly and effectively exposes the ultra supra-lapsarianism of the day, should charm the whole Christian world besides into an admiration of his talents and his principles, and that he should be a Dissenter, will satisfactorily account for the appearance of such a work as *Anti-Mammon*; yet we scarcely conceived it possible that men sustaining a clerical office, and having a reputation at stake, could have so grossly misrepresented the doctrinal views and practical tendency of a work which is in every body's hands, and published under sanctions that must give the lie to every imputation cast upon the sound and scriptural doctrine it inculcates.

It may be natural perhaps for writers who belong to the school of Hawker to imagine that all who do not sink down to their demoralizing level are Arminians; but as honourable antagonists, they will not by deliberate perversions and violent constructions, extract sentiments from a work which its author is known to repudiate; and which, as in the present case, was introduced to the public by one at least of the best biblical scholars and the most profound divines of his age.

These Siamese writers well know that when they accuse Mr. Harris of promulgating errors and heresies more pernicious and destructive to the souls of men than those entertained by the chief Arminian writers of the seventeenth century, they have tasked their ingenuity to the utmost to produce even a colourable pretext for their unfounded calumny. When Mr. Harris asserts that the original intention of God in the creation was frustrated by sin, he neither impugns the divine decree, nor does he mean to insinuate, that the introduction of moral evil was not foreseen and provided against in the plan of redemption. It was because the frustration of the original intention was foreknown that another system of moral government was ready to be brought into instant operation as soon as sin should alter the relations subsisting between man and his Creator. If the original intention had not thus far and to this extent been frustrated, redemption would have been unnecessary. God's purpose in creating mankind was not frustrated,—but the great idea of which that creation was a type and model was obliterated. This is the amount of all that Mr. Harris says; and is he not justified? Either sin was an essential part of this original intention, was included in it, and was as directly the work of God as the formation of man himself,—or it was the work of an enemy, and so far as it prevailed, it must have tended to its subversion; and so far did it prevail, that if redemption, the eternal purpose of the Most High, had not intervened, this world and all things in it must have remained under the curse. What heresy is there in all this? When God beheld his creation before sin had polluted it, he pronounced it to be good; after this sad defilement had taken

place, he says that it repented him that he had made man. Is Mr. Harris to be charged with impiety, with Arminianism, and we know not what, because he derives his views of God's government from God himself?

Equally disingenuous is the attempt to prove Mr. Harris heretical and blasphemous, in the frequently quoted passage where he is made to say that redemption was a scheme of a remedial nature, which, like creation, has been an utter failure, so that even to ask if it has been realized, 'seems even a taunt 'and a mockery.' No such sentiments are to be found either in Mammon or the Great Teacher, while doctrines totally at variance with them, abound in almost every page. That the grand and ultimate designs of God, as he has sketched them in the prophetic scriptures regarding the glorious triumphs of the Gospel, are yet to be fulfilled, cannot be doubted, if we compare the state of Christianity at any period of the world's history with these glowing predictions. That these designs shall be accomplished, and by the agency and instrumentality on which God has devolved their execution, is equally certain; that this agency he will supply to his church, and that this instrumentality is in and with the church, and that for its due and faithful employment the church is responsible to her glorious and ascended Lord, are statements fully warranted by the whole tenor and spirit, and even letter of divine revelation. And that to ask whether the church has ever acted up to her high commission, and felt all her responsibility to her exalted Redeemer, and the world whose sin he died to take away, would be a taunt and mockery. It is from plain matters of fact like these that the clerical twins have manufactured the Arminianism they ascribe to Mr. Harris, and placed various portions of his most popular work, out of which they have drawn several constructive heresies, in opposition to Charnock, Howe, Owen, Bradwardine, Luther, and a host of writers, who professedly treat of the divine purposes, decrees, and sovereignty, subjects altogether foreign to the object of Mr. Harris's essay, and on which he does not treat, because he has to do with existing facts in the world, and with human motives and conduct in reference to those facts, and not with the guiding and controlling them by the mysterious agency of heaven. So far from representing God as defeated in his darling purpose, in which he has embarked all the treasures of his infinite love, Mr. Harris, in his Great Teacher, expressly declares that the triumph of Christianity is certain; while he admits the fact he so affectingly represents in Mammon, that 'we see not yet all things put under 'him,' he goes on in the following strain: 'That a large proportion of the Satanic empire has not yet been even summoned in 'his name, and that much of the kingdom which nominally belongs to Christ has not really transferred its allegiance from

'Satan, are facts we deeply deplore. But, first, he distinctly predicted this prolonged activity and power of the enemy; a consideration, secondly, which should induce us to credit his other predictions of perfect triumph in the end; especially, as in the third place, we recognize in his mediatorial work all the essential elements of that triumph; . . . and, fourthly, it appears that, wherever these elements of triumph are brought to bear on the human heart, they infallibly achieve success.' (Great Teacher, p. 198, *passim*.) We refer also to page 307 of Mammon, to show that Mr. Harris contemplates any thing but the defeat of the divine purpose of infinite love in the redemption of mankind. Several other striking passages in the Great Teacher we had marked for quotation, but our space is already far exceeded, and we must pause.

On the whole it appears evident to us that both the reviewer and his coadjutors, the clerical twins of another establishment, are conscious of grounds for dissatisfaction with Mammon, which their extreme diffidence has not permitted them to disclose. But why so bashful? we will help their modesty, and reveal the secret for them. 'Mammon' is the production of a Dissenter, it should have been written by a Churchman. It has sold by thousands; it should have sold only by units. It is the work of a moderate Calvinist; it should have been a pure distillation of hyper-Calvinism. Its doctrines are practically applied; they should have left the reader in indolence and selfish ease. It is the production of a mind in earnest with its subject; it should have been cool, soothing, quiet. It discovers a superiority to the trammels and punctilios of a scholastic system, taking for its model the breadth and scope of Scripture statement; it should have been trimmed and trained to keep step with a party, and to swear by Huntington and Hawker. Had it but answered to these conditions, we have no doubt but the present writers would have been heard in all the fulness of their delight, adapting their quotation from Augustine, and exclaiming, 'Oh! blessed sin of covetousness, which has brought us acquainted with such a book!'

The almost only unexceptionable sentence which *Anti-Mammon* contains, we cannot withhold from our readers; and of that sentence the entire work is a perfect illustration:

'Those who maintain falsehood are constrained by a kind of fearful necessity, to malign the truth and those who hold it.'—*ib.*, p. 233.

We seriously warn these Siamese gentlemen to retrace their steps: they are in great peril; and as they feelingly describe their situation, we hope their unkind brethren and the societies that have cast them out, will re-consider their case. It is thus they state it: 'they may run into errors and dangers of their own it is true (for good men are but men); but if they are discarded,

discountenanced, and persecuted by their brethren, they are ten-fold more likely so to do, than if they were duly loved and regarded. And *instances are not wanting of those who have been driven into fearful extravagancies* at least, by the neglect, and coldness, and bitterness of the multitude of their brethren.'

Let Dissenting candidates for prize essays take warning from the treatment of Mr. Harris by the Presbyterian and Episcopal clergy—should Mr. Harris write again and *prove* successful, there is an intimation that a phalanx *will be formed* to bear him down in the joint composition of a work entitled 'Anti-Harris,' by two and twenty clergymen.

- Art. VII. 1. *Gems of Beauty, Displayed in a Series of Twelve highly-finished Engravings of the Passions.* From Designs by E. T. Parris, Esq. With fanciful Illustrations in verse, by the COUNTESS OF BLESSINGTON. London: Longman and Co.
2. *Heath's Picturesque Annual for 1838.* IRELAND. London: Longman.
3. *Fisher's Drawing-Room Scrap Book, 1838.* With Poetical Illustrations by L. E. L. London: Fisher and Co.
4. *Fisher's Juvenile Scrap Book, 1838.* By AGNES STRICKLAND and BERNARD BARTON. London: Fisher and Co.
5. *Friendship's Offering and Winter's Wreath.* A Christmas and New Year's Present, for 1838. London: Smith, Elder, and Co.
6. *Jennings's Landscape Annual for 1838.* Spain and Morocco. London: Robert Jennings.
7. *The Christian Keepsake and Missionary Annual.* Edited by the Rev. WILLIAM ELLIS. 1838. Fisher.
8. *Syria, the Holy Land, Asia Minor, &c.* Illustrated in a Series of Views drawn from Nature by W. H. Bartlett, W. Purser, &c. With descriptions of the Plates, by JOHN CARNE, Esq. Fisher.
9. *Portraits of the Children of the Nobility: A Series of highly-finished Engravings executed under the Superintendance of Mr. Charles Heath.* From Drawings by Alfred E. Chalon, Esq., A.R.A., and other eminent Artists. With illustrations in Verse, by distinguished Contributors. Edited by MRS. FAIRLIE. First Series. Longman and Co.
10. *The Keepsake for 1838.* 12 Plates. Longman and Co.
11. *Forget-me-not: A Christmas, New-Year's, and Birth-day Present for 1838.* Edited by FREDERIC SHOBERL. London: Ackerman and Co.
12. *The Book of the Cartoons.* By the Rev. R. CATTERMOLLE, B.D. The Engravings by Warren. Rickerby. 1837.

WE honestly acknowledge that we sat down to the examination of these volumes with no favourable feelings. There has been so much trash vended under the name of Annuals, that

we were disposed to condemn the whole tribe as worthless. Our gravity has frequently been disturbed by the inane pretensions and sickly sentimentalism of these publications, and we have resented again and again to put them under our ban. We have regretted their popularity as indicative of a vitiated state of the public mind, and hoped that the time would speedily come, when works of a more substantial character would be substituted in their place. Yet we critics, grave and solemn as we love to be thought, are constituted like most other people. Our sternness relaxes, and our resolutions are forgotten, as we gaze on the beautiful embellishments of these volumes. The fascinations of art are thrown around us, and we begin to think that there is something extravagant and absurd, in the wish we had entertained that these light, bewitching publications, should be discountenanced. Men cannot always be grave—much less is it to be expected that juvenile readers should confine themselves to profound treatises, scientific dissertations, or the sober narratives of history. It would be vain to attempt so to restrict them, nor would any good be effected were the effort successful. We will, therefore, lay aside our prejudices, in order faithfully to report on the works before us.

Gems of Beauty form a magnificent volume. The engravings are on a large and lordly scale, from designs by Parris, with illustrative verses by the Countess of Blessington. The nature of the publication is not inaptly expressed in the following lines, which we copy from the title-page.

‘Beauty’s Gems have shone their hour :
 Now from mines more rich and deep,
 With a spell of sterner power
 Call we passions from their sleep.
 Dark despair, and pale-eyed fear,
 Jealousy and anger strong,
 Love o’ermastering pain and wrong,
 Hope, that doth the doubting cheer :—
 Gentle maidens, smile, and tell,
 Have we done your bidding well ?’

The passions depicted are Affection, Anger, Pity, Jealousy, Hope, Despair, Cheerfulness, Remorse, Joy, Envy, Fear, and Love; and it is difficult to say in which the artist has succeeded best. The power of expression in each is admirable, but the milder and more amiable passions are those probably which will be most generally approved. The others serve as admirable contrasts; but it is upon Affection, Hope, Joy, Cheerfulness, and Love, that the eye will especially delight to rest. The verses are appropriate to the engravings, and the work, considered

as a production of art, is one of the most attractive and splendid of its class. The following verses are appended to a plate exhibiting a beautiful mother caressed by, and caressing two lovely children.

AFFECTION.

‘ Affection ! seek her in a mother’s heart ;
 There dwells she shrined, from worldly guile apart ;
 Each impulse guiding, governing each feeling,
 New, tender secrets every hour revealing :
 No selfish thought comes near, no paltry care,
 Her breath is incense, and her voice is prayer :

A mother’s love ! O holy, boundless thing !
 Fountain, whose waters never cease to spring ;
 Falling, like dew, when all beside is sleeping,
 The flowers around in life and beauty steeping :
 O love ! the lord of many springs thou art ;
 Thy deepest, purest in a mother’s heart !”

The Picturesque Annual is one of our favourites, and we are glad to find that its character is well sustained this year. It is a work of permanent interest, many parts of which may be read again and again. Both M‘Clise’s and Creswick’s designs are clever, and deserving of high praise. The style of Turner is frequently conspicuous in the productions of the latter. A single glance at ‘ Carrickfergus Castle,’ ‘ Fair Head,’ or ‘ The Black Valley,’ each of which is perfect, will be sufficient to establish this fact. The literary portion of the volume is supplied by Mr. Leitch Ritchie, and though we frequently dissent from his opinions, and question the propriety of his strictures, we have derived both instruction and pleasure from accompanying him on his tour. There is a freshness and freedom, and withal, a goodwill in his narration and philosophy, with which we have been much pleased. We hope that his labours will be productive of good to Ireland, by circulating the knowledge of her wrongs, and engaging in her behalf the kindest sympathies of the human heart. The present volume concludes the work on Ireland ; the next will be devoted to the scenery of the Wye.

The Drawing-Room Scrap Book is an elegant and highly attractive Miscellany, in which the publishers have made free use of their portfolio. The engravings (some of which we have seen before) are of various dates and sizes, and of very different degrees of merit. The View of the Tombs of the Kings of Golconda, of Gibraltar from the sea, and of Kalendria, are among the most happily executed ; while the portraits of Mrs.

Hemans, the Marchioness of Londonderry, the Earls of Egremont and Eldon, and the Marquis of Lansdowne, will be acceptable presents to a large class. The poetical illustrations by L.E.L. are clever, though destitute of any striking interest. The province of the fair authoress is far from being an enviable one, and we wonder that she has succeeded so well. The following stanzas appended to the portrait of Mrs. Hemans are among the most interesting in the volume.

MRS. HEMANS.

‘ No more, no more, O never more returning,
 Will thy beloved presence gladden earth :
 No more wilt thou, with sad yet anxious yearning,
 Cling to those hopes which have no mortal birth.
 Thou art gone from us, and with thee departed,
 How many lovely things have vanished too :
 Deep thoughts that at thy will to being started,
 And feelings teaching us our own were true !
 Thou hast been round us, like a viewless spirit,
 Known only by the music on the air ;
 The leaf or flowers which thou hast named inherit
 A beauty known but from thy breathing there ;
 For thou didst on them fling thy strong emotion ,
 The likeness from itself the fond heart gave ;
 As planets from afar look down on ocean,
 And give their own sweet image to the wave.

And thou didst bring from foreign lands their treasures,
 As floats thy various melody along ;
 We know the softness of Italian measures,
 And the grave cadence of Castilian song.
 A general bond of union is the poet,
 By its immortal verse is language known,
 And for the sake of song do others know it—
 One glorious poet makes the world his own.
 And thou—how far thy gentle sway extended !
 The heart’s sweet empire over land and sea ;
 Many a stranger and far flower was blended
 In the soft wreath that glory bound for thee.
 The echoes of the Susquehanna’s waters
 Paused in the pine-woods, words of thine to hear ;
 And to the wide Atlantic’s younger daughters
 Thy name was lovely, and thy song was dear.

Was not this purchased all too dearly ?—never
 Can fame atone for all that fame hath cost.
 We see the goal, but know not the endeavour,
 Nor what fond hopes have on the way been lost.

What do we know of the unquiet pillow,
 By the worn cheek, and tearful eyelid prest,
 When thoughts chase thoughts, like the tumultuous billow,
 Whose very light and foam reveals unrest ?
 We say the song is sorrowful, but know not
 What may have left that sorrow on the song :
 However mournful words may be, they show not
 The whole extent of wretchedness and wrong.
 They cannot paint the long sad hours, passed only
 In vain regrets o'er what we feel we are.
 Alas the kingdom of the lute is lonely—
 Cold is the worship coming from afar.

Yet what is mind in woman, but revealing
 In sweet clear light the hidden world below,
 By quicker fancies and a keener feeling
 Than those around, the cold and careless, know ?
 What is to feed such feeling, but to culture
 A soil whence pain will never more depart ?
 The fable of Prometheus and the vulture
 Reveals the poet's and the woman's heart.
 Unkindly are they judged—unkindly treated—
 By careless tongues and by ungenerous words ;
 While cruel sneer, and hard reproach, repeated,
 Jar the fine music of the spirit's chords.
 Wert thou not weary—thou whose soothing numbers
 Gave other lips the joy thine own had not ?
 Didst thou not welcome thankfully the slumbers
 Which closed around thy mourning human lot ?

What on this earth, could answer thy requiring,
 For earnest faith—for love, the deep and true
 The beautiful, which was thy soul's desiring,
 But only from thyself its being drew.
 How is the warm and loving heart requited
 In this harsh world, where it awhile must dwell ?
 Its best affections wronged, betrayed, and slighted—
 Such is the doom of those who love too well.
 Better the weary dove should close its pinion,
 Fold up its golden wings and be at peace.
 Enter, O ladye, that serene dominion,
 Where earthly cares and earthly sorrows cease.
 Fame's troubled hour has cleared, and now replying,
 A thousand hearts their music ask of thine.
 Sleep with a light the lovely and undying
 Around thy grave—a grave which is a shrine."

Fisher's Juvenile Scrap Book is superior, both in its embellishments and literary contributions, to most publications provided for juvenile readers. 'It has been prepared,' we are informed in

the preface, and we see nothing which inclines us to doubt the fact, 'with the most careful attention to the great object of inculcating the precepts of virtue and religion, and of excluding every thing likely to produce a bias to levity, affectation, and false sentiment. The parties united in conducting this Annual,' it is added, 'are so deeply impressed with the responsibility attached to those who write for the young, that with them it is a matter of conscience to do every thing with a view to the mental improvement, as well as to the amusement, of their readers.' This is as it should be, and we hope the effort will be duly encouraged. Several of the tales, as 'The White Rose,' and 'Penda the Quadroon,' are highly interesting; and the whole will prove a very acceptable, and not wholly uninteresting Christmas present.

Friendship's Offering might pass for a second volume of 'The Forget-me-not,' with which it fairly competes in the talents of its contributors, and the amusing variety of its contents, without aspiring to a higher character, either in point of art, or of moral object. The plates are undeserving of criticism. Among the contributors are Leitch Ritchie, Dr. W. C. Taylor, 'The Old Sailor, Allan Cunningham, G. P. R. James, Sarah Stickney (Mrs. Ellis), Barry Cornwall, Crofton Croker, J. A. St. John, Emma Roberts, T. K. Hervey, Thomas Miller, Agnes Strickland, Cornelius Webbe, and the Editor, Mr. Harrison, who avows his pride at 'numbering so many distinguished writers in his ranks.' He has reason for self-gratulation.

The Landscape Annual forms a series so closely connected, and so well sustained, that a ninth volume cannot fail to find acceptance with the purchasers of the former eight; and we confess that we should be sorry to have our set broken. Mr. Roscoe is a very pleasant person to travel with; he describes well, and has a good story to tell, here and there, *apropos* of the Moors or the Romans, the Cid or the Duke of Wellington. The present volume is chiefly devoted to Spain; an inexhaustible field to the artist and the antiquary; and we almost regretted to find ourselves, in the latter part of the volume, transported across the straits, to Tetuan and Tanjier, Sallee, and Morocco. But this novel feature of the volume, will enhance its attractions to many readers; and Mr. Roberts's pencil has found ample scope in the massive masonry, and picturesque groupes of the Moorish subjects. The view of Morocco, backed by the snowy summits of Atlas, strikes us as a failure, but this may be the fault of the scene as much as of the artist, for of all subjects, the exterior of a walled city, situated in a plain, bounded by mountains so distant as to convey no impression of their altitude, would seem to be the most inexpressive. The view of Constantina is magnifi-

cent; and the information relating to this bulwark of Numidia, will be particularly acceptable at the present moment. The whole of Northern Africa abounds with rich materials for the artist; but the historical recollections attaching to the ancient remains, are too remote and slight to render them generally interesting. The next volume is to be devoted to Portugal.

The Christian Keepsake and Missionary Annual, edited by the Rev. William Ellis, sustains a somewhat different character from its contemporaries. Its contents are more instructive, and permanently valuable, and its embellishments are of an order deeply interesting from their moral associations. A beautiful portrait of Mrs. Fletcher, better known to our readers as Miss Jewsbury, fronts the vignette title-page, and will be welcomed by all who are acquainted with her writings—so full of the promise of good. We are next furnished with a group of portraits, admirably appropriate to the 'Missionary Annual,' and replete with the deepest interest. Tzatzoe, the Caffre Chief, is in the act of giving evidence before the Parliamentary Committee; Andreas Stoffles the Hottentot, with a countenance full of intelligence, is seated behind the table at which Tzatzoe is standing, gazing with a fixed and animated eye, on his fellow-sufferer from the 'white man's' oppression; the Messrs. Read, Sen. and Jun., are interested witnesses of the scene; while Dr. Philip—one of the brightest and best specimens of our race—seated in the foreground of the picture, is evidently enjoying, beyond the power of language to describe, the triumphs of truth and humanity over misrepresentation, prejudice, and crime. The whole group is replete with the highest order of moral associations, and we could gaze upon it till our very souls melted. We pity the man who can listlessly look upon such an engraving.—After this we are indulged with fourteen other engravings of various degrees of merit; among them is a good Portrait of the Author of 'Mammon,' which, if it were somewhat less sombre, would accurately depict the leading qualities of Mr. Harris's countenance. As it is, it appears to us scarcely to do justice to the blended intelligence and benignity of the original. But we must briefly notice the literary contents of the volume. 'The African Witnesses' is a valuable historical sketch, which cannot be read without deep emotion. We rejoice at its insertion in such a volume, and hope that it will serve to extend an interest in the fortunes of the Aborigines of our Colonies. Mrs. Ellis's Sketch of the character and writings of Mrs. Fletcher, displays a sympathetic mind, tasteful and cultivated, while several of the other contributions, both in poetry and prose, are capable of sustaining a comparison with the choicest specimens of the other volumes.

We can make room only for the following Stanzas on Man, which strikingly display the peculiar qualities of Mrs. Fletcher's mind.

‘ Creation’s heir ! the first ! the last !
 That knew the world his own ;
 Yet stood he, ’mid his kingdom vast,
 A fugitive o’erthrown.
 Faded and frail the glorious form,
 And changed the soul within,
 While pain and grief, and strife and storm,
 Told the dark secret—sin.

Unaided, and alone on earth,
 He bade the heavens give ear ;
 But ev’ry star that sung his birth,
 Kept silence in its sphere.
 He saw round Eden’s distant steep
 Angelic legions stray ;
 Alas ! they were but sent to keep
 His guilty foot away !

Then turned he reckless to his own ;
 The world before him spread ;
 But nature’s was an altered tone,
 And spake rebuke and dread.
 Fierce thunder’s peal, and rushing gale,
 Answered the storm-swept sea,
 While crushing forests joined the wail,
 And all said, ‘ Cursed for thee !’

This, spoke the lion’s prowling roar,
 And this, the victim’s cry ;
 This, written in defenceless gore,
 For ever met his eye.
 And not alone each fiercer power
 Proclaimed just heaven’s decree ;
 The faded leaf, the dying flower,
 Alike said, ‘ Cursed for thee !’

Though mortal, doomed to many a length
 Of life’s now narrow span,
 Sons rose around in pride and strength ;
 They, too, proclaimed the ban.
 ’Twas heard amid their hostile spears,
 Owned in the murderer’s doom ;
 Seen in the widow’s silent tears,
 Felt in the infant’s tomb.

Ask not the wanderer's after fate,
 His being, birth, or name ;
 Enough that all have shared his state,
 That man is still the same ;
 Still briar and thorn his life o'er grow,
 Still strives his soul within,
 And pain, and care, and sorrow show
 The same dark secret—sin.' pp. 37, 38.

Syria, the Holy Land, Asia Minor, &c. has already appeared in parts, and is therefore probably known to many of our readers. It is a splendid and useful volume, deserving of a place on every drawing-room table. The engravings are of a high order, and derive additional interest from the character of their associations, while the descriptions, furnished by Mr. Carne, author of 'Letters from the East' greatly add to the value of the publication. The volume, though issued as an *Annual*, possesses permanent value, and may be advantageously referred to by all who wish to inform themselves on the scenery of the East, and the rural condition and history of its people. We should be glad to enrich our pages with extended extracts, but our space prohibits this, and we must therefore be content to recommend such of our readers as wish to possess a volume of beautiful engravings, with interesting and instructive descriptive matter, to lose no time in procuring this publication.

The Children of the Nobility is a splendid volume, which can scarcely fail to be a great favourite with the class for which it is specially designed. It is appropriately dedicated to the Queen, and will no doubt speedily find its way into almost every aristocratic mansion in the kingdom. The following lines appended to an interesting portrait of the young daughter of Sir William Somerville, are from the pen of H. Lytton Bulwer, Esq.

How many days of good and ill
 Have passed, my old friend, Somerville,
 Since you and I, as truant boys,
 Shared the same follies, fears, and joys,
 Our sternest thought to bound the ball
 With crafty hand against the wall ;
 Or, careless of its groans, to glide
 Across the scarcely frozen tide ;
 With gun and hound, by sunrise seen
 Scudding across the dewy green ;
 Or creeping forth, by soft twilight,
 To drink milk punch, with Goody White.
 Well skilled to merit or escape
 The classic stroke which scares the scrape,

We did, amidst that gallant crew,
 And did unscathed, what few could do.
 Vain boast ! they're gone, those days of fun,
 Of floggings missed, and prize books won ;
 They're done ! they're gone ! and here are we,
 As grave as wiser men should be !
 I, with petitions in my hand,
 And ' Sir,' as on my legs I stand ;
 You, with the most paternal air,
 And ' Nurse, pray take the greatest care.'
 You pity me, I pity you,
 That's what two friends are bound to do ;
 But still, I own, if this dear child,
 Had only once as gaily smiled
 On me, as now she gaily smiles,
 I might have loved her infant wiles,
 And half recalled the vows I've vowed
 Against that little squalling crowd ;
 Which now with doll, and now with drum,
 Proclaim that Hymen's reign is come.

The Keepsake is got up with considerable elegance and taste, yet we confess that it is no favourite with us. The engravings are not to be compared with those of some of its rivals, and the literary contents are of too light and flimsy an order to suit our grave prepossessions. It is a collection of miniature novels, interspersed with a few poetic contributions of no very striking merit. The splendid list of aristocratic names by which the former volumes of the *Keepsake* have been graced, is omitted this year, but we fear the hope experienced by the proprietor in his *advertisement* will not be realized.

The *Forget-me-not*, the senior of this gay tribe of annuals, maintains, under the able management of Mr. Shoberl, its original character without deterioration or any observable inequality. In the course of sixteen years, many old and valued contributors have dropped off; and others may have felt that they cannot go on framing tales and weaving verse for ever. Mr. Shoberl has acted wisely, therefore, in enlisting some new writers, among whom are two who 'hold a distinguished rank in the literature of 'the United States,'—Mrs. Sigourney and Miss Gould. We are glad, however, to meet with some of our old friends again. The inexhaustible author of *London in the Olden Time*, has, by another turn of her magic kaleidoscope, presented to us a tale of Earl Warwick and his seal ring. A polyonymous contributor, who chooses to give the signature Leon, but who can scarcely fail to be detected under his disguise, has contributed one of his sparkling, vivacious dramatic tissues of amusing improbabilities,—the

legerdmain of history. The Old Sailor has furnished another sad story of love and smugglers. And Mr. Montgomery comes in between these gay romancers with a few of his sweetly solemn strains, telling of a better world,—like the sighing of the wind heard amid the pauses of loud mirth and revelry. Here is a specimen :—

PARTING WORDS.

‘ And he said, Let me go for the day breaketh.’

Let me go, the day is breaking—
Dear companions, let me go ;
We have spent a night of waking
In the wilderness below ;
Upward now I tend my way ;
Part we here at break of day.

Let me go: I may not tarry,
Wrestling thus with doubts and fears ;
Angels wait my soul to carry
When my risen soul appears ;
Friends and kindred, weep not so—
If you love me, let me go.

We have travell’d long together,
Hand in hand, and heart in heart,
Both through fair and stormy weather,
And ’tis hard, ’tis hard to part :
While I sigh ‘ Farewell,’ for you,
Answer, one and all, ‘ Adieu !’

’Tis not darkness gathering round me
That withdraws me from your sight ;
Walls of flesh no more can bound me,
But translated into light,
Like the lark on mounting wing,
Though unseen, you hear me sing.

Heaven’s broad day hath o’er me broken,
Far beyond earth’s span of sky :
Am I dead? Nay, by this token,
Know that I have ceased to die ;
Would you solve the mystery,
Come up hither—come and see.

Among the other contributors are Miss M. A. Browne, Charles Swain, T. K. Hervey, Major Calder Campbell, D. R. Shelton Mackenzie, T. E. Wilks, H. F. Chorley, Mary Howitt, Mrs.

Lee, Rev. R. Polwhele, Isabel Hill, and Henry Brandreth; a good array of respectable names, which will answer the purpose of a bill of fare.

The embellishments are secondary to the letter-press, as, perhaps they ought to be, but we think Mr. Ackerman might give us something better.

Of the *Book of the Cartoons*, we have only space to remark that though not issued as an *Annual*, it unites all the elegance and taste of this class of publications, with the more sterling and permanent value of higher works. Every student and admirer of the *Cartoons* should immediately possess himself of this elegant volume.

* * We extremely regret that the pressure of matter in the present number compels us to omit the concluding article on Menzel's German Literature. As the criticisms it contained, however, are on the two most celebrated German authors—Schiller and Göthe—we shall take some opportunity (in the course of the coming year) of introducing them, in the notices which it will be necessary to give of certain recent translations from the works of these great writers. Menzel's observations on the genius of these two wonderful men, form one of the most eloquent parts of his valuable work.

ART. VIII. BRIEF NOTICES.

The Poetical Works of Robt. Southey.
Collected by himself. In 10 vols.
London: Longman & Co., 1837.
Vol. I.

THOUGH as a poet we do not hold Dr. Southey in such estimation as we hold some of the great men with whom he started in life, and so many of whom he has outlived; and though we would at any time sooner read his prose than his verse, yet we do think him of sufficient merit, to rejoice in this elegant and uniform re-publication of his Poetical Works, carefully revised and corrected by himself, and forming a suitable accompaniment to the popular editions of Byron, Coleridge, Scott, Wordsworth, &c. As we shall enter at large on the merits of Dr. Southey as a poet, when the edition has nearly reached its completion, we deem it unnecessary to say any thing further at present than that the volume before us is got up with an accuracy, taste, and elegance, alike creditable to the author and the publishers.

It would be unjust not to add, that if we may judge from the prefatory matter to this volume, this edition promises to contain much amusing information as to Dr. Southey's personal history, as well as to the history of his early productions.

The Library of Entertaining Knowledge; an Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians. Written in Egypt during the Years 1833, 34, 35, partly from Notes made during a former visit to that country in the years 1825, 26, 27, and 28. By EDWARD WILLIAM LANE. In 2 vols. London: Charles Knight and Co.

As our opinion of this valuable work was so deliberately recorded in a recent article upon it, it is unnecessary to say any thing farther here than that we heartily rejoice that it has been re-published in this cheap and elegant form, and that it is well worthy of a place either in a 'library of useful or of entertaining knowledge.'

Saunders' Portraits and Memoirs of the Most Eminent Political Reformers. The Portraits engraved on Steel by Holt, Mote, Robinson, Scriven, &c., &c., from (with but few exceptions) the best Paintings, Drawings, or Busts already existing, from which no Engravings have been made, or from Paintings made expressly for the Work by B. E. DUPPA, Esq.; and the Memoirs founded on Data obtained from the highest Authorities. London: John Saunders, Jun. Part I. 1837.

THIS is an admirable specimen of a well-timed and spirited publication, and we shall be glad to do our utmost to promote its circulation. It is got up in excellent style, and is worthy of the rank to which it aspires. It is to consist of about fourteen parts, each part containing three engravings and twenty-four pages of letter-press; and the price at which it is issued places it within the reach of most purchasers. Reformers of all grades of opinion are to be included, and the 'Memoirs' to be appended are intended to present a succinct, yet comprehensive view of the acts and opinions of the distinguished men who form their subjects, diversified as far as possible of all party 'colouring.' The present number contains highly-finished engravings of Lord John Russell; Mr. Charles Buller, the Member for Liskeard; and Mr. Roebuck, the late Member for Bath; and the biographical notices which are appended, are equally honourable to the discrimination, candour, and sound judgment of the editor. The leaning of the writer is evidently towards the more decided reformers, but his impartiality is conspicuous in the high praise awarded to the Home Secretary, and in the strictures passed upon the humorous propensities of the talented and patriotic Member for Liskeard. Should the work be continued in the style and spirit with which it has commenced, it cannot fail to obtain very extensive patronage. Two editions are published, one in imperial octavo, and the other in folio, to meet the taste and convenience of different purchasers.

Lectures on Prophecy. Delivered in the Independent Meeting-house, Norwood, by C. N. DAVIS. Tegg and Son, 1836. 12mo.

EXTENSIVE reading and contemplative habits are evinced in these discourses, which were well adapted to instruct as well as gratify the audience to whom they were addressed. The first illustrates and defends the real inspiration of the Jewish Prophets; the others treat of the prophecies of enmity between the seed of the woman and the serpent, the destinies of Noah's three sons, the succession of the four great empires, the Messiah, and the accession of the Gentiles to the worship of Jehovah. In a modest Preface, the author sues for a lenient judgment, by saying: 'These lectures were delivered on the Lord's-day evenings of six consecutive weeks; and when I have assured my readers that the whole time occupied in preparing them was that which intervened between the delivery of the first and the last lecture, they will not be surprised, though they may be disappointed, at finding in them so little information. I am desirous, moreover, of stating, what perhaps my readers will gather from another more indubitable and to me more humiliating evidence, that in order to avoid the charge of following blindly in the steps of those who have preceded me, I have not, in any one instance, consulted the usual works on prophecy.' Accordingly, they bear the marks of hasty composition in some places, and of a fatigued state of mind in others. We hope to meet the author again in some more elaborate performance, and, in the mean time, we cheerfully certify that his present publication is a very suitable present for intelligent young persons.

Autumn; or the Causes, Appearances, and Effects of the Seasonable Decay and Decomposition of Nature. By R. MUDIE. London: Thomas Ward, 1837.

THOSE who have read Mr. Mudie's former volumes on 'Spring' and 'Summer,' will lose no time in procuring the present publication. It

is a worthy continuation of the series, and furnishes a more thorough and popularly philosophical investigation of the great law of Autumnal decay and decomposition than can be elsewhere found. It will not be our author's fault if the rising generation are not familiarized with the most interesting facts and the most general laws of the natural world.

Hints to Mothers for the Management of Health during the Period of Pregnancy and in the Lying-in Room; with an Exposure of Popular Errors in Connexion with these Subjects. By THOMAS BULL, M.D., Physician Accoucheur to the Finsbury Midwifery Institution. 12mo.

THIS little volume is the benevolent contribution of good sense and professional skill, to the well-being of those who have the strongest claims on our sympathy. Unfortunately, a vast mass of erroneous notions exists in the class to whom it is addressed; to which, and to the concealment prompted by delicacy, until the time for medical aid is gone by, we are indebted for very much of the danger and suffering incident to the periods they are called to pass through. Dr. Bull, in the true spirit of a physician and a gentleman, has by his perspicuous statements removed the first, and by his judicious and simple directions, anticipated the last of these fruitful sources of evil. There is no mother who will not be heartily thankful that this book ever fell into her hands, and no

husband who should not present it to his wife. We cannot urge its value too strongly on all whom it concerns.

The Cottage Preacher; or Plain Sermons for Plain People. By S. HENDERSON, Author of 'Scripture Questions,' &c. London: Ward and Co., 1837.

THESE Sermons were written 'for the purpose of being read, in manuscript, to small congregations of poor people assembled in some of the densely-populated and benighted districts of the metropolis.' For such a purpose they are admirably fitted, and we strongly recommend them to Christian Instruction Visitors, Sunday-school Teachers, and other persons engaged in visiting the poor.

Conversations on the Human Frame and Five Senses. By the Author of 'Aids to Development,' &c., &c. Illustrated with Plates. London: Darton & Clark, 1837.

BOTH entertaining and instructive, displaying the perfection of the human mechanism, and the wisdom and benevolence of its Creator.

Peter Parley's Wonders of the Earth, Sea, and Sky. Edited by the Rev. T. WILSON. London: Darton and Clark.

ONE of the most interesting and instructive books for young people which we have seen. Parents and instructors will do well to make it a Christmas present to those under their charge.

ART. IX. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Just Published.

The Parliamentary Report of the Select Committee on Aboriginal Tribes (British Settlements), is re-printed, with Comments, by the Committee of the above Society, and may now be had of William Ball, Aldine Chambers, Paternoster-row, and Hatchard & Son, Piccadilly.

Holy Scripture Verified; or the Divine Authority of the Bible, confirmed by an Appeal to Facts of Science, History, and Human Consciousness. By George Redford, D.D., LL.D., (being the Congregational Lecture for 1837).

The Life and Times of the Rev. George Whitfield. By Robert Philip.

Rise and Progress of the British Power in India. By Peter Auber, M.R.A.S., late Secretary to the Honourable East India Company. Vol. II.

Letters and Remains of the Rev. Henry Martyn.

GENERAL INDEX.

VOL. II. NEW SERIES.

- ABBOT's way to do good, 339.
- Alexander's preacher from the press, 341.
- Annals, the ; character of these productions, 658 ; Gems of Beauty ; extracts, 658, *et seq.* ; Picturesque Annual, 659 ; Drawing-Room Scrap-book ; extract, 660, *et seq.* ; Fisher's Juvenile Scrap-book, 661 ; Friendship's Offering, 662 ; Landscape Annual, *ib.* ; Christian Keepsake, 663 ; extracts, 664, *et seq.* ; Syria, &c. 665 ; Children of the nobility, *ib.* ; extract, *ib.* *et seq.* ; Keepsake, 666 ; Forget-me-not, *ib.* ; extract, 667.
- Anti-Mammon ; occasion of the work attacked in it, 636 ; character of this production, 637 ; its absurd and malicious inferences, 638 ; inconsequential objections to the phraseology and sentiments of Mammon, *ib.* *et seq.* ; defence of the orthodoxy of that volume, 639, *et seq.* ; antinomian nature of the objection taken against it by the presbyterian review and the associated authors, 643, *et seq.*
- Assumptions of the clergy ; union of church and state dependent on interest or prejudice, 551 ; absence of means of defence apparent in the conduct of its supporters, *ib.* ; Mr. Thorn's character as an author highly valuable, *ib.* ; assumption that the clergy are the only authorized ministers of the gospel overthrown, 553.
- Ballard, Stephen, Treatise on the nature of timber trees, 117, 118.
- Barth's brief history of the church, 119.
- Bench and Bar ; character of the author's writings, 627, *et seq.* ; anecdote of lord Brougham, 628 ; of lord Denman, 629, *et seq.* ; of justice Vaughan, 631, *et seq.* ; faults of the author's style, 635.
- Brougham, opinions of lord ; effects of his labours in behalf of the people, 287 ; his precocity, 288 ; constancy in politics, 289 ; extract of speech on education, *ib.* *et seq.* ; on a trial for libel on the clergy, 292 ; religious tenets exclude honest men, not knaves, 293 ; legal constitution of the church, *ib.* *et seq.* ; tory profession of reform in 1835, 294, *et seq.* ; reasons why lord Brougham is, not in office, 296, *et seq.*
- Browne's, sir Thomas, works ; tribute to their editor, 368 ; character of sir Thomas Browne's knowledge, *ib.* *et seq.* ; extract, *ib.* ; criticism on his phraseology, 369, *et seq.* ; contents of first volume, *ib.* ; conduct of sir Thos. on a trial for witchcraft, 371 ; religio medici, *ib.* ; extracts, 372 ; remarks on it, *ib.* extract, 373 ; defence of Brown from the charge of irreligion, *ib.* ; his closing prayer, 374 ; his vulgar errors, *ib.* ; garden of Cyrus, 375 ; christian morals, *ib.* ; extract, 376 ; resembled C. Lamb, *ib.* ; extract, *ib.*
- Bull's hints to mothers, 670.
- Bulwer's (E. L.) Athens and the Athenians ; object of the work, 458 ; of the article, *ib.* ; circumstances which render the history of Greece so attractive, *ib.* ; early history of Attica, *ib.* *et seq.* ; slavery, and an hereditary aristocracy, 459, *et seq.* ; return of the Heraclidæ, 460 ; state of Athens under Theseus, 461 ; early government of Greece, 462 ; improvement of them, *ib.* ; Solon, 464, *et seq.* ; Pisistratus, 465, *et seq.* ; his sons, 466, *et seq.* ; Darius, 467 ; digression respecting Persia, 467, *et seq.* ; Persian invasions of Greece ; Miltiades, Aristides, and Themistocles, 469—479 ; Pausanias, 479 ; Cimon, *ib.* , Pericles, 480—482 ; character of Bulwer's work, 482, *et seq.* ; faults of his style, *ib.*
- Campbell's letters from the South ; more successful as a writer of poetry than prose, 409 ; his neglect of his vocation, *ib.* ; Algiers, 410 ; extract, 411 ; extract, 412 ; Moorish women, 413 ; origin of the Moors, *ib.* ; Jews, *ib.* ; Arabs ; extract, *ib.* ; literature of Algiers, 414 ; extract, 415.
- Campbell's poetical works, 231.
- Church-rates ; sir John Campbell's letter

- to lord Stanley, and other tracts, on the subject, 109; four aspects in which the question of church rates may be viewed—abstract reason, divine authority, antiquity, present legal existence of such a property, 109—114; *extract*, as to their antiquity, 112, 113; *no rate legal except prospective*, 114, 115; character of works reviewed, 115; present position of the question, 115.
- Chalmer's Discourses, 232.
- Clark's (Adam) detached pieces, 231.
- Clarkson's researches; their value, 316; *notion of sacrifices could not have been spontaneous, ib.*; too strict adherence to authorized version, *ib. et seq.*
- Conversations on the human frame and five senses, 670.
- Cottle's (Joseph) recollections of S. T. Coleridge, 137; circumstances in which the work originated, 137, *et seq.*; character of the work, 138; what biography ought to be, but seldom is, 138, *et seq.*; contents of the work, 141; Coleridge's early life and opinions, 141, 142; his marriage, 143; account of Gilbert, 144; account of the author's brother Amos, and remarks on it, *ib.*; Coleridge's habits, *ib. et seq.*; *letter to Cottle*, 145; his various literary projects, 146; curious sermons preached by him, 147, his domestic life and condition of his mind at this time, *ib.*; project of an epic poem, *ib. et seq.*; defect in Coleridge's poetic temperament, 148; *extracts from his correspondence*, 149; departure for Germany, *ib.*; reflections on his life up to this period, *ib. et seq.*; difficulty of determining what he was fit for, 150; notice of Southey, and *extract, ib. et seq.*; *extract from a letter of sir H. Davy*, 151, *et seq.*; anecdote of Coleridge when a soldier, 152; Coleridge at Malta, 153; again in Bristol, *ib.*; his wretchedness, *ib.*; *extract from a letter, ib.*; his pecuniary difficulties, 153; *his habit of laudanum-drinking*, 154; reflections on it, 155, 156; Coleridge's letters of confession and self-reproach on this subject, 156—158; *speculations on the Trinity*, 158, *et seq.*; remarks on it, 159; his religious opinions, and probable character of his posthumous work, 159, 160; analysis of his mind, 161, *et seq.*; his style, 162, 163, *extracts from his writings*, 163; general character of mr. Cottle's work, 163, *et seq.*
- Courtenay's (T. P.) life of sir W. Temple, 502; little known of Temple's history, *ib.*; his prudent and upright character, *ib. et seq.*; sources from which the present work has been compiled, 503; sketch of Temple's life, public negotiations, &c. 503—514; remarks on his writings, 514, *et seq.*
- Cox and Hoby's religion in America, 340.
- Curate of Steinholt; Iceland peopled in the ninth century from Norway, 318; Icelandic republic, *ib.*; in 1387 transferred to Denmark, *ib.*; originally pagan, *ib.*; now, and for ages, one of the most moral and best informed of communities, *ib.*; degree of education prevalent, 319; merit of the tale, *ib.*
- Davies's lectures on prophecy, 669.
- Diarmid's works of Cowper, 231.
- Dissent (practical evils of, by a clergyman), 185; sentiments of evangelical clergymen towards dissent, 185; *specimen of the author's knowledge*, 185; remarks on the passage extracted, *ib. et seq.*; misrepresentations of the author cited and exposed, 186, *et seq.*; his partiality, 187; misrepresentation of Baptists, 189; his uncharitable remarks on extemporaneous prayer, *ib.*; his coarse and abusive style, *ib.*; *extract*, 190.
- Dissenters (the duty of at the present crisis), 204; position of the country, *ib.*; politics are becoming the study of the nation, *ib.*; increasing influence of the commons, and decline of toryism, 205, 206; the contest between the compulsory and voluntary systems in religion another feature of the times, 207, *et seq.*; sketch of the political changes since 1834, 208, *et seq.*; errors of ministers in the last parliament, 211; hopes from the accession of the queen, *ib. et seq.*; the conduct ministers may be supposed likely to pursue, 213; dissenters must help themselves, if they expect ministers to help them, 213, *et seq.*; *extract from "the address of the United Committee,"* 214, *et seq.*; the conduct dissenters should pursue, 215, *et seq.*; reply to those who charge them with political activity, 216.
- Duncan's sacred philosophy of the seasons, 118.
- Egyptians (Lane's modern); change in the character of nations by time, 345; contrast presented between relics of antiquity and their present condition, 346; Egypt perhaps a chronological table for all time, *ib.*; the author's view confined to what is modern, 347; his work a mine of correct information,

- 348; climate of Egypt, *ib.*; houses, *ib.*; population, *ib.*; inadequacy of land cultivation, *ib.*; dress, 350; personal appearance, *ib.*; value set on children, 351; religion and laws, *ib. et seq.*; *extract*, 353; government of Ali, 353; a crushing tyranny, 354; courts of law, *ib.*; modes of living, 355; facility of divorce, 356; conscription, 357; means used to avoid it, *ib.*; the code of politeness, *ib. et seq.*; *extract*, 358; mahomedan college, *ib.*: *extract*, *ib.*; the void of knowledge occupied by superstition, 359; genii, *ib.*; veneration for idiots, *ib.*; *extract*, 360; Durweeshes, *ib.*; their fire-feats, *ib.*; *extracts*, 361; magic, *ib.*; its forms, 362; put to the proof, *ib. et seq.*; not to be explained by contrivance or the arts of jugglery, 364; must be referred to a supernatural agency, 365; summary of Egyptian character, 366; popular amusements, *ib. et seq.*
- Elections (result of); state of things after the congress of Vienna, 320, *et seq.*; growth of discontent with advanced intelligence, 321; forces the duke of Wellington to retire, 322; estimate of William IV, *ib.*; just hopes entertained of his successor, 323; character of aristocracy, *ib.*; their pervading influence, *ib.*; their allies in the clergy, 324; disgraceful conduct, *ib. et seq.*; the order of gentry, 326; alteration of the spirit of the age, *ib.* agricultural classes, *ib.*; now by the 50th clause, become serfs of landed proprietors, *ib.*; small shopkeepers, 327, *et seq.*; operative electors, 328; insufficiently informed by the sources of knowledge hitherto open to them, *ib.*; non-electors, 329; their condition, *ib.*; household suffrage advocated, *ib.*; conservatives, 330; ministerialists, 332; radicals, 333.
- Evangelist, nos. 1 and 2, 119.
- Excitement (the new), 557.
- Francis's British ferns, 551.
- Goldsmith (Oliver, miscellaneous works of, edited by Prior), 27; object of the review, *ib.*; analysis of Goldsmith's intellectual character, 27—30; *mode in which he composed his histories of England*, 30; the charm of his style, 30, 31; *reflections on the coronation of George III.* 31, 32; to what causes Goldsmith's elegance and ease are partly to be attributed, 32, 33; anecdote of Robert Hall, *ib.*; Mr. Prior's labours as editor characterized, 33, 34; the new matter in this edition, 34; contents of the volumes, *ib.*; quality of the recovered pieces, 34, 35; *paper on abuse of our enemies*, 35, 36; *account of an illumination*, 37; *preface to the general history of the world*, 37, 38; *extracts from his reviews*, 38—40; lines from his *oratorio of the captivity*, 40, 41.
- Greenhill's exposition of Ezekiel, edited by James Sherman; objection to Scripture as written in dead languages, stated and met, 198, *et seq.*; in reality an argument in their favour, &c., 199; the reformation and the revival simultaneous, 200; our obligations to our elder theologians, 200; value of the present edition of Greenhill, 201; account of the author, *extracts from the editor's preface*, 201; *extracts from the introduction to the work*, 201, *et seq.*; character of the work, 202; account of Cobbin's condensed commentary, 202, *et seq.*; remarks of Dr. Pye Smith upon it, 203, *et seq.*, &c.
- Hallam's (Henry) history of European literature, 298; general character of the volume, 293, *et seq.*; qualifications requisite for producing a work on this subject, 299, *et seq.*; eminently found in Mr. Hallam, 301, *et seq.*; 302; account of historico-literary works on this subject, 302, 303; analysis of the present work, 303—305; *invention of paper*, 306, *et seq.*; *the history of bookselling*, 308, *et seq.*; *sizes of books*, 311; Mr. Hallam's *opinion of Luther*, remarks on it, 312—315.
- Hebrews, a summary of what is found in it, 377; *extracts*, 378, *et seq.*; *extracts*, 379; St. Paul the author, 380.
- Henderson's Cottage preacher, 670.
- Hoskin's visit to the Great Oasis; the character of the author, 180, 191, 192; present state of Egypt, 192, 193; account of the ruins of Thebes, 193, *et seq.*; account of a dinner at Risigat, 194, *et seq.*; travelling in the desert, 195, *et seq.*; description of the Oasis, 196; *extracts*, 197, 198.
- India, British support of idolatry in, contrast presented by the conduct of the Roman to our idolatrous ancestors, with our own in the case of subjugated India, 234; tribute to Dr. Buchanan, *ib.*; to Mr. Poynder, 235; history of the attempts made to remove the stigma, 236, *et seq.*; reason of the apathy of the East India Company under the charge, *ib.*; successful result of Mr. P.'s motion in 1833, 238; *account of*

- the rites of Juggernaut, &c.*, quoted from the Bishop of Calcutta, 240; extract from the speeches of Mr. Poynder, 242—246; co-operation of the Governor of Madras (Sir F. Adam), 247; enumeration of the particulars of British countenance of idolatry, *ib. et seq.*
- James's Christian professor; Eulogium on the author's former publication, 538; object of the present, *ib.*; *extract*, 539; design of the Lord's Supper, *ib. et seq.*; mode of admission to dissenting churches, 540; *extract*, 541, 544.
- Jamaica apprenticeship; note to the article on, 341; letter from Sir G. Grey, 342, *et seq.*
- Jarrold on instinct; *defence of the science of mind*, 403, *et seq.*; *extract, ib.*; *extract*, 405; *extract, ib.*; *extract*, 406; remarks on common sense, *ib. et seq.*; *extract*, 407; *extract*, 408; testimony to the work, *ib.*
- Judges of Israel, 119.
- Lane's Modern Egyptians, 345; see Egyptians.
- Martineau's (Miss Harriet) Americans, 51—74; obligations of the Americans to the pilgrim fathers, 51; America may be considered as a school of experiments in the science of politics, 51, 52; mutual relations of America and England, 52; the national pride of the Americans, *ib.*; mitigation of the charge, *ib.*; *Grund on this subject, ib.*; character of his work, 53; history and character of Miss Martineau's work, 54, 55; admissions of Miss Martineau as to the political condition of America, 56; comparative value of republicanism and a limited monarchy, illustrated by the present state of America, 56, 57; corrupt disposal of patronage there, 57; *of official corruption and dishonesty*, 57, 59; violations of law, 59, 60; riot at Boston, 60—62; character of the American newspaper press, 62—64; American slavery, 64; Grund's partiality and unfairness on this subject, 65—67; *Miss Martineau's exposure of the system*, 67, 68; *morals of slavery*, 68, 69; character of American abolitionists, 69, 70; *extract upon this subject*, 70; state of religion in America, 70, 71; different reasonings of Grund and Martineau on the same facts, 71, 72; shallow views of the latter on the state of religion, 72—74; her proposed remedies, 73, 74.
- Mayo's philosophy of living, 74; neglect of this subject, 74; works on dietetics, and their character, 74, 75; effect of morals on disease and national happiness, *ib.*; national health an important object in the legislation of the ancients, 76; *author's remarks* on this, and attention of the modern continental nations to it, and works on the subject, 76; Orkey's (of Manchester) tables, and those of Mayo, 77; factory system, its horrors, 77, 78; *observations of Wing, Gaskell, and Gregg, on this subject*, 78, 79; progress of the system, remedies attempted, duties of government, &c., 79, 80; variety of temperaments, 81—83; relations of the mind to the body, &c., 83; the author's view of dietetics judicious, 84; his opinion of tea and coffee, 84; their component principles, 85; his observations on exercise, *ib.*
- Menzel on German literature; No. IV., religion in Germany, 217; character of this part of Menzel's work, 217, *et seq.*; certain errors pointed out, *ib.*; what his own religious views are, 217, 218; the influence of temperament on religious character, 219; the author's latitudinarianism, and remarks on it, 220; *his defence of religious toleration*, 220, *et seq.*; *of the genius of catholicism*, 221, 222; the fortunes of catholicism in Germany, *ib.*; Menzel's account of protestantism, its spirit, its dependence on the state, and its present condition, 223—226; of religious indifference, 226, *et seq.*; the causes of German rationalism, 227, *et seq.*; Menzel's account of it, 228—231; German philosophy, 443—455; Menzel's qualifications for giving an account of it, 443; difficulties of the German terminology, *ib.*; *speculative character of the German mind*, 443, *et seq.*; causes which have contributed to it, *ib.*; *the progress of German philosophy*, 445, *et seq.*; Leibnitz, 447; Kant, 447—450; Schelling, 451—453; summary of remainder of the chapter, 454; *character and writings of Klopstock*, 555, *et seq.*; *of Lessing*, 556—562; *of Herder*, 562—566; apology for not inserting the account of Schiller and Göthe, 668; promised in the ensuing year, *ib.*
- Missionary records, West Indies, 341.
- Monk of Cimiés, by Mrs. Sherwood; defects of religious novels, 545; the

- authoress's defence of church establishments, 546; *extracts, ib.*, 550.
- Mudie's spring, 118; summer, *ib.*; autumn, 669.
- Murray's (Hon. J.) summer in the Pyrenées, 95; geographical description of the Pyrenées, 95, 96; climate, 96; character of the work of Murray, 97; *descent into Rousillon described*, 97, 98; *mode of drinking from the bottle amongst the Spaniards*, 98, 99; *an account of the republic of Andorre*, 99—102; natural curiosity at Mont Perdu, 102; shepherds of the Pyrenées, 102; *rencontre of Barras with a bear*, 103; character of the "Sketches," 104; *the people of the Pyrenées*, 105, 106; *names of the mountains*, 106; *reflections on thunderstorms*, 107; an account of the curate of Gavarnie, 108.
- Noel's tour through Ireland; character of the volume and its author, 267; *account of Maynooth quoted, ib. et seq.*; state of that seminary, 268; *defence of national systems of education quoted, ib. et seq.*; *refutation of the argument that all knowledge without religion is pernicious*, 269; the apparent necessity of a poor law for Ireland, 270; questionable experiment, *ib.*; duty of the Irish clergy, 271.
- Oxford; state of the university of, 1—27; right of the nation to take cognizance of, 1, 2; interest of the dissenters in them, 2; statement of the university and college system, 3; meaning of the term university, *ib.*; convocation, 4; chancellor, 5; board of heads of houses, 5, 6; vice-chancellor and proctors, 6; public professors, 6, 7; public preachers, select preachers, 7, 8; public examiners, 8, 9; degrees, 9, *et seq.*; university scholarships, 11; public libraries, their shameful management, 11, *et seq.*; printing establishment, 12; university funds, 13; university oaths, 13, 14; interior of the college system, 14; halls different from colleges, 14; celibacy of fellows, 14; effects of it, 15, 16; residence of the fellows, 16; electors of fellows and scholars, 16, 17; qualifications of candidates for fellowship, 17, *et seq.*; college revenues, 18, 19; capacity of the college buildings, 19, 20; college patronage, 20; college oaths, 20, 21; college officers, 21, *et seq.*; mode of college lecturing, 23; religious instruction, 23—26; moral discipline, 26, 27; subject of Oxford continued, 121; studies of the place, *ib.*; length of time occupied in study, *ib. et seq.*; theological education, 122, *et seq.*; subjects proposed for study to under graduates, 123, *et seq.*; Oxford sciences, 124, *et seq.*; causes of the low standard of the degree, 125, *et seq.*, debating society, 129; abuses at Oxford, and thoughts on a reformation of them, 129, *et seq.*; primary reform respects the election of scholars and fellows, heads, and public professors, 133; other reforms, 133, 135; whether such reforms are practicable, 137.
- Parley's, Peter, wonders of the earth, 670.
- Payne's lectures on divine sovereignty, the atonement, justification and regeneration, 41; importance of the volume, *ib.*; its general character, *ib.*; analysis of the volume, 42, *et seq.*; divine sovereignty, 42; *meaning of it*, 42, 43; *the doctrine of election explained and vindicated*, 43—45; observations on the atonement and extent of it, 47, 48; *justification explained*, 48, 49; character of the lectures on regeneration, 49, 50.
- Pyrenées, travels in, 95.
- Romanism, Anglicanism, and Protestantism, 559; Newman's *explanation of the Via Media*, 560; the search for it not new, 561; *awol of conflicting opinions in the church*, 561, 562; *its points of agreement with that of Rome*, 563; *Via Media the way to Rome*, 564; difficulty of finding a church according to Mr. Newman, *ib.*; his admission of the superiority of Rome in point of unity and certainty, *ib.*; *Sandersson's church of England identified with the second beast*, quoted, 565, 666; *popish mode of viewing existence of sects*, 566; true genius of anglo-catholic theology, 567; proofs of a modified transubstantiation, held by a party in the church, 567, 568; Mr. Newman's catholicism presented long before by Alexander Knox, 569; *thirty-nine articles, articles of religion, not of faith—creed alone essential*, 569; *the liturgy preserves the body of truth*, 570; *church of England not Protestant, but reformed Catholic*, quoted from Knox, *ib.*; only wise use of tradition, 571; and of formulæ, 572; exposure of authority of Catholic antiquity, 573, *et seq.*; Mr. Newman's *portrait of tradition*, 575; *that of implicit faith in authority, from Griffith*, 576; authority of elder nonconformists at least equal to that

- of ancient fathers, 577; catholicity of independency, *ib.*; Protestantism and popery, both more certain than anglicanism, 578; vital principle of the reformation, *ib.*; *benefits ascribed to the power of excommunication*, 579.
- Rix's brief records; United church of Beale, Suffolk, 118.
- Rosette and Miriam, 119.
- Robert's, Mary, progress of creation, 341.
- Saunders' portraits of reformers, 669.
- Search's (John) "What and who says it?" Mr. Binney's celebrated sentence, 516; abuse with which he has been assailed for it, *ib. et seq.*; misrepresentations of his opponents, 517, *et seq.*; churchmen have said the same thing with Mr. Binney, 519, 520; *extract from Mr. Melvill's sermons, ib.*; remarks on it, *ib. et seq.*; *extracts from John Search's pamphlet, proving his main point*, 521—526; remarks on the Christian Observer and British Critic, 527, 528; gross inconsistency of the former proved, *ib.*; defence of Mr. Binney, 528, 529.
- Secret societies of the middle ages, 579; necessities of society which lead to such combinations, 579; protection they afforded against the excesses of feudal despotism, 580; illustrated in Scott's Anne of Geierstein, *ib.*; their constitution, form of admission, tribunals, and modes of proceeding and punishment, 581; chiefly prevalent in Westphalia, 581; secured for individuals, what burgher-guilds obtained for communities, 582; regarded the emperor as their head, *ib.*; possessed power of life and death, *ib.*; their oath of initiation, 583, *et seq.*; duties of officers, *ib.*; consequences of breach of vow, *ib. et seq.*; places of meeting, 585, *et seq.*; offences cognizable before them, 586, *et seq.*; mode of apprehension and summary nature of proceeding, 587; awe impressed on all orders of society by these tribunals, 592, *et seq.*; emblematical character of their forms, 595; sketch of the rise of jurisprudence, 596; these societies intolerable in a better order of society, 597; compared with Orange Lodges, *ib.*
- Sketches in the Pyrenées, 95.
- Stovel's dreadful requisition, 557.
- Stuart's antiquities of Athens, 455.
- Southey's poetical works, 668.
- Summers' (Samuel) sermons, 164; life and character of the author, 164, *et seq.*; his removal to Bristol, 163; his preaching described, *ib. et seq.*; *extracts*, 168—171.
- Texas, war in; power of promoting the good of mankind possessed by Great Britain, 416; instances of its exertion, 417; treaties made with other countries stipulating for the abolition of slave-trade and slavery, *ib.*; that with Mexico, *ib.*; the object defeated in the case of one of her provinces (Texas), by American interference, *ib.*; description and extent of Texas, *ib.*; emigration of Americans thither, *ib. et seq.*; introduction of slaves by them, 418; Mexico too weak to maintain its laws, *ib.*; attempts frustrated by revolutions in the capital, 419; conduct of Americans with regard to that province, *ib.*; pretence of a claim to Texas, relinquished on the cession of the Floridas, *ib.*; a minister sent to Mexico to treat for the purchase of Texas, *ib.*; attempt to obtain it by mortgage, 420; character of President Jackson, *ib. et seq.*; denounces corruption before his election, 421; flagrantly corrupt means of rewarding his party, *ib.*; impudent jesuitism, *ib.*; note on Mrs. E—, 422; Jackson a slaveholder, *ib.*; character of his agent Poinsett, 423; fraudulent formation of a Texas land scrip, *ib.*; emigrants to Texas encouraged to revolt, *ib.*; mode of cultivation in the slave-states exhausts land, 424; when the labour of slaves is unprofitable, they are bred to answer the demand elsewhere, *ib.*; the case in Virginia, Maryland, South and North Carolina, chief sources of supply, *ib.*; number sold in Virginia during one year, *ib.*; Texas furnishes a market, 428; Jackson renounces all hope of obtaining Texas by treaty, *ib.*; re-appearance of Adam's relinquished claims, 426; the press closed against the cause of justice and humanity, *ib.*; Cos, the Mexican general, captured with all his force, on his landing to subdue an insurrection in Texas, *ib. et seq.*; munitions of war sent thither from the United States, 427; plans openly concerted and executed, though against the law, *ib.*; Jackson disposes of the governorship of the province, *ib.*; Santa Anna enters Texas, and is defeated and made prisoner, 428; importation of slaves, going on from Cuba, Africa, and North America, *ib.*; Congress recognizes the independence of Texas, *ib.*; aspect of this event on the peace and commerce of other

- countries, *ib.*; worse in its effects than the partition of Poland, *ib.*; domestic slave-trade virtually protected by the suppression of foreign, 430; character of inhabitants of slave states prepares them for aggression, *ib.*; slavery opposed to commerce, 431; to the liberty of white men, 432; to that cultivation of the earth's surface intended by Providence, 433; territory absorbed by slavery, *ib.*; rate of progress, *ib. et seq.*; demoralization the necessary consequence, 439, *et seq.*; illustrations, 441, *et seq.*; extracts from Channing's letter on Texas, 531; perjury of the revolvers in making the existence of popery their plea, *ib. et seq.*; *extract*, 532, 537.
- Turnbull on various diseases; and diseases of the eye and ear, 116; nature of the study of medicine, *ib.*; erroneous method of the early physicians; Dr. Turnbull's investigations and experiments, 115, 116.
- Tytler's Life of Henry VIII.; view of the state of affairs at his accession, 250; his education, 251; notice of scholars who flourished at that time, *ib. et seq.*; characters of Erasmus and Sir Thomas More, 252; reasons of the failure of the expectations raised upon Henry's accession, discovered in the defects and vices of his character, 253; his domestic policy, *ib. et seq.*; spoliation of the church, and its motives, 254; *extract, ib.*; attempts to levy money by illegal commissions, 255; causes which promoted the ecclesiastical revolutions, 256; *extract, ib.*; Henry the unworthy and unconscious instrument of good, 257; character of Anne Boleyn, *ib.*; unfounded nature of Dr. Lingard's charge against her, 258; note on the date of her marriage with the king, *ib.*; character of Catherine, 259; obstacles to her divorce, *ib.*; *her speech to him*, 260; rise of Cromwell, *ib.*; *extract*, 261; catalogue of Henry's victims, 262; character and rise of Cramer, 261, *et seq.*; *extract*, 264, *et seq.*; recommendation of the work, 267.
- University education; the growing consideration of *curricula* of study a favourable sign, 611; uniformity in these neither possible nor desirable, *ib.*; character of Mr. Whewell, 612; his idea of what they should be, *ib.*; teaching of two kinds, speculative and practical, *ib.*; his definition of philosophy, *ib.*; teaching divisible into direct and indirect; 613; inductive habits most likely to be acquired by the practice of deduction, *ib.*; his notion of the advantages of mathematics, *ib.*; of logic, as teaching reasoning by rule, mathematics by practice, *ib.*; his denial that the latter render the mind insensible to reasonings on other subjects, *ib.*; his opinion of the classics as means of culture, *ib.*; deprecates teaching the mere opinions of an individual, 614; desires to stimulate by a love of knowledge, rather than of distinction, *ib.*; distrusts the effect of examinations, *ib.*; professorial lectures of limited benefit, *ib.*; disapproves the "free system," 615; views college punishments as tokens of disapprobation, leading by their accumulation to the removal of their object, *ib.*; estimate of his system, *ib. et seq.*; Oxford and Cambridge confine themselves too much to educating without informing the mind, 616; superior importance of attending to the contents of authors, than to the language they write in, 617; one chief excellency of those called classic, that they were free men, and spoke what they thought, *ib.*; importance of the Greek and Latin languages recognized, 618; operate most beneficially on prose writers, *ib.*; prose, not poetry, should be made the occasion of exercising the power of composing in them, *ib.*; Mr. Whewell's statement of the necessity of college lectures exaggerated, 619; to what extent civilization is indebted to speculation, *ib.*; *Mr. W.'s sketch of the progress of education, and the influence exerted by the ancient study of music*, 621; the latter questioned, *ib.*; mental progress of nations, dependent on their freedom, 622; defence of German universities, 623; notice of Dr. Hoppus's scheme, *ib.*; advantage of an examination previous to admission of students, 624; excellence of any scheme depends on its adaptation to the result contemplated, and the age and position of the pupils, *ib.*; schedule of preparatory qualifications which should be required, 625; advantage of making the M. A. degree purely one of honours, 626; recommendation of text books, *ib.*
- Willians's (James, an apprenticed labourer in Jamaica) narrative of events since the first of August, 1834,

- 86; the delusive character of the Slavery Abolition act, 88, 87; *exposure of the conduct of the magistrates under that act*, 87, 88; *the horrors of the workhouse system*, 88, 89; *cruelty of the system to mothers and their infants exposed*, 89, 90; evils of Lord Stanley's colonial policy; his policy but too faithfully imitated by his successors, 90, 21; *extract*, from the Jamaica Watchman on the marquis of Sligo's resignation, 91, 92; duties of the people, and an appeal to them, 92, 93; violation of the compact on the part of the slaveholders, 93, 94; *note* on the conduct of the slaveholders in the Mauritius, 94.
- Wiseman's, Dr. N. lectures on Catholicism, 485; the question whether Romanism be on the increase in Great Britain, discussed, 485—488; activity of the Romanists, 488; analysis of the work, 489, *et seq.*; *reverence of Catholics for scripture*, 491; remarks on this passage, 492; fundamental error of the Romanists, 492; divisions amongst the Romanists, 493; lecture on the pope's supremacy, 493; remarks upon, and confutation of it, 493—495; penance, satisfaction, purgatory, indulgences, 495, 496; *extract*, 496; invocation of saints, *ib.*; transubstantiation, *ib.*; confutation of Dr. Wiseman's arguments from scripture for it, 496—498; Dr. Wiseman's remarks on Catholic and Protestant missions examined, 498—502.
- Wood's translation of Hammer's History of the Assassins, 171; the author's object stated, 171; little value of the oriental chroniclers, *ib. et seq.* defects of Hammer's work, 172, *et seq.*; Von Hammer's just account of the effects of the union of the spiritual and secular powers in Christianity, 175; description of the assassins, as a community, 175, *et seq.*; *account of the sects of the Ghullat*, 176, 177; observations on it, 177, *et seq.*; the Persians received Moham-
- medanism with reluctance, 178 *account of Karmath*, 179, 180; observations on it, 180, 181; *extracts*, 182—184.
- Yarrell's British Birds, 339.
- Yarrell's British Fishes. Objects, character, and effects of the Bridgewater treatises, 598, *et seq.*; best mode of presenting facts on which natural theology is founded, and nature of its evidence, 599, *et seq.*; manifestations of mind in bees, the elephant, hooded crow, partridge, 601, 602; Fishes characterized, 602, 603; true fishes defined, 604; *account of stickle-back, ib.*; *of mackerel*, 605; *idea of migration refuted, ib.*; *size and age of the pike*, 607; *trout, ib.*; Walton's Angler quoted, 608; *manner of taking the bait*, 609; *account of turbot*, 610.
- Young's lectures on intellectual philosophy; reasons of the small attention this subject has received, 272; culpable neglect of the universities, 273; its designation, metaphysics, a repellent, *ib.*; defence of what is now meant by the term, *ib.*; antiquity abjured as sole authority, 274; Aristotle rescued from reproach, *ib.*; disproof of the notion that mental philosophy deserves neglect because its principles are uncertain, 276; real consent of philosophers proved in the instance of the laws of memory, *ib. et seq.*; character of Dr. Young, 277, *et seq.*; of his lectures, 278; *extract* from the preface, 279, *et seq.*; the classification of Dr. Thomas Brown, rejected by Dr. Young, 280; *extract, ib.*; criticism on the rejection, 281; distinction between virtual and real analysis of mental phenomena, 282; *extract*, 283; defence of Dr. Brown's nomenclature, 284, *et seq.*; addition to the before recognised secondary laws of association, 285; extension visible, *ib.*; *extract, ib. et seq.*; encomium on the work.



6220

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